

A N
Univerfal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present :
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

VOL. XIV.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἀπὲρ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomarede Sc.

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A N

Universal History.

C H A P. XVII.

Continuation of the history of Rome, from the perfect settlement of the Roman empire to the death of Nero, the last of the family of the Cæsars.

AS Caius, surnamed *Caligula* (H), was greatly beloved both by the senate and people, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*, and the injuries done to him and his family, news was no sooner brought that he was advancing from *Misenum* with the corpse of the deceased emperor, than persons of all ranks and ages

(H) *Caius*, says *Tacitus*, was born in the camp, nursed in the arms of the legions, and by them named *Caligula*, a military name, from the boots, which, of the same fashion with their own, in compliment to them and to win their affections, he frequently wore (1). The surname of *Caligula*, says *Suetonius* (2), was given him in the camp by the legions, because he was brought up amongst them in the habit of a common soldier; in virtue of which education he was to such a degree beloved by them, that upon a mutiny after the death of *Augustus*, his presence appeased them, when in the height of their fury. Thus *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* agree as to the origin of the surname of *Caligula*; but they differ as to the place of his birth. *Caius Cæsar*, says *Suetonius* (3), was born the last day of *August*, his father and *C. Fonteius Capito* being consuls, that is, the twelfth year of the common christian æra. As to the place of his birth, continues the same writer, the diversity of reports hath rendered it uncertain: *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* writes, that he was born at *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*; *Pliny* in the country of the *Treviri* in a town

(1) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 41.* (2) *Suet. c. 9.* (3) *Idem, c. 8.*

ages crouded out to meet him. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour and all possible demonstrations of real affection. The senate immediately assembled,

called *Ambitarinum*, at the confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*; and, to confirm his opinion, he adds, that there are still altars to be seen there with this inscription; OB AGRIPPINÆ PUERPERIUM, for the delivery of Agrippina: the following verses likewise enforce the common opinion, that he was born in the place where the legions were at that time in their winter-quarters:

*In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.*

But I find amongst the public records, that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* refutes *Getulicus* as one who did not scruple to depart from truth, that he might flatter a young and ambitious prince by assigning him for his birth-place, a town which was consecrated to *Hercules*. This he could do the more boldly, as *Agrippina* had been delivered of a son at *Tibur* but a year before, whose name was likewise *Caius Caesar*. As for *Pliny*, he is sufficiently confuted by the computation of times: for those who have written the history of *Augustus* assure us, that *Caius* was born before his father *Germanicus* was sent into *Gaul*, after his consulship was expired. Neither is the inscription upon the altars of any weight, seeing *Agrippina* was delivered of two daughters in that country; and the word *Puerperium* may be understood of either sex. Besides, in former times, girls were called *Pueræ*, and boys *Puelli*. There is also still extant an epistle from *Augustus* to his grand-daughter *Agrippina*, written not many months before his death, concerning this *Caius*, for there was no other child then of this name, in these words: *Yesterday I ordered Talarius and Afellus to bring little Caius hither, if it please the gods, on the seventeenth of May. I send with him one of my physicians, whom, as I have written to Germanicus, he may keep with him, if he thinks good. Farewel, my dear Agrippina; take care of your health, that you may be well when you meet your husband.* From this letter it is evident, that *Caius* was at this time in *Italy*; and he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was near two years old. This evidence confutes also the verses, the more because the author was never known. It therefore remains, that we acquiesce in the testimony of the public records; the rather because *Caius* preferred *Antium* to all other places, nay, being weary of *Rome*, he is said to have resolved to remove his imperial seat thither. Thus far *Suetonius* (4), whose arguments, in the opinion of *Lipsius*, carry no great weight with them. Were *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ignorant of what was contained in the public acts? Can we suppose, that such an accurate writer as *Tacitus* would have positively affirmed, without consulting the public records, that *Caius* was born in the camp? *Germanicus*, as it is

(4) *Idem*, c. 8.

bled, and, the people thronging into the hall with the senators, he was by universal consent declared emperor with full power, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him co-heir with his grandson *Tiberius*, then under age and in his prætexta. The joy for his accession to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but reached the most distant provinces; insomuch, that in the space of three months a hundred and sixty thousand victims were slain on that occasion within the limits of the empire^a. He had no sooner paid his last duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he hastened into the islands of *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, where he gathered with great reverence the bones and ashes of his mother and brother *Nero*, brought them to *Rome*, and caused them to be deposited with extraordinary pomp in the mausoleum of *Augustus*^b. The inscriptions which he placed over

Honours
the memory
of his mother and
brothers.

^a Dio. l. lix. p. 640—644. Suet. in Calig. c. 14. ^b Dio. p. 642. Suet. c. 14.

agreed on all hands, was sent into *Germany* immediately after the slaughter of *Varus* and his legions, and continued there till his consulship, when he left *Germany* and returned to *Rome*; but we are no-where told, that his wife *Agrippina* accompanied him in that journey. She was perhaps then big with *Caius*, remained on that account in *Germany*, and was there delivered of him during her husband's consulship. There appears at least in this no incongruity, no improbability. As to the public registers, perhaps another son, bearing the same name, was born to them at *Antium*; for they had in all nine children, of whom three died infants. The surname of *Caligula*, which was given to this *Caius* by the legions some time after his birth, was not, we imagine, added to his name in the registers: *Suetonius* therefore might have mistaken another *Caius* for this. But he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was two years old. Why not? Might not *Agrippina* have been delivered of *Caius* in *Germany*, then come to *Rome*, and afterwards return to *Germany*? We are surprised that *Suetonius* should lay any stress on so weak an argument. *Caius*, 'tis true, preferred *Antium* to all other places, as *Tiberius* did *Capreae*, and *Augustus* *Tibur* and *Lanuvium*; but no one ever pretended to infer from thence, that they were born in either of these places. Whoever was the author of the above-mentioned verses, they were published upon *Caius*'s accession to the empire; and we can hardly persuade ourselves, that the place of his nativity was not then known at least to every *Roman*. Upon the whole, we cannot help preferring to the authority of *Suetonius* that of *Tacitus*, supported by the testimonies of *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, and *Sextus Victor* (5).

(5) Vide Lip. in excur. in lib. i. annal.

them are still to be seen^c; and from the medals of *Agrippina*, which have reached us^d, it appears, that he distinguished her with the title of *Augusta*. All the decrees of the senate enacted against them, and against *Drusus*, who died at *Rome*, were annulled^e; nay, a stately villa, on the sea-side, where *Agrippina* had for some time been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes^f. Public sacrifices were at his motion appointed by the senate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory; solemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were instituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongst those of the gods; and the month of *September* was by a decree of the senate to be thenceforth called by the name of his father *Germanicus*. Having thus signalised his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother *Antonia* with the name of *Augusta*, appointed her priestess of *Augustus*, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the vestals, and all the marks of distinction which had ever been conferred upon *Livia*, either by *Augustus* or *Tiberius*^g. The privileges of the vestals he likewise granted to his sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla* or *Julia* (I), and ordained that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with this clause; *Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cæsar and his sisters*; and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed; *May it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæsar and his sisters*^h. All the papers, registers, and records, which *Tiberius* had left relating to the proceedings against his mother and brothers, he caused to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames in his presence, after having solemnly called the gods to witness, that he had never read, nor even opened, them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehensions in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes which befel themⁱ. However, as they were all afterwards to a man cut off under

His love to
his grand-
mother and
sisters.

^c GRUTER. p. 237. ^d SPANH. l. vii. p. 612. ^e DIO. ibid. ^f SENEC. de ira, l. iv. c. 21. ^g DIO. p. 641; 646. SÜET. c. 15. ^h SÜET. c. 15. DIO. ibid. ⁱ Idem, ibid.

(I) *Caius* had, according to *Suetonius*, but three sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*; so that *Livilla* and *Julia* must be one and the same person. *Julia* was the youngest of *Germanicus*'s daughters, born in the seventeenth year of the christian æra, and in the thirty-third married to *Marcus Vinicius* (6).

(6) *Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 54. & l. vi. c. 15.*

the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals ^k.

The very day he made his entry into *Rome*, he was for setting at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandson of king *Herod*, whom *Tiberius* had confined six months before. But his grandmother *Antonia*, though a great friend to *Agrippa*, advised him to suspend for some time the effects of his good-nature, lest he should seem to insult the memory of his grandfather ^l. However, he was released a few days after, as were likewise all the other state prisoners, and among the rest *L. Pomponius Secundus*, of whom we have spoken above, after seven years close confinement. Such as had been banished by *Tiberius* were all recalled home, which occasioned an universal joy in the city. But nothing gave greater satisfaction both to the nobility and people, than his solemnly declaring, that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason, since under the appearance of that crime so many illustrious citizens, so many ancient and noble families, had been involved in endless calamities. Of this his resolution he gave soon after a remarkable instance; for a note being offered him tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he rejected it, saying, *I am not conscious to myself of any action that can deserve the hatred of any man, and therefore have no ears for informers* ^m. Though the will of *Tiberius* had been declared null by the senate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceased emperor's grandson; the same regard he paid to the testament of *Livia*, which had been suppressed by *Tiberius*, causing their legacies to be discharged forthwith, and adding to them large sums of his own to be divided among the *Roman* people and the soldiery ⁿ. In his first speech to the senate he promised to govern with justice and moderation, and to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions, as their child and pupil. Pursuant to his protestations, he caused the famous institutions of *Augustus* to be revived and published, though they had been long neglected and disused by *Tiberius*; he gave free jurisdiction to the magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the ancient method of elections by the suffrages of the people. The senate were for declaring him consul, as soon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather, were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity, till *Proculus* and *Nigrinus* had ended their year, which expired in the

Sets at liberty Agrippa and all state-prisoners.

Discourages informers.

His seeming moderation.

^k DIO. *ibid.* p. 641, 642. ^l JOSEPH. *antiquit.* l. xviii. c. 8.

^m DIO. p. 642—644. SUT. c. 15. ⁿ Idem, c. 16. DIO. p. 640.

month of *July*^b. In the mean time, he applied himself with the consuls and senate to the reformation of many abuses, which had crept into the state. He reviewed the *Roman* knights, and publicly took away the rings and horses of such as he found guilty of any notorious crime; smaller offences he thought sufficiently punished by passing over the names of the offenders, as he read the roll. He was for casting the *spintrix*, or inventors of abominable lewdness, into the sea; but being dissuaded from that severity, he banished them from *Rome*. He allowed every one to keep and peruse the books of *Titus Labienus*, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Cassius Severus*, which, in the reign of *Tiberius*, had been by order of the senate prohibited and suppressed, saying, it nearly concerned him, that all the actions of *Tiberius* should be transmitted to posterity. He likewise remitted several impositions, which had been exacted with great severity during the whole reign of his predecessor^c. Thus did *Caligula* happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly said, that no prince came ever to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the satisfaction of his people.

Caius
takes upon
him the
consulship.

His speech
to the se-
nate.

In the month of *July*, *Caius* entered upon his first consulship, and chose for his colleague his uncle *Claudius*, then in the forty-sixth year of his age; who till that time had continued in the equestrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind^d. We are told, that when he first entered the forum with the fasces, an eagle perched upon his shoulder, which was looked upon as a prognostic of his future grandeur^e. The same day, *Caius*, in a speech which he made to the senate, spoke with great vehemence against the disorders of the late administration, promised to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and solemnly protested, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to render the people happy, whom the gods had committed to his care. The senate decreed, that his speech should be publicly read every year, without all doubt to remind him of the promises he had made them, and lay him under some obligation of performing them^f. On the last day of *August*, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the most magnificent shows that had ever been seen in *Rome*; and on this occasion cushions were first laid on the seats of the senators, who till that time had sat both in the senate and theatre on bare benches^g. Thenceforth no day passed without some show or other, the emperor taking great pleasure in such

^b *Dio. ibid. p. 644.* ^c *Suet. ibid. c. 16.* ^d *Dio. ibid. p. 644. & Suet. in Claud. c. 7.* ^e *Suet. ibid. c. 16.* ^f *Dio. ibid.* ^g *Idem, p. 645.*

diversions, and expending on such occasions immense sums. During his consulship, he restored the kingdom of *Comagene*, which had been reduced to a *Roman* province eighteen years before, to *Antiochus*, the son of that *Antiochus* who had been driven out by *Tiberius*, ordering at the same time a hundred millions of sesterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid to him by way of restitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which *Rome* had so long enjoyed without any just title^b. *Antiochus*, out of gratitude to so generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of *Comagene*, calling it *Cæsarea Germanica*, which were afterwards changed into that of *Germanicia*ⁱ. Of his generosity to *Agrippa* we spoke in the history of the *Jews*; and therefore shall only observe here, that he bestowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle *Philip*, with the title of king; but reserved for himself the rest of *Judæa*, whither he dispatched this year *Marcellus* in quality of governor in the room of *Pontius Pilate*, whom *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had sent to *Rome*, to answer the many grievous complaints of the *Jewish* people, whom he had oppressed in a most tyrannical manner^k. His generosity to several private persons was no less remarkable; for a fire happening in the first months of his reign, he made good the losses which every particular had sustained. To a freedwoman, who had endured most exquisite torments, without discovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thousand sesterces. For these and other bounties a shield of gold with his image was decreed to him, which by order of the senate was to be carried annually on a certain day, by the colleges of priests, to the capitol, the senators following it, and the noblemen's children of both sexes singing hymns in praise of his virtues. Besides, it was ordained, that the day of his accession to the empire should be called *Palilia*, as if *Rome* had been founded anew on that day^l. *Caius* having held the consulate two months and twelve days, that is, to the twelfth of *September*, resigned the fasces to those who had been appointed by *Tiberius* for the rest of the year^m; but their names we find no-where recorded.

It was probably about this time, that *Caius* wrote to *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, to conclude a peace with *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*. *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that *Vitellius* used all manner of artifice to draw *Artabanus* to a conferenceⁿ; and in another, that the *Parthian* king, who had always shewn the utmost contempt and irreconcilable ha-

His generosity to *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*.

And to others.

^b DIO. *ibid* SUT. *ibid*. c. 16. ⁱ NORRIS de epochis Macedonum, p. 476. ^k JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xviii. c. 5. ^l SUT. *ibid*. c. 16. ^m DIO. l. lix. p. 645. ⁿ SUT. in Vitell. c. 2.

tred to *Tiberius*, sought of his own accord the friendship of *Caius*^o. According to *Dion Cassius*, that prince had already passed the *Euphrates*, and was upon the point of invading *Syria*, when *Vitellius*, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a treaty^p. Be that as it will, *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* came to an interview on a Bridge which they caused to be laid over the *Euphrates*, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantageous to the *Romans*^q. The *Parthian* even condescended to give by way of hostage one of his own sons^r, or at least a noble youth of great distinction, named *Darius*^s, probably of the race of the *Arsacidæ*, whom he sent some time after to *Rome*, with a Jew, by name *Eleazar*, seven cubits high^t. When the treaty was concluded, *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, gave a magnificent entertainment to *Artabanus* and *Vitellius*, under a rich pavillion raised upon boats in the middle of the river^u. *Suetonius*^w and *Dion Cassius*^x tell us, that *Artabanus* passed the *Euphrates*, adored the eagles and ensigns of the legions, and kissed the images of *Augustus* and *Caius Cæsar*. *Herod* immediately dispatched messengers to *Rome* with a minute account of what had passed, who arriving before the messengers of *Vitellius*, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that *Herod* had already transmitted to him a detail of all that had been transacted on the *Euphrates*; which occasioned a misunderstanding between the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Vitellius*^y.

He is taken ill.

AFTER *Caius* had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was seized with a violent fit of illness, occasioned by his intemperance and debaucheries; for while *Tiberius* lived, he was mighty temperate in his diet; but upon his death he forsook his antient way of living, and gave himself intirely up to all manner of disorders; which so affected his constitution, that towards the end of *October* he fell dangerously ill. As that was the time of the year, in which those who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indisposition was immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and every-where received with the greatest tokens of sorrow imaginable^z. At *Rome* his palace was constantly crouded with multitudes of people of all ranks inquiring about his health; many passed whole nights at his gate, and some, devoting their

The grief of the people on this occasion, and joy for his recovery.

^o SUET. in Calig. c. 14. ^p DIO. l. lix. p. 661. ^q JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. ^r DIO. ibid. ^s JOSEPH. ibid. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Idem ibid. ^w SUET. in Calig. c. 14. & in Vitell. c. 2. ^x DIO. ibid. p. 661. ^y JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. ^z PHILO legat. ad Caium, p. 994—995.

lives for his, promised to fight amongst the gladiators for his safety, and set up bills of this their resolution in the streets. At length he recovered, and with his recovery restored happiness to the whole empire: innumerable victims were slain, and sacrifices offered in the most distant provinces subject to *Rome*, by way of thanksgiving to the gods for so signal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is most to his advantage! This prince so much beloved, and universally looked upon as the author of all public and private happiness, either changed all on a sudden his nature, or discovered that which he had some time artfully disguised. Some writers think, that this distemper affected his brain; for ever after he was much troubled for want of sleep, never resting above three hours in a night, and that never quietly, but constantly frightened with strange dreams and dreadful imaginations; *He is* so that he passed great part of the night, either sitting up in his *strangely* bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for *altered.* day. He was himself, says *Suetonius* ^a, so sensible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once resolved to retire in order to purge his brain. He was subject, when a child, to the falling sickness; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hardships, subject to fainting fits. Others ascribe this odd and unaccountable conduct to a philtre, or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife *Cæsonia*, and impaired his understanding. But, whatever was the cause of this change, it is certain, that from the time of his malady to the hour of his death he acted more like a madman than a prince; so that for the rest of his reign the reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monstrous extravagancies, and such ridiculous inconsistencies, as cannot well be related with that gravity and decency which becomes an historian. On his accession to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour; but soon after his recovery he assumed them all in one *Assumes* day, though *Augustus* had taken them separately, and *Tiberius* *several ti-* had to the last declined several of them ^b. These were proba- *bles of ho-* bly the titles of *Augustus*, of emperor, of high pontiff, of per- *nour.* petual tribune. From several medals which have reached our times ^c, it appears, that he bore all these titles before his second consulate; but that of *father of his country* he did not assume, till the third year of his tribunitial power ^d. To the above-mentioned titles he added the following surnames, styling himself, *the most pious, the son of the camp, the father of the armies, the most gracious, the most mighty, Cæsar* ^e. This year

^a Suet. *ibid.* c. 50.^b Dio. p. 641.^c Goltz. p. 38.^d Idem, p. 39.^e Suet. c. 22.

*He orders
young Ti-
berius to
put himself
to death.*

Tiberius, the son of *Drusus*, being eighteen complete, took the manly robe; on which occasion *Caius*, after many protestations of kindness and sincere affection for the young prince, first adopted him, and then declared him prince of the *Roman* youth. But these honours the unfortunate *Tiberius* enjoyed a very short time, *Caius* not being ashamed to put him to death a few days after he had solemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cherish him as his own child. *Philo* tells us, that he adopted him with no other view, but to acquire that absolute power over him, which the *Roman* laws gave to every parent over his children^f. Be that as it will, he had no sooner adopted him, than he charged some tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he must with his own hand put an end to his life, thinking it unlawful for any inferior person to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth expected nothing less, and therefore was, as we may well imagine, struck with surprize and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided assisting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he presented his throat first to the officer who stood next to him, and then to all the rest, begging them with many tears to execute the cruel order they had brought him. But as they all declined that office, pursuant to the emperor's orders, strictly forbidding them to be any ways aiding and assisting to his death, the young prince drew at length his sword; but not knowing where to strike, he begged they would at least shew him where the wound might prove mortal, and soon put an end to his life and misery. So far they complied with his request, and then the unfortunate youth stabbed himself in their presence^g. *Caius*, to excuse this first act of cruelty, which was soon followed by many others, pretended, that *Tiberius* had, during his illness, wished him dead^h; and that, through fear of being poisoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he discovered, he cried out, *What! an antidote against Cæsar?* But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubledⁱ. Thus he rid himself of the only prince, to whom those could apply, who might in process of time be dissatisfied with his government. As for his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a person utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore saved him, as he openly declared, for a laughing-stock. Being thus by the

^f *PHILO* legat. p. 995. ^g *Idem* *ibid.* p. 996. *SUET.* c. 23. *DIO.* l. lix. p. 645. ^h *DIO.* *ibid.* p. 646. ⁱ *SUET.* c. 23. death

death of *Tiberius* delivered from all restraint and controul, he gave a full loose to his furious passions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, or rather, as *Suetonius* styles him^k, an outrageous monster. Soon after his recovery, he obliged all those, who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promised to fight amongst the gladiators, to fulfil their promise; and because one was somewhat backward in the accomplishment of his vow, he caused him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and merciless boys, who, after abusing him in a most cruel and inhuman manner, dragged him through the streets, requiring the accomplishment of his vow, and at last threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life^l. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age and no less illustrious for quality, for she was the daughter of *Marc Antony*, the niece of *Augustus*, sister-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Drusus*, having taken upon her to admonish him, he resented that freedom to such a degree, that he reduced her to the necessity of laying violent hands on herself^m; whether by an express order, or only by the unbecoming manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illustrious princess having one day begged to speak with him in private, he refused her that favour, and ordered *Macro* to be present the whole time she continued with him. On another occasion, as she offered to advise him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that *he could do what he pleased, with whom he pleased*. With these indignities and affronts, 'tis most probable, he hastened her death. Some indeed have written, that he caused her to be poisonedⁿ, which, if true, *Philo* would never have passed over in silence. He bestowed no honours upon her after her death, and from one of the windows of his palace beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned^o. *Dion Cassius* fixes the death of *Silanus*, the emperor's father-in-law, to this year; but, according to *Philo*, it happened after that of *Macro*, of which we shall speak, the following year. In this or the foregoing year, was born on the fifteenth of *December* the emperor *Nero*, and much about the same time *Josephus* the historian.

THE next consuls were *M. Aquilius Julianus* and *P. Nonius Asprenas*^p, appointed by *Tiberius*, whose appointment *Caius* did not think fit to alter^q. In the beginning of the year the senate and consuls bound themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the laws and constitutions of *Augustus* and *Caius*,

*He ab-
dons him-
self to all
wickedness.*

*The death
of his
grandmo-
ther Anto-
nia.*

^k Idem, c. 43.

^l Idem, c. 27. Dio. p. 645.

^m Dio.

ibid.

ⁿ Suet. c. 23

^o Idem ibid.

^p Dio. p. 646.

Norris ep. con.

^q Norris ibid.

*Impending
calamities
foretold by
a slave.*

*Various in-
stances of
Caius's
cruelty.*

without mentioning those of *Tiberius*; and this omission passed into a custom, which ever after obtained. At the same time, vows were made for the safety of *Caius* and his sisters. *Dion Cassius* observes, that on the same day, a slave, named *Macaon*, placing himself upon the bed of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, foretold many dreadful calamities; and when he had done, killed first a small dog, which he had brought with him, and then himself. This year, *Caius* appointed *Sohemus* prince of the *Iturean Arabs*; gave *Armenia Minor*, and soon after part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys* king of *Thrace*; and to his cousin *Rhemetalces* that part of *Thrace* which *Cotys* had held; to *Polemon* he gave the territories of *Pontus*, which his father *Polemon* had possessed¹. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Caius*, having advanced this year *Flavius Vespasianus* to the ædileship, and being one day angry with him for his remissness in seeing the streets kept clean, which was part of his province, he commanded his guards to take some of the dirt, and besmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This some interpreted as a presage of *Vespasian's* future grandeur²; no doubt when they saw him already possessed of the empire. *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius* give us dismal accounts of the many cruelties practised by this bloody idiot, in the second year of his reign. Among the rest he tells us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beasts, according to the barbarous custom which obtained at *Rome*, he commanded such of the people as were already come to see the shows, to be thrown to them, having first ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not disturb with their cries and complaints his inhuman diversion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beasts, which were kept for such entertainments, he often visited the prisons in person; and, ordering all the prisoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, sentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beasts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they stood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beasts, *a calvo ad calvum*, that is, from such a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm persons, and of such as were reduced to poverty, met with the same cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that by such unheard-of barbarities he consulted the public welfare, since he delivered the state from persons who were but so many burdens to it. A *Roman* knight whom he had caused to be cast to the wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in

¹ Dio. *ibid.* p. 649.

² Suet. in *Vesp.* c. 5.

again. It was his constant custom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to assist at the execution of their children, and often ordered them to be assassinated the following night in their houses. To one of them, who pretended sickness and begged to be excused, he sent his own litter ^t. Having caused the son of an illustrious Roman knight, named *Pastor*, to be dragged to prison, for no other reason, but because he was remarkable for his comeliness and the tallness of his stature, the unhappy father went immediately to intercede for his child. But the cruel monster, instead of hearkening to his tears and intreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and when the news of his death was brought, to insult nature itself, he invited the distressed parent to dine with him that very day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in the like manner his other son, if he betrayed any symptoms of grief, to drink to excess, and in the height of his affliction to shew such outward signs of joy, as would have been at any time altogether unbecoming a person of his rank and age ^u. One *Caninius Iulus* having in a private conversation advised *Caius* with great liberty to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, *That you may not flatter yourself*, *Caninius*, *with vain hopes*, said the emperor, *I have already signed the warrant for your death*. At these words *Caninius*, without shewing the least concern, turning about, *I return you thanks*, said he, *most gracious prince, for this favour*. As the decree of the senate, granting to condemned persons ten days respite, was in this instance observed by *Caius*, the undaunted *Caninius* during that interval never betrayed the least uneasiness; insomuch, that the centurion, who came, when the ten days were expired, to see the sentence put in execution, found him playing, with his usual calmness, at chess. When the executioner appeared, he started up with a cheerful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he should soon know whether or no the soul was immortal; that in the very article of his death he would particularly mind in what manner it abandoned the body, and after his death return to acquaint his friends with the state of souls after their separation. He then offered his neck to the executioner, with the intrepidity of a true hero ^w. The emperor, if such an inhuman madman deserves that name, assisted in person at most executions; so great was the delight he took in cruelty and bloodshed; but always caused the mouths of those, who suffered in public, to be stopt, either with their cloaths or a sponge, lest they should upbraid

The constancy and intrepidity of *Caninius Iulus*.

^t Suet. c. 26, 27. Dio. p. 647.

^u Senec. de ira, l. ii. c.

33.

^w Idem ibid. c. 14

him with his wickedness *. He seldom suffered them to be dispatched at once, desiring they might *feel themselves dying*, which was his usual expression. While he was at table, he often caused criminals, and sometimes innocent persons, to be racked in his presence, nay, and their heads to be cut off by a soldier, who did it with great skill and dexterity. Being once mistaken in the name of a person, and causing him to be executed instead of another, when he understood his error, *'Tis no matter*, said he, *he deserved it as well as the other*. Five of the gladiators, called *retiarii*, because they used in fighting certain nets, having yielded to the like number of *secutores*, who were their antagonists, he commanded them to be slain; but one of the five, snatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action *Caligula* looked upon as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all those with curses who were so hard-hearted as to behold it. As he pretended to great skill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jest, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators who were overcome used to do. But his flattery cost him dear; for *Caius*, taking advantage of his fall, stabbed him with a dagger; then with a branch of palm-tree, the symbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up and down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome him. As one night at supper he burst suddenly into a loud laughter, and the consuls, who sat near him, desired with great respect to know the cause of his mirth; *What makes me so merry*, said he, *is, that I can have both your throats cut with the least nod of my head*. A victim being brought to the altar and ready to be offered, he appeared unexpectedly among the rest in the habit of a priest, and, lifting up the ax, as if he designed to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the priest who stood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been banished by *Tiberius*, and recalled by him, how he employed himself in his exile, upon his answering, that he had constantly prayed for the death of *Tiberius*, that he might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that those, whom he had banished, prayed likewise for his death; and upon that presumption dispatched officers to the islands, with orders to put them all to the sword without mercy †. To these and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius*, the latter adds the death of *Macro* and his wife, whom *Caius* with the utmost ingratitude caused to be put to death this year. To *Macro* he was indebted both for his life and empire, and had promised him the government of *Egypt*, the highest post to which a knight could aspire. But, instead of

The death
of Macro
and his
wife.

* Idem ibid. c. 19. † SUET. C. 30—34.

the promised reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as some historians have written ^k, to dispatch themselves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, nay, and their slaves, so that not one of the whole family was left alive. *Macro* indeed, according to the character *Tacitus* gives us of him, deserved so tragical an end, but not at *Caius's* hands. The true cause of his death was, if *Philo* is to be credited, his using with more liberty, than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent services gave him; but *Caius* charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal share in the sovereign power ^l. The next person he sacrificed to his cruelty was *M. Silanus*, whose daughter he had married in *Tiberius's* reign, a man of a most illustrious descent, and highly esteemed by all on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to disapprove *Caius's* wild measures, and suggest others to him, by which, if followed, he would have answered the expectation the public had entertained of him. But the jealous idiot, having a mighty opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon those as his enemies who found fault with his measures, resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity to rid himself of so troublesome a counsellor; which he did accordingly on the following occasion. One day all on a sudden he took it into his head to divert himself on the sea. *Silanus*, who could not endure the agitation of the ship, begged to be excused from attending him: this *Caius* imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained ashore with a design to seize on the empire, in case any misfortune had happened to him; and upon this groundless *M. Silanus* pretext he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor ^m (K). put to
The death.

^k *PHILO* legat. p. 1000. ^l *Idem*, 1001. *DIO*. p. 647. ^m *DIO*. p. 646. *SUET.* c. 23.

(K) *Julius Grecinus*, father to the famous *Agricola*, had some time before been ordered by *Caius* to accuse *Silanus*, and put to death for declining that infamous office. *Grecinus* was a senator, no less famous for his eloquence, than his probity (26). *Seneca* often mentions him, and tells us, that not having wherewithal to defray the charges of the public shows, which he was obliged to exhibit in virtue of his office, one *Fabius Persicus*, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, sent him a very considerable sum; which he refused, answering his friends, who found fault with his unseasonable generosity; *Would you have me to accept a favour of one with whom I should not care to eat a meal's meat?* *Rubelius*, who

(26) *Tacit.* vit. *Agricol.* c. 4.

had

Drusilla
dies, and
is honoured
as a god-
dess.

Caius's
grief.

The death of *Silanus* was followed by that of many other persons of great distinction, whom he condemned, under pretence that they had been accessory to the death of his mother or brothers; though his real motive was to seize on their estates; for he had already squandered away great part of the immense treasure left him by *Tiberius*. This year about the month of *July* died his sister *Drusilla*. She had been given by *Tiberius* five years before to *L. Cassius Longinus*, and taken from him soon after by *Caius*, who lived publicly with her, as if she had been his own wife, and had, during his sickness, appointed her to succeed him in the empireⁿ. He had maintained with her, as well as with his other sisters, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal conversation, even before she was married. When she died, she was, according to *Dion Cassius*^o, the wife of *M. Lepidus*. That writer gives us a very particular account of the extraordinary honours conferred upon her by *Caius* after her death. She was immediately ranked amongst the gods, and thenceforth styled the goddess *Drusilla*, which impious title the prostitute bears on some *Greek* medals, which have reached our times^p. A senator, by name *Livius Geminus*, declared in full senate upon his oath, that he saw her carried up to heaven^q. *Seneca* rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this vision, but nevertheless chose rather to adore the divinity of *Drusilla*, than incur the displeasure of the prince. The emperor's passion for his sister appeared no less foolish after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left *Rome*, and, after having wandered some time up and down *Campania*, he passed over into *Sicily*, where he exhibited most magnificent shows, and repaired at a vast charge the walls of *Syracuse*, and some temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the *Sicilians* as miracles; but was so terrified with the smoke and noise of mount *Ætna*, that he fled from

ⁿ Suet. c. 24. ^o Dio. p. 648. ^p Vide Goltz. c. 39.
^q Dio. ibid.

had been consul, but was a man of the same stamp with *Perficus*, sent him a larger sum than the other, which he likewise rejected; but *Rubelius* pressing him, he begged to be excused, saying, *Neither have I accepted any thing of Perficus* (27). The same writer tells us elsewhere (28), that he was murdered by *Caius's* orders, because he was a better man, than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by *Columella* (29). *Pliny* likewise ranks him among writers (30).

(27) *Senec. de ben. l. ii. c. 21.* (28) *Idem epist. 29.* (29) *Columell. l. i. c. 1.* (30) *Plin. in bist. l. xiv. § xv.*

Messena in the night, not having courage enough to wait till day appeared^r. Upon his return to *Rome*, he pursued the course of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of *Drusilla*; if sorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes against the state, and punished with death: insomuch, that they were all at a loss how to comport themselves, it being alike capital to mourn and to rejoice^t.

Caius had continued a widower ever since the death of *Junia*, *His marri-*
the daughter of *Silanus*. But *C. Calpurnius Piso* marrying one *ages and*
Livia Orestilla, and inviting him to his wedding, when the *divorces.*
solemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months, as some will have it, banished both her and *Piso*, under pretence that they had lived together^u. Not long after he married *Lollia Paulina*, the grand-daughter of *M. Lollius*, whom *Augustus*, as we have related elsewhere, had appointed governor of *Caius Cæsar*, when he sent him into the east. *Lollia* was already married to *C. Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon* and *Achaia*; but *Caius* having heard in a private conversation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he immediately sent for her, forced her from her husband, and married her^w (L); but in a short time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if she either returned to her former husband, or married any other man^x. We shall have occasion to speak of her in the following reign.

AND now the bloody monster, finding no one dared to oppose his sovereign will and pleasure, notwithstanding the many *His pride*
murders he daily committed, began to look upon himself as *and folly.*
raised above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm himself in this ridiculous fancy, he is said to have used the following no less ridiculous argument: As those to whose care sheep, oxen, and other cattle are committed, are themselves neither sheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely superior to the con-

^r SENEC. *ibid.* SUET. c. 51. ^t SENEC. ad Polyb. c. 36.
SUET. c. 24. ^u SUET. c. 25. DIO. p. 646. ^w SUET. *ibid.*
DIO. p. 648. EUSEB. *chron.* ^x SUET. & DIO. *ibid.*

(L) *Lollia Paulina* was herself very remarkable for her beauty. *Pliny* tells us, that he saw her adorned with a prodigious quantity of pearls and emeralds, which had formerly belonged to her grandfather *M. Lollius* (31).

(31) *Plin. l. ix. c. 35:*

Claims di-
vine ho-
nours.

His im-
piety.

dition of those animals ; so those who are set over all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but revered like gods ^v. He first betrayed this extravagant fancy at an entertainment with some foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. As some dispute arose amongst those princes about the nobility of their extraction, *Caius* starting up repeated a verse of *Homer* in the person of *Ulysses* ; *Let there be but one king, one lord below* ; and was for assuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy. But being told, that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he began from that time to challenge the honours paid to the demi-gods, such as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Typhon*, &c. assuming the dress in which they were represented, and appearing sometimes with a lion's skin about his shoulders, and a club in his hand, to personate *Hercules* ; sometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*, &c. But he soon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demi-god, and claimed the same worship that was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himself ; nay he caused the heads to be taken off their statues, and his own to be put in their room. He often placed himself in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, between the statues of those brothers, to be adored by all who came to offer their vows to them. He enlarged his palace, and brought one wing of it close to the temple of those two fabulous deities, which he altered to the form of a portico, that the gods themselves, as he used to say, might serve him in quality of porters. He frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity, and another a female ; sometimes *Jupiter*, at other times *Mars* ; sometimes *Neptune* or *Apollo*, and sometimes *Venus*, &c. But above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*, the head and chief of the *Pagan* deities ; and that he might be esteemed a true *Jupiter*, he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning ; and when the thunder was supposed to fall, he used to throw a stone against heaven, with the impious defiance in *Homer* ; *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you*. He often went to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and, placing himself by his statue, sometimes whispered to it, then laid his ear close to it, as it were to receive an answer. Sometimes he seemed to be very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening style, that *he would send him back into Greece* (M). At length being overcome by the im-
portunity

^v *PHILO*, *ibid.* p. 1002.

(M) *Dion Cass.* tells us, that a *Gaul*, seeing him one day sitting on a throne in the figure of *Jupiter*, could not help bursting into a loud

portunity of the gods, as he foolishly gave out, who desired his company, he joined his palace to the capitol by an arch built over the temple of *Augustus*; and some time after, that he might yet be nearer, he laid the foundations of a new house in the court of the capitol². At length his pride, folly, and impiety carried him so far, that he would have a temple for himself, which he built at a vast charge, and dedicated to his own divinity, placing in it his statue in gold, done to the life, and every day clothed in the same robes which he himself wore. He likewise instituted priests and priestesses to officiate in his new temple, the greatest and richest men in *Rome*, so great was their debasement at this time, purchasing the infamous priesthood with vast sums; for *Caius* sold it at such an extravagant price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not having wherewithal to discharge the debt, eight millions of sesterces, says *Suetonius*, which he contracted on that occasion, was obliged to surrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly sold them by auction². The sacrifices, which his priests daily offered him, were peacocks, pheasants, *Numidian* hens, &c.

*Institutes
priests in
honour of
his own
deity.*

*Temples
built, and
sacrifices
offered to
him.*

² SUET. c. 22. & 52. DIO. p. 660, 661. PHILO. p. 1003.
² SUET. in Claud. c. 9.

loud laugh; which *Caius* hearing, called him to him, and asked him, *What do you take me for?* For a great fool, answered frankly the *Gaul*. This affront, which would have cost a senator or knight his life, *Caius* dissembled in the *Gaul*, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on so contemptible a person; for he was by profession a shoe-maker (32). He caused all the temples of *Greece* to be stript of their statues, pictures, and other ornaments, which he conveyed to *Rome*, crowding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (33). He ordered the famous statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, done by *Phidias*, and had in great veneration by the *Greeks*, to be transported to *Rome*. We are told, that the ship, which was building for that purpose, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the workmen attempted to remove the statue, a great noise was heard, like that of persons deriding their attempt. *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece*, who was charged to see the celebrated statue conveyed to *Rome*, wrote to *Caius*, acquainting him, that he could not obey his commands, on account of some extraordinary prodigies, and because the workmen assured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the transport of his rage, he abused and threatened *Jupiter* for daring to oppose his sovereign will, and would have put to death *Memmius*, had he not been first put to death himself (34).

(32) DIO. p. 660, 661. (33) PHILO legat. 1004. *Joseph. antiq.*
l. xix. c. 1. (34) DIO. p. 662. *Joseph. ibid.*

And as though his other follies were not sufficiently extravagant, he became at last priest to himself, and admitted to the same dignity his wife *Cæsonia*, whom he married the year following; and also his horse, the most proper priest of all for such a deity^b. Besides the temple which he built to himself in his palace, the senate decreed him another, which was begun in this, and ended in the following, year^c. He ordered a temple to be erected to his godhead at *Miletus*, which might serve for all *Asia*; and because it was not finished at the time he expected, he commanded a magnificent temple, which that community was building in honour of *Apollo*, to be consecrated to himself^d. All nations, people, and cities, erected temples and altars to this new divinity, sacrificed victims, and swore by his name^e. But none were more forward in paying him this impious worship, than the inhabitants of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* alone, who were very numerous in that city, refused to bend their knees to the new idol, which brought upon them that cruel persecution from the *Alexandrians*, which we have described in our history of that nation. The distressed *Jews* dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to lay their sufferings before *Caius*, and beg his protection. At the head of this embassy was *Philo*, who gives us a very particular account of it, as we shall do from him.

The persecu-
tion of
the Jews at
Alexan-
dria.

Avillius
Flaccus
courts the
favour of
the *Alex-*
andrians.

THIS dreadful persecution happened in the second year of the reign of the emperor *Caligula* and thirty-ninth of the christian æra, while *Egypt* was governed by a *Roman* knight, named *Avillius Flaccus*, to whose base connivance it was chiefly owing. *Flaccus* had governed that province with great reputation, during the five last years of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had a particular value and kindness for him. But, upon the death of that prince and the accession of *Caligula* to the empire, he changed his conduct, grew remiss in the administration of justice, and made it his whole study to gain the affections of the people of *Alexandria*, hoping by that means to recommend himself to the favour of the new emperor, whose resentment he dreaded; and indeed not without reason, for he was no friend to the family of *Germanicus*, and was generally thought to have contributed to the disgrace and death of *Agrippina*, the mother of *Caligula*. Three crafty *Egyptians*, *Dionysius*, *Lampo*, and *Isidorus*, who had been declared enemies to *Flaccus*, while he ruled with due severity, being apprised of his fears, remonstrated to him, under colour of

^b Idem in *Calig.* c. 22. *DIO.* p. 660. *SENEC.* de ira, l. iv. c. 22.

^c *DIO.* in excerpt. *Val.* p. 673.

^d Idem, *ibid.* p. 670, 671.

^e *JOSEPH.* bell. *Judaic.* l. ii. c. 17.

friendship,

friendship, that the surest means of winning the hearts of the *Alexandrians* was, to withdraw his protection from the *Jews*, of whom many thousands lived in *Alexandria*, and to abandon them to the mercy of the *Egyptians*, who had ever borne an irreconcilable hatred to the *Jewish* nation. This counsel *Flaccus* readily embraced, well knowing, that it would not displease the emperor, whose hatred the *Jews* had provoked, by refusing to acknowledge his pretended divinity. Besides, *Flaccus* was of himself, it seems, no friend to the *Jewish* nation: for that people having the year before, in the first month of *Caligula's* reign, decreed him all the honours which were consistent with their religion, and consigned the decree to *Flaccus*, that, by his means, it might be conveyed to the emperor, he, instead of transmitting it to *Rome*, as he promised to do, suppressed it, which was doing them the greatest unkindness imaginable, and drawing upon them the resentment of a cruel and ambitious prince^a. In the mean time, *Agrippa*, who had been set at liberty by *Caligula*, and declared king of the tetrarchy, which his uncle *Philip* had held, with the addition of that of *Lysanias*, as we have related in our history of the *Jews*^b, arriving from *Rome* at *Alexandria*, on his journey to his new kingdom, was insulted by the populace of that metropolis in an outrageous manner, though, to avoid the concourse of people, he had entered the city by night^c. As *Flaccus* winked at these insults, instead of restraining them, the rabble grew more outrageous; and, assembling in crowds, began, with great tumult and uproar, to demand, that the statues of *Caius* might be placed in the *Jewish* oratories, or places of prayer, of which there were many in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. *Flaccus* not offering to oppose, but seeming rather to approve, the design, the rabble thronged immediately to the oratories, cut down the groves and trees about them, levelled some of them with the ground, and set fire to others; which, together with the oratories, consumed several noble monuments erected by the emperors in honour of the *Jews*, and a great many adjoining houses. Such oratories as the rioters could not demolish, because the *Jews*, who lived near them, were very numerous, they profaned, by placing in them the emperor's statues. In the largest of them all they erected a statue of brass, representing *Caius*, in a chariot drawn by four horses, which had been formerly consecrated to *Cleopatra*, the great-grandmother of the last queen of that name. They did not, as *Philo* observes, shew great respect for *Caius*, in dedicating to him what had

*Is no friend
to the Jews.*

*King A-
grippa in-
sulted by
the people
of Alexan-
dria.*

*They de-
stroy the
oratories of
the Jews,
or profane
them with
the empe-
ror's sta-
tues.*

^a PHIL. in Flacc. p. 968—1009. edit. Paris. 1640.
Univerf. vol. x. p. 424.

^c Ibid. note P.

^b Hist.

been formerly dedicated to a woman. But the merit, on which they laid the chief stress, was their increasing the number of temples consecrated to his pretended deity, though even in that they did not so much regard his honour, as the satisfying of their own hatred to the *Jews*. The *Alexandrians* took care to acquaint the emperor with the transactions of each day, who is said to have read their accounts with incredible satisfaction, partly because he hated the *Jews*, and partly because he believed the *Alexandrians* chiefly actuated, in afflicting the *Jews*, by a sincere zeal for his honour ^d. The example of *Alexandria* was followed by all the other cities of *Egypt*; in which province there were at this time a million of *Jews*, and a vast number of oratories, of which the largest and most beautiful were styled *synagogues* ^e. They were all demolished, consumed by fire, or prophaned with the emperor's statues. A few days after the *Jews* had been thus stript of their oratories, *Flaccus* published an edict, declaring all the *Jews* aliens at *Alexandria*, without allowing them time to make good their claim to the rights of citizens, which they had long enjoyed undisturbed ^f. The *Jews*, who were never famous for bearing injuries with patience, when they could prevent or revenge them, made, in all likelihood, some efforts towards the maintaining of their rights; which, though *Philo* has not thought fit to mention them, gave probably occasion to greater disorders. For the *Alexandrians*, considering them as men abandoned by the emperor to their mercy, laid hold of this opportunity to vent their rage upon a people whom they had ever abhorred, and looked upon as enemies to the rest of mankind. The city of *Alexandria* was at that time divided into five quarters, which took their names from the five first letters of the alphabet. In each of these some *Jews* dwelt, but two were almost intirely peopled by them, and thence called the quarters of the *Jews*. They were therefore by the outrageous multitude violently driven out of all the other parts of the city, and confined to one quarter; the houses, from which they had been driven, were plundered, and all their effects seized, as if they had been conquered in war. The rioters did not, says *Philo*, commit these robberies like thieves in the night, who are afraid of being brought to justice, but in the face of the sun, shewing what they had taken to all they met, with as much confidence, as if it had been an inheritance or purchase: nay, they publicly divided the spoil in the market-place, in the presence of those very persons whom they had plundered, adding mockery

Flaccus declares the Jews aliens of Alexandria.

All the Jews shut up in one quarter of the city.

^d PHIL. legat. c. 9. in Flacc. p. 972, 973.

^e EUSEB. chron. p. 27, 28.

^f PHILO

to their violence. As *Flaccus* never offered to check or restrain them, they broke open the shops and ware-houses of the *Jewish* merchants, which were then shut on account of the public mourning for the death of *Drusilla*, the emperor's sister; and thence conveyed away and sold to the best bidder all their effects. Thus were the *Jews* at once driven from their habitations, reduced to beggary, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the city, where the *Alexandrians* doubted not, but they would soon perish, either by the inconveniencies of the place, for most of them were obliged to lie in the open air; or by famine, for they were allowed to carry no provisions along with them; or by the infection of the air and want of free respiration, many thousands of men, women, and children, being shut up in so close and smothering a place. The *Alexandrians* watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their escape. But, in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, several found means to withdraw either to the sea-side, or to some remote burying-places; but such of them as were discovered, were tortured in a most cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiously dragged through the streets of the city. Those *Jews* who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country-houses, were treated with the same cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the *Jewish* merchants; and as soon as any vessel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, seized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the owners. In short, when *Jews* appeared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were sure of being tortured, in a most barbarous manner, and massacred. The least inhuman among the rioters dispatched them with the sword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without respecting the old men, or pitying the infants; and employing for fuel such of their effects as no one thought worth purchasing. Others more cruel, to prolong the torments of those unhappy wretches, having tied them to stakes, kindled round them fires of moist and green wood, so that, after they had long borne the torment of a slow fire, they perished at length, suffocated with the smoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes fastened to their feet, were dragged through the streets and public places of the city, the populace insulting their bodies even after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with such brutal cruelty, that not one member remained intire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail those

*Horrible
cruelties
practised
upon the
Jews.*

those whom they had thus inhumanly butchered : but if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earnest, they were immediately seized, whipped without mercy, and, after suffering all the torments which cruelty itself could invent, condemned to the ignominious punishment of the cross^g.

*They are
cruelly
treated by
Flaccus.*

*Many of
them tor-
tured and
crucified.*

Flaccus might, with one word, have put a stop to the fury of the populace; but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he saw and heard. However, he sent at last for the leading men amongst the *Jews*, as if he designed to make up all differences between them and the people of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* had at *Alexandria* an *ethnarch*, or chief of their nation, whom *Josephus* calls, as is commonly believed, *alabarch*^h. They had likewise a council, which was established by *Augustus*; and out of this *Flaccus* caused thirty-eight persons to be seized, to be bound like criminals, some with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of *Caius*, and there, in the presence of their enemies, to be whipt so unmercifully, that some of them died soon after. In inflicting this punishment, he chose the most ignominious method, (for different methods were then in use) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Those who outlived this cruel punishment were imprisoned and kept under close confinement, till *Flaccus* himself was arrested, that is from the thirty-first of *August*, which was *Caius's* birth-day, to the latter end of *September*. During this solemnity, which seems to have lasted several days, many *Jews* were crucified, after the people assembled in the theatre had diverted themselves with scourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleasure. With these scenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the *Jews*, either expiring on the rack, or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diversions in use amongst the *Romans*; diversions truly less horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were suspected to be *Jews* were by the insulting populace seized, carried into the market-place, and there exposed naked to public view. Those who proved not to be *Jews* were immediately dismissed; but to the *Jewish* women they caused hog-flesh to be immediately brought, which if they eat, they too were dismissed untouched: but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were exposed to the greatest indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the *Jews* at *Alexan-*

^g PHIL. in *Flacc.* p. 974—1010. & *legat.* c. 9. ^h JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xix. c. 4. EUSEB. p. 27.

dria for the space of about two months; for the persecution continued to the feast of tabernacles. *Philo*, to whom we are indebted for this account, suffered, no doubt, with the rest of his nation; for he too was an *Alexandrian Jew*. We cannot help thinking his account somewhat exaggerated; and besides, are convinced, that the *Jews* gave some occasion to the unheard-of cruelty of the *Alexandrians*, which he has not thought fit to relate. King *Agrippa*, upon whose arrival the tumult began, did not in all likelihood continue long in a city where he had been so ill received. However, during his stay there, he was informed of the decree formerly made by the *Alexandrian Jews* in honour of *Caius*, and procured a copy of it, which he immediately transmitted to *Rome*, acquainting the emperor at the same time with the conduct of *Flaccus*, who had suppressed it. This provoked *Caius* to such a degree, that he immediately dispatched a centurion, by name *Bassus*, with a band of soldiers, to seize *Flaccus*. *Bassus* arrived in a few days at *Alexandria*, and, landing by night, inquired for the officer who commanded the troops quartered in the city, with a design to impart to him the emperor's orders, that he might hold his men ready in case of any resistance. A soldier, whom he met in the street, informed him, that the officer supped that night with *Flaccus*, at the house of one *Stephanio*. Hereupon the centurion sent one of his soldiers in the disguise of a slave to *Stephanio's* house, who, upon his return, informed him, that *Flaccus* was attended only by a small number of his domestics, and that no soldiers were to be seen in or about the house. Upon this intelligence, *Bassus* immediately entered with all his men; and having left a party to guard the gates, went with the rest directly to the banquetting-hall, where, to the great terror of the guests, he seized *Flaccus*, without meeting with the least opposition, and carried him in bonds on board his vessel. *Flaccus* starting up, when the centurion first appeared, attempted to make his escape; but finding himself in a minute surrounded by armed men, he looked upon himself as lost, and yielded. When news of what had happened was brought to the *Jews*, who continued still shut up in the same place, they did not at first give any credit to it, but looked upon it as a snare laid for them. However, conjecturing from the noise and uproar which they heard in the night, that something extraordinary had happened, some of them stole out, and, upon their return, confirmed the joyful tidings, that *Flaccus* was certainly arrested. Hereupon, with one voice, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, passed the rest of the night in singing hymns, and, upon the return of the day, went all in a body to the sea-side, to renew there, as they had no ora-

*Flaccus is
disgraced,*

*Arrested,
and sent to
Rome;*

Where he
is condemn-
ed to ban-
ishment.

And soon
after mur-
dered.

Philo is
sent with
the char-
acter of
embas-
sador to
Caius.

Some ac-
count of
him, and
of Apion.

tories where they could assemble, their thanksgiving with more solemnity. Soon after, *Bassus* set sail with his prisoner, who, after having much suffered during the voyage, arrived at length at *Rome*, where he had the mortification to see himself accused by *Isidorus* and *Lampo*, who, with their flattering speeches, had put him upon persecuting the *Jews*. But his greatest enemy was the emperor himself, who, on this occasion assuming the quality of judge, condemned him to banishment, declared his estate and all his effects forfeited, and seized them for himself. The only favour which *Lepidus*, who was his friend and then very powerful at court, could obtain for him, was, that he should be confined to *Andros*, and not to *Gyara*, pursuant to his sentence, which was the most desert and abandoned island in the *Archipelago*. He was therefore sent under a guard to *Andros*, and there shewn to the inhabitants, who were ordered to watch him, that he might not make his escape. Some months after, he purchased a small farm, and there led a solitary and retired life, till he was, together with the other exiles, massacred by *Caius's* orders. He defended himself with great bravery against those who were sent to dispatch him, but was in the end overpowered and cut in piecesⁱ.

THE grievances of the *Alexandrian Jews* did not end with the authority of *Flaccus*. The tumult still continued, that unhappy people were still cruelly insulted by the enraged populace, and the magistrates of *Alexandria* refused to acknowledge the *Jews* for citizens, since *Flaccus* had declared them aliens. Hereupon both parties resolved to send deputies to *Rome*, and refer the decision of their controversy to the emperor. At the head of the *Jewish* embassy was *Philo*, and the celebrated *Apion* the chief of the ambassadors from the city of *Alexandria*. *Philo* was a *Jew* of the sacerdotal race, and sprung from one of the most illustrious families of *Alexandria*, where his brother was *alabarch*, or the chief of his nation in that city^k. *Josephus* calls him a person every-way extraordinary^l; and truly his works were highly esteemed both by the *Christians* and *Pagans*, and he ranked amongst the best writers of his time. He was not only well versed in the sacred books, to which the whole knowledge of the *Jews* was, generally speaking, confined, but thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of the gentiles, and thought to surpass all the philosophers of his age, in the knowledge of the maxims and tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*. He applied himself chiefly to the study of the *Platonic* philosophy, and with such success, that it was commonly said at *Alexandria*, *Either Plato imitates Philo, or Philo Plato*. The philosophers,

ⁱ PHIL. in Flacc. p. 976—982. ^k EUSEB. l. ii. c. 4. JOSEPH. antiquit. l. xviii. c. 10. ^l JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

who flourished in those times, styled him *the second Plato*, or, *the Jewish Plato*^m. *Apion* was likewise a man of great learning. He was, according to some, a native of *Oasis* in *Egypt*: according to others, of the island of *Creta*, now *Candia*. Be that as it will, he was presented with the citizenship of *Alexandria*, and thence passed for an *Alexandrian*ⁿ. He is by some writers styled *Pleistonicus*, which signifies, *illustrious for many victories*^o; but how he came by that name, we are no-where told. *Suidas* calls him *Mochthus*, perhaps instead of *Mochtherus*, which signifies *laborious*^p. He was by profession a grammarian; for so were those formerly called, who were well versed in polite literature. *Julius Africanus* styles him the most inquisitive of all the grammarians; and adds, that no one was better versed in antiquities, or had made more discoveries^q. He was brought up by *Didymus*, a celebrated grammarian of *Alexandria*, and afterwards instructed by *Apollonius* and *Euphanor*^r. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* under the emperors *Tiberius* and *Claudius*, and was esteemed a man of great erudition, and well versed in the *Greek* historians: his style was elegant and easy, but he is thought to have exaggerated the things which he relates to have been seen or heard by himself^s. He visited all the cities of *Greece*, as *Pliny* informs us^t, in the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, and was every-where received as a second *Homer*. However, *Seneca* seems to have made no great account of his erudition, which chiefly consisted, as he writes, in the knowledge of grammatical trifles. Of his works, and those of *Philo*, we shall speak anon.

THE ambassadors were, according to *Josephus*, three of each side, but five according to *Philo*, who was one of them, and consequently is more to be depended upon, if we will not suppose with a modern writer^u, who strives to reconcile *Philo* and *Josephus*, that two more were afterwards sent by the *Jews*, and the like number by the *Alexandrians*. They set out from *Alexandria* in the midst of winter; and arriving at *Rome*, were forced to wait there till the return of *Caius* from *Gaul*, which happened on the thirty-first of *August*. The *Jewish* ambassadors, in the mean time, conveyed to the emperor, by means of king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, a memorial, wherein they laid before him their deplorable condition, acquainted him with the hardships they had undergone, assured him of their attachment to his person and government, and in a most sub-

They arrive at Rome, and transmit a memorial to the emperor, then in Gaul.

^m HIER. de vir. illust. & epist. 84. c. 11. PHOT. c. 105.

ⁿ HIER. ibid. SUIDAS, p. 327. ^o GELL. l. v. c. 14. & l. vi. c. 8. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 5. ^p SUID. p. 355. ^q EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 10. ^r SUIDAS, ibid. ^s Idem ibid.

^t PLIN. præfat. & SENECA. epist. 88. ^u TILLEMONT, p. 806.

Upon his
return they
present an-
other me-
morial to
him.

Philo sus-
pects his
kindness.

Is alarmed
at an order
gived by
the empe-
ror.

missive manner implored his protection. When the emperor returned to *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* ambassadors gained privately, with great sums and larger promises, the famous *Helico*, who was by birth an *Egyptian*, had formerly been a slave, but was then in great favour with *Caius*, and his chamberlain. The *Jewish* deputies were no sooner informed, that *Helico* had been gained over by their enemies, and did them all the ill offices with the emperor that lay in his power, than they strove in their turn to bring him over to their interest; but he would not hearken to any of their proposals, nay, would not so much as allow them access to him. They therefore resolved to apply directly to the emperor, and accordingly drew up a memorial, which was but an abstract of the longer address, which they had a little before transmitted to him by means of *Agrippa*. This they presented to him in the field of *Mars*, as he was coming from the gardens of his mother *Agrippina*. *Caius* received the ambassadors with a chearful and smiling countenance, and signified to them with a sign of his right hand, that he would befriend them; nay, he ordered *Homulus*, the introducer of ambassadors, to acquaint them, that he would hear them himself, as soon as he was at leisure. From this favourable reception, it was generally concluded, that the *Jews* would gain their cause, and triumph over their enemies. But *Philo*, whom age and experience had taught not to lay great stress upon fair words and outward appearances, dreaded the effects of the emperor's pretended friendship, and reasoned with himself thus: Here are ambassadors from all parts of the world, and why should the emperor distinguish us from the rest? He knows we are *Jews*; and consequently, that we should think ourselves happy to be only treated like other nations. Can we reasonably expect any extraordinary favour from a prince of another nation, or suppose that he has not a greater kindness for the *Alexandrians* than for us? He is partial to them without dispute; and for their sake it is, that he is eager to determine the affair. I should be glad he would prove an impartial judge; but am afraid we shall find him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us. In the mean time *Caius*, leaving *Rome*, went to see one of his magnificent palaces, which stood on the sea-side; and thither the *Jewish* ambassadors followed him, expecting every moment to be called and heard by him, pursuant to the promise he made to them by *Homulus*. At *Puteoli* they were first informed of the danger they were in, not only of losing their cause against the *Alexandrians*, but of seeing their religion and nation utterly extirpated, in virtue of the order which the emperor had transmitted to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, commanding him to set up his statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. Upon this intelligence,

telligence, *Philo*, seeing no prospect of success as to the business with which he was charged, would have returned home with his colleagues, could he have done it with honour. But though he now despaired of success, yet he thought, that his dropping the suit might be looked upon as the effect of fear, and that his countrymen, who had sent him, might with some reason complain, as if, through want of courage, he had betrayed their cause. However, the storm which threatened the *Jews* on account of the statue of *Caius* soon blew over, and *Philo* was in the end admitted, with his colleagues, to the emperor's presence. But they no sooner appeared before him, than, from the fierceness of his looks, they concluded, that the emperor intended to act not like a judge, but as an accuser rather, and a party. For, instead of advising with men of knowledge and experience, and hearing both sides indifferently in their turns, especially in a case of this consequence, where the lives and liberties of so many men were at stake, and privileges disputed, which for the space of four hundred years had never so much as been called in question, the tyrant gave them plainly to understand, that he did not design to proceed according to the ordinary methods of law and justice. The emperor was then at a small distance from the city, passing a few days at two country-seats, which, it seems, stood very near each other, and had formerly belonged to *Mecænas* and *Lamias*. Having therefore commanded the gardens belonging to both houses, and the several apartments, to be opened, in order to view them, and entertain himself with the curiosities there, he sent at the same time for the *Jewish* and *Alexandrian* ambassadors, who were introduced to him while he was thus employed. *Philo* and his colleagues no sooner came into the emperor's presence, than they threw themselves prostrate at his feet, addressing him with the titles of *emperor* and *Augustus*. The emperor received them, notwithstanding the profound respect they shewed him, in such manner, that they began to despair, not only of success in their embassy, but even of their lives. For, with angry looks and a scornful smile, *Are you not execrable wretches*, said he, *declared enemies of the gods, since you have the impudence to dispute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to set up against Caius a god whom you cannot so much as name?* At the same time, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he uttered such blasphemies, as *Philo*, who was struck with horror in hearing them, dares not repeat. The *Alexandrian* ambassadors, concluding from this reception, that they had already gained their cause, could not dissemble their joy; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God, which they did not indifferently ascribe to *Caius*, who was highly delighted with their flattery. In order

der to provoke him still more against the *Jews*, *Isidorus*, a crafty insinuating slanderer, addressing the emperor, *If you knew*, said he, *the mortal hatred which these men, and their whole nation, bear to you, you would abhor and detest them much more than you do. When all the world were offering up their vows and prayers for the safety of your person, and the prosperity of your government, these alone, I mean all the Jews without exception, stood out with their usual stubbornness and obstinacy.* At these words, the *Jews* cried out with one voice, that they were slandered, that they had offered hetacombs and sacrifices for the happiness of *Caius* and the empire; and that after they had sprinkled the altar with the blood of the victims, they did not feast among themselves, as most other nations do, upon the flesh, but committed the whole sacrifice to the sacred fire: and this, added they, we have done upon three remarkable occasions, upon your accession to the empire, upon your recovery from that fit of sickness which proved so sensible an affliction to most nations, and finally, for the success of your arms in *Germany*. You did perhaps offer sacrifices, replied *Caius*, I allow it: but it was to another, not to me: and what honour do I receive from your sacrificing to another? These blasphemous words struck us, says *Philo*, with horror, and chilled the very blood in our veins. In the mean time, *Caius* hurried from one apartment to another, taking a view of all the rooms and offices, finding fault where any thing was amiss, and directing how it should be mended. Thus he visited every corner of both houses, the *Jews* being obliged all along to attend him, tho' jostled and derided by the whole company, especially by their adversaries, who were the whole time mimicking them, like buffoons on the stage: and truly the whole, says *Philo*, looked rather like a comedy, than a serious negotiation; but as they were now at the mercy of the tyrant, who was both their judge and their enemy, they had no defence left them but silence and patience. After *Caius* had given some necessary orders about his buildings, he turned to the *Jews*, and gravely asked them, Why they so much scrupled eating hogs-flesh? Hereupon the whole company, some out of flattery, others because they were diverted with the question and mockery, burst into so loud a laughter, that some of *Caius's* officers were highly offended at the liberty they took, thinking it inconsistent with the respect due to the majesty of the prince. To the emperor's question the *Jews* answered with great respect, that several people and places had their several fashions and customs, and that their adversaries were prohibited some things as well as they: some people, for instance, said one of them, abstain from lamb. Very well, replied *Caius*, merrily; I cannot blame

blame them; for lambs-flesh is not very savoury. After the emperor had thus rallied and ridiculed them for some time, in the end he asked them all on a sudden in a passion, What title they had to the privileges of *Alexandrian* citizens, and to the freedom of that city? Hereupon they began to lay before him their reasons; but he, finding they were of great strength, and not knowing how those which they had already alledged could be well confuted, started up in the midst of their discourse, and ran into a great hall; where, after he had walked a while, he caused the windows to be shut; and then returning to the *Jewish* ambassadors, he asked them with an air more composed, What they had to say? But they had scarce begun to speak, when *Caius*, instead of hearkening to them, left them again, and ran in great haste into another room, to see several originals done by the most famous painters of antiquity. The *Jews*, finding themselves so often interrupted, and expecting nothing from so merciless a tyrant but immediate death, had recourse to the true, for protection against the pretended, god. Their prayers were heard, and *Caius*, without further outrages, dismissed them, saying, These men are not so wicked, as ignorant and unhappy, in not believing me to be a god. The *Jewish* deputies departed, reckoning themselves fortunate in having thus escaped with their lives safe; not that they dreaded any kind of death, says *Philo*, which, had it been any-ways conducive to the preservation of their law, they would with great pleasure have embraced; but because their destruction would have been inevitably attended with the utter ruin of those who had sent them. As for the subject of their embassy, they could not promise themselves a favourable sentence from a judge, who would not so much as hear them, being highly incensed against their whole nation, as the only people subject to *Rome*, who refused to acknowledge his divinity. They continued in the city, waiting with the greatest anxiety imaginable for the decision of their cause; for upon the sentence, which the emperor might think fit to pronounce, depended the fate of the whole *Jewish* nation, who would be every-where persecuted and stripped of their effects, privileges, oratories, &c. if the emperor should countenance the *Alexandrians* in their cruel and unwarrantable proceedings against them^f. *Josephus* seems to speak of another audience granted by *Caius* to the *Jewish* and *Alexandrian* ambassadors; wherein *Apion* inveighed with great bitterness against the *Jews*, alledging many things against them; but his main charge was, that whereas temples and altars were erected to *Caius* by all other nations,

^f *PHILO*, *ibid.* p. 1019—1043.

and the same adoration paid to him as to the rest of the gods, the *Jews* alone obstinately refused either to consecrate images to him, or to swear by his name. When *Philo* was about to reply in behalf of the *Jews*, *Caius* in a great rage commanded him to be silent, and with dreadful menaces bid him be gone. Hereupon *Philo*, turning to his colleagues, *Let us take courage*, said he; *now Caius is against us, God will be for us* ^s. What sentence *Caius* pronounced in the end, we find no-where recorded: all we know is, that, during his whole reign, the *Jews* were grievously persecuted and oppressed by the *Alexandrians* ^h; and that *Alexander Lysimachus*, brother to *Philo*, and alabarch of the *Alexandrian Jews*, was, by *Caius's* orders, committed to prison, and there detained till he was discharged by *Claudius*; upon whose accession to the empire, the *Jews*, notwithstanding their boasted patience, betook themselves to arms, which occasioned a great tumult at *Alexandria*. *Claudius*, upon the first tidings of the commotion, wrote to the governor of *Egypt*, injoining him to appease it; and, at the request of the two kings, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, enacted an edict, which he sent to *Alexandria*, confirming to the *Jews* all the privileges they had ever enjoyed in that city, and declaring all the proceedings of *Caius* against them null and void ⁱ (E).

THE

^s JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10. ^h Idem, l. xix. c. 4. ⁱ Idem, ibid.

(E) To this relation we shall subjoin a succinct account of the works of *Philo* and of *Apion*. *Philo* described in five books the evils suffered by the *Jews* under *Caius*; and these books, as he made frequent digressions in them upon the vices of that prince, he styled ironically, *Of the virtues of Caius* (1). Of these five books *Eusebius* takes that which has reached our times, under the title of *Philo's embassy to Caius*, to be the first (2). *Photius* styles it, *Caius blamed* (3). The second of these five books is, according to both these writers, that which is commonly known by the title of *Philo against Flaccus*, and which *Photius* calls *Flaccus blamed* (4). However, the book against *Flaccus* seems to have been written before that of his embassy; since, in the end of the latter (5), he tells us, that he has already described the inexpressible calamities suffered by the *Alexandrian Jews*; and these calamities are the chief subject of his book against *Flaccus*. The three other books, or parts of that work, have been long since lost; for *Photius* seems to have been acquainted with no other, but the two above-mentioned, books written by *Philo* on that subject (6). *Philo* is said to have read

(1) *Euseb.* l. i. c. 5. § 18. (2) *Euseb.* c. 5. § 6. (3) *Phot.* c. 105. (4) *Euseb.* & *Phot.* ibid. (5) *Philo in legat.* p. 1043. (6) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 7.

them

them during the reign of *Claudius* in full senate, when they were heard with uncommon applause, and ordered to be deposited in the public library (7). The author seems to address himself to the emperor *Claudius* in his book against *Flaccus*. *St. Jerom* mentions in his catalogue several books written by *Philo*; but of these (which is very surprising) takes not the least notice. The reader will find in *Eusebius* (8) and *St. Jerom* (9) a catalogue of his other works upon the scripture, and various different subjects. *Eusebius* commends the sublimity of his thoughts in explaining the scripture (10); and *Origen* writes, that most of his books upon the law of *Moses* were generally esteemed by men of learning (11). *Photius*, on the contrary, thinks he frequently neglects the obvious and literal, to hunt after an allegorical, sense (12). The same writer observes, that *Philo* often follows opinions contrary to the principles of the *Jewish* religion, and that he does not seem to disapprove the superstitious honours paid to the emperor *Augustus*. *St. Jerom* ascribes to him the *Greek* interpretation of the proper names in the pentateuch and the prophets (13). Some writers will have him to have been likewise the author of a *Latin* history, containing the most remarkable incidents from the creation to the reign of *Saul*; but others think that work, which often contradicts the scripture, altogether unworthy of *Philo* (14). *St. Jerom* says, that some ancient writers ascribed to *Philo* the book of wisdom (15); but that he was not the author of that book, is plainly shewn by a modern writer of no mean character (16). Some writers tell us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, he became acquainted with *St. Peter* at *Rome*, and contracted a friendship with that apostle (17); nay, *Photius* adds (18), that he embraced the christian religion, and afterwards renounced it upon some discontent. But the silence of all other writers, with respect to this particular, makes us question the truth of what *Photius* asserts.

Apion wrote several books (19), of which we find one only quoted by the ancients, namely, his history of *Egypt*, containing a particular and distinct account of all the curiosities and antiquities of that country. *Eusebius* (20) and *Tatian* (21) cite some passages out of the fifth book of this work, which was in all likelihood the last. As all the *Alexandrians* bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Jews*, no wonder that *Apion* filled his writings with false and slanderous accounts of them; which *Josephus* with great erudition confutes in a book, which he published against him and other pagan writers, in defence of the *Jews*, and intituled, *An answer to Apion*. See

- (7) *Euseb.* l. ii. c. 18. (8) *Idem, ibid.* (9) *Hier. de vir. illust.* c. 11. (10) *Idem, ibid.* (11) *Orig. in Matth.* p. 369. (12) *Phot.* c. 105. (13) *Hier. nom. Hebr.* c. 3. (14) *Voss. ibid.* l. ii. c. 7. (15) *Hier. epist.* cxv. (16) *Du Pin reponse au remarque de pere de S. Vanne.* (17) *Euseb.* l. ii. c. 17. *Hier. de vir. illust.* c. 11. (18) *Phot.* c. 105. (19) *Suid.* p. 356. *Aul. Gel.* p. 146. *Plin.* l. xxxvii. c. 5. (20) *Euseb. præp. evang.* l. x. c. 11. (21) *Tatian. orat. ad Græc.* p. 172.

*His second
consulship.*

THE following year, *Caius* resumed the fasces, having for his colleague *Lucius Apronius Cestianus* (N), but held them only thirty days^f. When he entered upon his consulship, and also when he resigned it, he took the usual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and slaughter, causing those very persons, who had

^f DIO. p. 649. SUET. c. 17. TACIT. annal. 6. c. 4. NORRIS ep. con. p. 28.

veral persons seeming to question the truth of what he had advanced in his *Jewish antiquities*, alledging, that if the race of the *Jews* was as ancient and illustrious as *Josephus* makes it, the *Greek* historians would have taken notice of them, he undertook another work, wherein he not only shews, that several historians have mentioned the *Jews*, but confutes the calumnies published against them by divers authors, especially by *Apion*. This work is by *Eusebius* (22) and *St. Jerom* (23) intituled, *Of the Jewish antiquities*. *Apion* not only strove to discredit the *Jews* in his history of *Egypt*, but wrote a book, of which they were the only subject (24), filled with calumnies against that nation, falsehoods, and accounts altogether fabulous; which *Josephus* confuted, after he had ended his antiquities. *Apion*, after having in his writings derided circumcision in a most scurrilous manner, was himself by a distemper obliged to submit to it, but to no effect; for the wound putrifying, he died soon after, by a just judgment, says *Josephus*, in great misery and torments (25). The famous adventure of a slave named *Androcles*, who was nourished, during the space of three years, by a lion, whom he had cured of a wound, and by the same known in the sight of all *Rome*, when he was exposed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by the wild beasts, must have happened about this time; for *Apion*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (26), assures us, that he was an eye-witness of that surprising and affecting scene; and adds, that the grateful lion was saved, and the slave presented with his liberty.

(N) *Cestianus* held the consulship till *July*, with *Sanvinus*, or rather *Sanquinius Maximus*, governor of *Rome*, who had been substituted to *Caius*. *Sanquinius* had been likewise consul under *Tiberius*, but in what year we find no-where recorded (27). *Cn. Domitius Corbulo* was also consul at this time, from the first of *July*, as is commonly believed (28), to the fourth or second of *September*, when *Caius* ignominiously deposed both consuls (29). *Corbulo's* colleague was so affected with the affront, that he laid violent hands on himself, and *Caius* named in his room *Domitius Afer*, a celebrated orator (30).

(22) *Euseb. præp. evang. l. iii. c. 9.* (23) *Hier. vir. illust. e. 13.* (24) *Euseb. p. 490. Just. orat. ad Græc. p. 9, 10.*
(25) *Joseph. in Ap. l. ii.* (26) *Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 14.* (27) *Dio. l. lix. p. 651.* (28) *Goltz. fast. p. 238.* (29) *Dio. ibid. p. 665. Suet. c. 25.* (30) *Goltz. ibid.*

been

been imprisoned by *Tiberius*, and by himself set at liberty, to be dragged to prison again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign ^g. The people not assisting at the shows, which he exhibited almost every day, with the assiduity he expected, he commanded the public granaries to be shut up, with a design to starve them, and laid hold of all opportunities that offered to do them what mischief he could. Once in particular he caused them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus, on which occasion great numbers of the common people were crushed to death in the throng, and above twenty knights, and as many women of distinction. At another time, because they did not declare for the gladiators whom he favoured, he caused the sails, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus exposed them to the scorching heat of the sun, he threatened with present death such as should offer to stir ^h. Nay, the acclamations of the people in the theatre differing one day from his, he uttered the inhuman wish, that *the whole Roman people had but one neck*, that he might dispatch them all at a blow. He often wished for some great calamity, as if the monster himself had not been curse and calamity enough. He envied *Augustus* the happiness of an army massacred, and *Tiberius* the sad disaster at *Fidenæ*, where fifty thousand persons were maimed, or perished by the fall of an amphitheatre. In short, declaring himself an open enemy to his people, he often made use of the expression of the old tragedian: *Orderint dum metuant, Let them hate me as much as they please, so they do but fear me*. On the other hand, the people considering him no longer as their lawful sovereign, but as their implacable enemy, one day, to be revenged on him, rising up, abandoned the shows, which he was exhibiting at an immense charge; which piqued him to such a degree, that he immediately left *Rome* and retired to *Campania*, whence he did not return to the city till the feast of his sister *Drusilla*, which he solemnized with extraordinary magnificence ⁱ. Historians this year take notice of the foolish regard he paid to one of his horses, named *Incitatus*, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and presented with the most delicious wines in cups of gold. His stable was all of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his coverings of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and supplied him with furniture no less magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain, in a manner suitable to his rank, such as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of *Caius's* priests, and colleague to *Claudius*, to Cæ-

His hatred to the Roman people.

His inhuman wish.

The foolish regard he paid to his horse Incitatus.

^g Dio. ibid. ^h Suet. c. 26. ⁱ Dio p. 650. Suet. c. 30.

sonia, and to the chief nobility of *Rome*; nay the emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and would have honoured him, as was commonly believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer ^k.

Caius had hitherto disapproved of *Tiberius's* conduct, and seemed to be greatly pleased with the invectives that were uttered against him. But this year, coming one day to the senate, he told the conscript fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well censure the measures of his predecessor; but that it seemed very strange to him, that they should presume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord and sovereign. *You inveigh against him*, said he, *as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that you yourselves are involved in the same guilt, since he caused none to be executed, who had not been first convicted by your evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him so much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to insult his memory after his death. Your conduct shews me what I may expect from you when I am gone.* Having said many things to this purpose, in the end he upbraided the whole senate as the creatures and dependents of *Sejanus*, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-spirited slaves and flatterers, and concluded with introducing *Tiberius*, addressing him in the following terms: You have said nothing, O *Caius*, but what I have by long experience found to be true; despise them therefore as unworthy of your esteem and affection, and use them with all the severity they deserve. They all hate you in their hearts, wish for your death, and will assassinate you, if they can with impunity. Lay aside therefore all hopes of winning their affections, despise their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts about your own safety: whatever most conduces to that, is most just and equitable. By this means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleasures in safety, and at the same time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppose you. If you study to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but must resign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting upon your life, and destroying you; for the yoke of sovereignty is ever grating; a prince is honoured so long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is despised; and woe to that prince, whose subjects are more powerful than he ^l. *Caius* having thus spoke, revived the law of treason, and withdrawing from the senate, retired forthwith into the country. The

*Revises
the law of
majesty.*

^k DIO. p. 650. SUET. c. 55.
SUET. c. 30.

^l DIO. ibid. p. 652.

senators, thunder-struck with such an unexpected speech, and in the utmost consternation on account of the dangers that threatened them; for who had not exclaimed against *Tiberius*? were not capable of coming to any resolution that day; but the following long speeches were made in commendation of so merciful, so gracious a prince, who after such just and well deserved reproaches, had been so generous as not to exert his vengeance: they enacted a decree, ordering the day, on which he made this memorable speech, to be yearly solemnized with victims and sacrifices as a festival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince, who had given such glaring instances of his clemency and good-nature. One would think that such praises must have passed for satire and mockery. But ambition is a credulous passion: *Caius* was highly pleased with such honours and praises; but nevertheless put afterwards many of those to death, who had spoken ill of *Tiberius*, though he hated all who spoke well of him ^m.

THIS year is also remarkable for the famous work which *Caius* undertook at *Puteoli*: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt. To shew his power and greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the sea as well as the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be gathered together in all parts, and a great many new ones to be built, which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. There from the point of *Baiæ* to the opposite shore of *Puteoli* they were placed in two rows in the form of a crescent, being fastened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ships were employed in this foolish undertaking, that none being left to convey corn to *Rome*, the city was greatly distressed by famine, which continued to the reign of *Claudius* ⁿ, and, to the great satisfaction of *Caius*, swept off daily great numbers of the people. *Seneca* tells us, that when *Caius* was killed, there was not sufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longer ^o. When the ships were well fastened and secured, vast quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this stupendous work the more magnificent and surprising, he sent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immense charge, and with incredible expedition, *Caius* punishing the least remissness with present death, built houses and convenient inns on the bridge for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into these public houses was conveyed

The slavish spirit of the senate.

Caius builds a bridge upon the sea.

The expence and extravagance of this undertaking.

^m Dio. ibid. ⁿ Idem, p. 652. SUET. c. 37. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. ^o SENECA. de brev. vit. c. 18.

fresh water in pipes from the land, *Caius* taking delight in such things only, as to others seemed impossible. When this wonderful work was completed, *Caius* repaired to it with all the great lords of *Rome*, being attended by immense crouds of people who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at *Baiæ* he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, especially to *Envy*, lest the other deities should be touched with jealousy in seeing their glory eclipsed by his. Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold, and armed with the breast-plate of *Alexander the Great*, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, he mounted on horseback, and entering upon the bridge of *Baiæ*, rid with an awful majesty to *Puteoli*. There he resided the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when with an infinite number of torches, lanthorns, and other lights placed in different parts of the work, the sea, the neighbouring mountains, and the shore, were illuminated to a vast distance, *Caligula* boasting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the sea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two stately horses, being attended by young *Darius*, the *Parthian* hostage, a squadron of his guards, in bright armour, and a great train of his friends, magnificently attired, and likewise in their chariots, he set out on his return to *Baiæ*, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there, ascending a magnificent throne, made a solemn oration in praise of his own exploit in riding so many miles upon the sea, and of the pains and care taken by his soldiers and workmen, among whom he distributed large rewards. He spent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banquetting with his friends; and when he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform some memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a sudden caused great numbers of people to be thrown into the sea without distinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the vessels, he ordered them to be thrust off; so that many perished, though the far greater part saved themselves, however drunk, by swimming, the sea proving extremely calm and smooth the whole time, which *Caius* foolishly ascribed to the respect *Neptune* had for him as a more powerful deity ^P. After this *Caius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boasted, nature itself. Upon his departure, the bridge,

Causes
many persons to be
thrown
into the sea.

^P DIO. p. 653. SUET. c. 37, 19. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6.
& l. xix. c. 1. SENECA. brev. vit. c. 18.

as *Dion Cassius* seems to insinuate^a, was immediately broke down, and the ships employed in it restored to the owners. In such wild and useless attempts did *Caius* squander away in the space of two years, besides his ordinary revenues, the immense treasure left by *Tiberius*, amounting to eighteen millions of our money. As to the motive, which prompted him to such an extravagant undertaking, authors are not agreed (O).

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhausted and drained his exchequer, he betook himself to all manner of rapine, inventing such kinds of penalties, confiscations, and imposts, as had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of *Rome*, whose grant ran in the following terms; *To him and his posterity*, unless he was his son, pretending that the word *posterity* did not extend beyond that degree; so that most of the *Roman* citizens were obliged to purchase their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all, from the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, who had not named either that prince or himself amongst their heirs. Hereupon several persons named him in their wills amongst their friends and children, which he knowing, caused them under several pretences to be put to death, that he might receive his share the sooner; nay, he was heard once to say, that it was a great presumption in them to live, and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, not even the necessaries of life, were exempt from some tax or other. For all actions at law, in what place soever commenced, he exacted the fortieth part of the thing in controversy, and laid heavy fines on such as were convicted either of compounding or dropping the suit. He enacted a law, injoining all artificers, labourers, porters, carriers,

His avarice and enormous actions.

^a *Dio. ibid.*

(O) Some write, that he built this bridge in imitation of *Xerxes*, who laid a wonderful one over the *Hellepont*, as we have related in our history of *Persia*. Others say, that being then upon the point of invading *Germany* and *Britain*, he designed to terrify them with the report of some extraordinary work. But *Suetonius* tells us, that when he was but a boy, he was informed by his grandfather, that *Caius* had been put upon this undertaking by certain astrological predictions of the celebrated *Thrasyllus*, who, finding *Tiberius* unresolved as to his successor, yet more inclined to his own grandson than to *Caius*, told him, *It was as hard a matter for Caius to be emperor, as it was for him to ride over the gulph of Baia*. *Suetonius's* grandfather lived under *Caius*, and had this intelligence from persons who were in high favour with him (62).

(62) *Suet. c. 19.*

62.

Turns his
palace into
a brothel
and a gam-
ing-house.

&c. to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every prostitute was obliged to pay a certain portion of what she earned; nay, he was not ashamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-house, maintaining there great numbers of prostitutes, and sending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diversions. He received the money himself of such as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books, as of persons well affected to *Cæsar*. He likewise encouraged gaming-houses, frequenting them himself; nay, at last he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gamesters, and there spent great part of his time. We are told, that one day, in the midst of his game, observing two *Roman* knights of great estates accidentally passing by, he immediately went down, caused both to be apprehended, and their estates to be confiscated; and then returning with joy to his game, boasted, that he had never had a better throw. Another time wanting money for his stake, he went down, and caused several noblemen to be put to death; then returning told the company, that while they sat playing for small sums, he had won six hundred thousand sesterces. He used frequently to expose to sale the effects of the condemned persons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleased to set upon them; which was so high, that many noble families were by that means reduced to poverty. He forced, not to mention others, a wealthy citizen, by name *Apollonius Saturninus*, to pay nine millions of sesterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he exposed to sale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; but applied to his own use all the presents and contributions made by the people for the education and portion of the child^r. The law of majesty, which he revived, proved an inexhaustible fund for the increasing of his revenues. *Dion Cassius* enumerates a great many worthy citizens, who were put to death for no other crime but their great wealth; and tells us, that one *Junius Priscus*, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under colour of some other crime, being found after his death possessed but of a small estate, the emperor cried out, *I have been imposed upon; Junius was not guilty* (P). *Lucius Vitellius*,
governor

^r Suet. c. 38—43.

(P) *Dion Cassius* tells us in this place how *Domitius Afer* escaped condemnation. He was, says *Tacitus* (63), more famous for his eloquence than his integrity. He had been under *Tiberius* a zealous

(63) *Tacit. annal. vi. c. 52.*

accuser,

governor of Syria, had acquired great wealth in that province, and besides, his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongst the soldiery, gave Caius no small uneasiness, who thereupon recalled him with a design to put him to death, under

Designs to destroy Lucius Vitellius governor of Syria.

accuser, and acted that part against *Claudia Pulchra*, an intimate friend and cousin to *Agrippina*, as we have related above. It was not, however, this that provoked Caius against him, but his being esteemed the most eloquent orator of his age, which glory Caius thought due to himself; and therefore resolved to rid himself of the only person who disputed it with him. *Domitius* erected this year a statue to the emperor with an inscription, importing, that he was consul the second time in the twenty-seventh year of his age. This he meant as a compliment; but Caius, who wanted a pretence to destroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws, forbidding any one to be raised to the consular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon him to accuse him himself, and delivered in the senate a long speech, which he had composed against him. *Domitius*, instead of answering it, which, without all doubt, would have cost him his life, extolled the eloquence of the speaker, admired the propriety of his expressions, repeated the most remarkable passages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties, &c. When he was ordered to make his defence, instead of answering the emperor's oration, he threw himself at his feet, acknowledged him for his master in eloquence, and declared, that he despised life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued himself, of being esteemed the best orator of his age. Caius was so well pleased with this pretended submission, that he not only forgave him, but raised him that very year to the consulate. *Calixtus*, one of Caius's freedmen, whom *Domitius* had gained, and who had proved very serviceable to him on this occasion, having one day made use of the liberty which Caius allowed him to complain of the bitter invectives, which he had uttered against one, whom he knew to be free from all guilt, the emperor returned him this answer; *Would you have had me to lose so fine a discourse* (64)? *Philo* places in this year the massacre of the exiles, and tells us, that Caius, not being able one night to take any rest, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, he began to think, that the banished persons were too happy, that they lived in ease and tranquillity, and wanted neither the necessaries nor conveniencies of life. Hereupon concluding with himself, that it was not reasonable criminals should enjoy any happiness, as soon as day appeared, he made a list of the most eminent persons amongst them, and dispatched officers with orders to put them all to death, which occasioned an universal mourning among the most illustrious families of Rome. At the head of this black list was *Flaccus*, who had been governor of

(64) *Dio. p. 644, 544.*

Who forfeits his reputation to save his life.

der pretence, that through his negligence the *Parthians* had driven *Tiridates* from the kingdom of *Armenia*, which had been given him by *Tiberius*. *Vitellius* was a man of good talents and qualifications, had eminently distinguished himself in the army, and in the government of provinces, says *Tacitus*^{*}, exercised the integrity of a primitive *Roman*. But his dread of *Caligula* changed him into a contemptible slave, and he is handed down to posterity as a pattern of the most infamous flattery. For the first time *Caius* deigned to admit him to his presence, he appeared before him in a modest dress, and accosted him with the same ceremonies that were practised by the *Romans*, when they approached their gods, that is, having his head covered with a vail, turning himself round, and then falling down prostrate before him[†]. *Caius* was so taken with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only forgave him, but thenceforth numbered him amongst his most intimate friends. For he was the first who introduced amongst the *Romans* the custom of approaching the emperors, as the *Parthians* and other eastern nations did their monarchs[‡]. We shall have occasion to relate in the course of this history other instances of his slavish spirit and servile submission. He was succeeded in the government of *Syria* by *P. Patronius*, of whom hereafter. We are told, that *Seneca* was about this time in imminent danger of losing his life, for no other crime, but having pleaded a cause in the senate with great eloquence, and universal applause. This *Caius*, who was present, and pretended to be the best orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have dispatched him, had he not been assured by one of his courtesans, that *Seneca* was infected with a distemper, which would soon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life[¶] (Q).

THE

^{*} TACIT. annal. l. vi. c. 32. [†] SUET. in vit. c. 2. [‡] DIO. p. 661. PHILO legat. p. 1008. [§] SUET. ibid. [¶] DIO. p. 655.

Egypt, and confined a few months before to the island of *Andros* (65). *Eusebius* fixes this cruel execution to the last year of *Caius's* reign (66); but *Philo* places it before the disgrace of *Lepidus*, which happened this year (67).

(Q) *Caius* despised the eloquence of *Seneca*, though then in great vogue, calling his writings *Sand without lime*. *Caius* himself was no mean orator, had a great fluency and command of words, especially when he declaimed against any one; and such a clear voice and distinct pronunciation, that he was heard at a great distance. He took great delight in writing answers to such orators as had

(65) *Philo* in *Flacc.* p. 990, 991.

(67) *Idem* ibid.

(66) *Euseb.* in *chron.*

performed

THE last of *August*, being his birth-day, the consuls forgot to warn the people to observe it as a festival; which incensed *Caius* to such a degree, that on the second of *September* he deposed them, and caused their rods to be broken. This proved so sensible a mortification to them, that one of them, not able to brook it, laid violent hands on himself. The pretence, which *Caius* took for thus stripping them ignominiously of their dignity, was, their observing the second of *September*, the anniversary of the battle of *Actium*, - as a festival. This indeed was customary; but the emperor, who was descended from *Augustus* by his mother *Agrippina*, and from *Antony* by his grandmother *Antonia*, told his friends beforehand, that the consuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable pretence to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of *Augustus*, or by solemnizing the defeat of *Antony*^{*}. Accordingly, the consuls having, according to custom, celebrated with the usual ceremonies the anniversary of the *Actiac* victory, they were the same day deposed by *Caius*'s orders, under pretence that they had solemnized not so much the victory of *Augustus*, as the defeat of his great-grandfather *Antony*. The city was then three days without consuls, that is, the third, fourth, and fifth of *September*[†]; but on the sixth, *Domitius Afer* and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. After this *Caius* forbade the boasted victories gained by *Augustus* in *Sicily* and at *Actium* to be solemnized for the future, saying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the *Roman* people, though at the same time he gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but of *Augustus* by his own daughter *Julia*. Thus he chose rather to asperse the memory of his great-grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable incest, than derive his pedi-

Caius deposes both the consuls.

Forbids the victories of Augustus to be solemnized.

^{*} DIO. *ibid.*

[†] Suet. c. 26.

performed with applause. He often pleaded in the senate for or against such persons of distinction as were accused, not being governed therein by friendship or enmity, but by the subject; for he was ready to accuse a friend, or defend an enemy, according as he thought the subject most proper to display his eloquence. When he declaimed, he constantly invited, by a public proclamation, the knights to hear him, who never failed to applaud him; and indeed he well deserved their applause, for though he undervalued the other liberal arts, he studied eloquence with great application, and spoke very pertinently, especially in accusing (68).

(68) Suet. c. 53.

The origin
of the
counts of
Africa.

Prepares
for war
against the
Germans.

His march.

gree from *Agrippa*, who was not of an illustrious descent ² (R). *Dion Cassius* observes in this place, that *Caius* being jealous of the power and courage of *L. Piso*, proconsul of *Africa*, and probably the son of that *Piso*, who was supposed to have poisoned *Germanicus*, took from him and his successors the command of the legion quartered there, and the *Numidian* auxiliaries, and gave it to a lieutenant. These lieutenants, by degrees, became more powerful than the proconsuls, and were in after-ages styled *Counts of Africa* ³. This regulation was introduced, according to *Tacitus* ^b, one or two years before, while *M. Silanus* was proconsul of *Africa*. It is not easy, nor indeed of any importance, to decide, which of these two writers may be in the right.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Caius* undertook an expedition into *Gaul*, under colour of opposing the *Germans*, who were said to have committed some hostilities; but his real motive was to plunder that wealthy province, and likewise *Spain*, after he had with extravagant tributes and taxes quite drained *Italy*. He never mentioned this design, till going one day to *Mevania*, at a small distance from *Rome*, to see the celebrated river and forest of *Clitumnus*, he was advised to complete the number of the *Batavians*, who were then his guards. Upon this he took a fancy to make war upon the *Germans*, and, without further deliberation, ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of provisions to be got ready. His orders being executed with surprising expedition, he immediately began his march; moving sometimes with such haste, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged, which had never before been practised, to have their standards brought after them on their sumpter-horses; at other times so slowly, that he seemed to walk only for his diversion. He was carried the best part of the way in a litter on eight men's shoulders, having sent before messengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their high-ways well swept and watered, that he might not be trou-

² SUET. c. 23. ³ DIO. p. 656. ^b TACIT. histor. l. iv. c. 48.

(R) He used to speak very contemptuously, not only of *Agrippa*, but of his great-grandmother *Livia Augusta*, calling her *Ulysses stolatum*, that is, in our language, an *Ulysses in petticoats*. In a letter to the senate, he reflected on her pedigree, pretending that *Ausidius Lingo*, her grandfather by the mother, was but a common decurio at *Fundi*, though it appeared from the public records, that he had discharged very considerable offices at *Rome* (69).

bled with dust. He was attended in this mock expedition by *Herod* king of *Batanea* and *Trachonitis*, and by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and followed by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, loose women, &c. with whom he spent his whole time^c. When he arrived at the place, where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thousand men. To acquire the reputation of a severe and strict observer of military discipline, he dismissed with ignominy and disgrace several old officers, who had served their time, pretending that they were unfit for the service, but in reality to exempt himself from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans^d. He passed the *Rhine*, but after advancing a few miles into the country, he returned without having killed or even seen a single enemy, though one would have judged from his mighty preparations, that he would have over-run the whole country. *Tacitus* tells us, that one *Brinio* or *Brenno*, prince of the *Caninefates*, ridiculed with impunity this foolish expedition of *Caius*^e. And indeed, well he might; for while he, who had threatened the barbarians with utter destruction, was passing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowness of the place, one happening to say, that great would be their confusion, if the enemy should appear, he immediately threw himself out of his chariot, mounted on horseback, and flew back to the bridges with a design to repass the river; but finding them crowded with the servants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too soon get out of the enemy's country^f. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and well assured that there was nothing to fear, he caused some of his *German* guards to cross the *Rhine*, and after having concealed themselves for some time in a neighbouring forest, to rise out of their ambuscade in a great tumult and hurry; that upon the alarm, which this would occasion, word might be brought him, that the enemy was at hand; which being done accordingly, the mock hero, starting up from his dinner, and putting himself at the head of a party of the prætorian horse, hastened to oppose the enemy, and advancing to the forest, there spent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for so signal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice those who had not followed him, but rewarded such as had borne with him the brunt of the

*His fright
and con-
sternation.*

*His ex-
ploits.*

^c DIO. p. 656. Suet. c. 43. ^d Suet. c. 44. DIO. p. 657, 658. ^e Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 15. ^f Suet. c. 44. & 51.

day with a new sort of crowns, which, to distinguish them from all others, he called *exploratoriæ*. But this expedition, however glorious and successful, not satisfying his martial ardor, he resolved to signalize himself by some other still more noble achievement. With this view he ordered some children whom he kept as hostages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought to him that they had made their escape; upon which he immediately mounted on horseback, pursued the supposed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After these noble achievements, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themselves in banquets, pleasures, and diversions, while *Cæsar* was fighting, and exposed for their safety to so many perils and hazards. But the most glorious of all his exploits was his receiving under his protection *Adminius*, who being banished by his father *Cynobelinus*, one of the kings of *Britain*, fled to him with a small retinue. This seemed to him so memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boasting letters to the senate, as if he had subdued the whole island, strictly injoining the messengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the consuls, but in the presence of the senate assembled in the temple of *Mars*. In the mean time he caused himself to be seven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the *Rhine*®.

His boasting letters to the senate.

His extortions and cruelties in Gaul.

THE *Gauls* would have reckoned themselves happy, had he done them no more harm, than he did the enemy. But his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to harass and oppress that unhappy nation with such extortions, as reduced even the most wealthy to beggary. Not satisfied with the great presents, which he obliged both the cities and particular persons to make him, he caused the most wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accused of treason, that he might seize their estates, which he sold in person, obliging others to purchase them at the price he thought fit to put upon them. Having one day lost at dice an immense sum, he caused the registers, which served for the census, to be brought to him; and writing a list of those who possessed the greatest estates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and seized all their effects^h.

® Idem, c. 44—46. Dio. p. 657.

^h Dio. ibid.

ABOUT this time, was discovered a conspiracy against *Caius*; but whether it was real, or only supposed, is still uncertain (S). *Lentulus* and *Lepidus* were said to be at the head of it. *Cneius Lentulus Getulicus* had commanded the legions in *Higher Germany*, for the space of ten years, *Tiberius* not daring to remove him, as we have related in the history of that prince's reign. But he was doomed to death by *Caius*ⁱ, for no other crime, but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the sacrifices which were offered on the twenty-seventh of *October*, by way of thanksgiving for the happy discovery, says the inscription, of the wicked designs of *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus*^k. His employment was given to *Sulpi- tius Galba*, afterwards emperor, who, the next day after his arrival in the camp, gave signal instances of his zeal for military discipline, of which more in his reign. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* is supposed to have been the son of *Julia*, *Augustus*'s grand-daughter, and sister to *Agrippina* the mother of *Caius*^l, who nevertheless condemned him as guilty of treason, and charged a tribune, by name *Decimus*, to cut off his head^m (T). At the same time, he condemned his two sisters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla* or *Julia*, as guilty of adultery with *Lepidus*, and privy to the conspiracy; and confined them to the island of *Pontia*, adding with threats, *That he had swords as well as islands*ⁿ. After this he wrote a letter to the senate, acquainting them that he had escaped a dangerous conspiracy, and inveighing with great bitterness against his sisters, whom he was not ashamed to charge with most infamous crimes. He sent three daggers to

The conspi-
racy of
Lentulus
and *Lepi-
dus*.

*Caius ban-
nishes his
sisters*
Agrippina
and *Li-
villa*.

ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k GRUT. p. 117. ^l TACIT. annal. vi. c. 30.
^m Dio. p. 648. SENEC. ep. 4. ⁿ SUET. c. 29. Dio. p. 657.

(S) *Dion Cassius* speaks of it as an imaginary conspiracy (24); but *Suetonius* supposes it to have been a real one (25). *Lippius* takes it to be that plot which *Tacitus* mentions to have been discovered to *Caius* by *Anicius Cerealis* (26).

(T) *M. Lepidus* was greatly, nay too much, beloved by *Caius*, if *Dion* does not confound him with *M. Lepidus Mneſter*, the mimic, with whom *Caius* maintained a scandalous commerce (27). *Æmi- lius* was admitted by the emperor to the great employments five years before the age prescribed by the laws; nay, we are told, that *Caius* promised to name him for his successor. But *Lepidus*, notwithstanding the kindness shewn him by the emperor, debauched his two sisters *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, hoping, as was sup- posed, by his familiarity with them, to raise himself to the empire.

(24) Dio. p. 657. (25) Suet. in Claud. c. 9. (26) Tacit.
annal. xxvi. c. 17. (27) Suet. c. 36.

By what
wile means
he raised
money in
Gaul.

Rome to be consecrated there to *Mars the avenger*, with an inscription, importing, that they had been designed for his destruction; and obliged *Agrippina* to carry from *Gaul* to *Rome* the urn with the bones of *Lepidus*. He sold all the furniture, jewels, slaves, and even the freedmen of his sisters, after their condemnation. As he degraded himself to sell them in person, he put his own price upon them, and obliged the *Gauls* to purchase them. This kind of traffic proving very advantageous, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of *Marc Antony*, of *Augustus*, of his mother *Agrippina*, and others of the imperial family, to be sent him from *Rome*, and sold them in the same manner. So many carriages and beasts of burden were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from *Italy* to *Gaul*, that no horses being found to turn the mills, according to the custom of those times, the city was reduced to great straits for want of bread*. But, notwithstanding the immense and almost incredible sums he raised by these sales, he still wanted money, being no less boundless in his prodigality (U), than iniquitous in his extortions.

WHEN

* SUET. *ibid.*

(U) In luxury, says *Suetonius* (28), and extravagance, he far outdid all the prodigals of his age. He used baths of sweet oils with the most costly perfumes that could be purchased. At his entertainments he often caused the largest pearls to be dissolved in vinegar, to display his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes to divert himself with his guests, he caused empty dishes of pure gold to be served up, which he distributed among them, saying, that at *Cæsar's* table their bread and meat must be nothing but gold. For several days together he took delight in throwing down from the top of a tower considerable sums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the sterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious stones, the sails of various silks, the cabins and galleries spacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the shade of which he often dined, coasting along the shore of *Campania*, with great pomp and splendor, being entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all sorts of instruments. In all his buildings he considered nothing but his own particular fancy, and thought nothing answerable to his grandeur, but what to others seemed impossible. He raised pillars and towers in the sea, cut his way through rocks of the most impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, raised plains and vallies, &c. (29). *Josephus* observes, that he never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, that is, useful to the public, except an harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* for the convenience and safety of the ships, which con-

(28) *Suet. c. 37.*

(29) *Idem, c. 29.*

veyed

WHEN the death of *Lepidus* and *Getulicus* was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Vespasianus*, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who studied to insinuate himself by any means into the emperor's favour, was for throwing the bodies of the conspirators into the *Tiber*, and depriving them of the honour of sepulture. Neither did the senate omit so favourable an opportunity of *New ho-* heaping new honours upon the prince; amongst others they *nours de-* decreed him an ovation, and deputed his uncle *Claudius*, with *creed him* several other persons of the first rank drawn by lot, to go into *by the se-* *Gaul*, and congratulate him in their name upon the discovery *nate.* of so dangerous a conspiracy, and the deserved vengeance he had taken on the conspirators. But *Caius*, not satisfied with the honours decreed him, especially with an ovation, and complaining of the small number of the deputies, ordered some of them to return even before they entered *Gaul*, as if they had been spies, and received the others with great coldness. He chiefly resented their sending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor. He did not, however, send him back, but treated him in a most ignominious manner ^p; nay, we are told, that he caused him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived ^q. After this the senate decreed him greater honours,

^p DIO. p. 658.

^q SUET. in Claud. c. 9.

veyed corn from *Alexandria* to *Italy*; but this he left unfinished (30). *Suetonius* (31) enumerates several works, which he undertook, but none of any use to the public, except a fine aqueduct, which *Claudius* finished fourteen years after. *Frontinus* mentions another aqueduct amongst the works of *Caius*, but upon what authority we know not. He caused an obelisk to be brought out of *Egypt*, which *Suetonius* (32) calls the *great obelisk*, and placed it in the circus on mount *Vatican*. The ship, in which it was conveyed to *Rome*, was the finest and largest that had ever appeared on the sea till *Pliny's* time, who tells us, that four men could scarce fathom the mast of this extraordinary vessel (33). He designed to rebuild the palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*, to finish the temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*, and to found a new city on the top of the *Alps*; but his favourite project was to cut the isthmus of *Corinth*, and open a communication between those two seas; in which undertaking he was attended with no better success than those who attempted it after him (34). *Seneca* mentions an immense sum expended by him in one banquet (35); and *Pliny* speaks of a splendid and costly entertainment, which he gave to fifteen guests in the hollow of a plane-tree, framed in the form of a room (36).

(30) *Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 2.* (31) *Suet. c. 21.* (32) *Suet. in Claud. c. 20.* (33) *Plin. l. xxvi. c. 40.* (34) *Plin. l. iv. c. 4.* *Suet. c. 21.* (35) *Senec. ad Hely. c. 9.* (36) *Plin. l. xii. c. 1.*

and sent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of satisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies^r. In the mean time, prosecutions were carried on at *Rome* against the friends of *Caius's* sisters, and of those who had been executed for the late conspiracy. Several ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before the senate in the habit of criminals. Among the rest *Sophronius Tigellinus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Nero*, was banished for a criminal correspondence with *Agrippina*. These proceedings terrified the senate, who apprehended still greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and gave ear, as was supposed, to the pernicious counsels of the kings *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*.

He mar-
ries Cæso-
nia.

Caius, after the condemnation of his sisters, divorced his wife *Lollia Paulina* to marry *Milonia Cæsonia*, who was neither beautiful nor young, being already the mother of three children by another husband, who was still alive. She had, however, a particular talent and address in gaining the affections of all with whom she conversed; insomuch, that *Caius* loved her intirely, and lived longer with her than any other^s (W). He married her, according to *Suetonius*, the same day that she was delivered of a daughter, declaring himself her husband, and the father of the child^t. But *Dion* says, that he married her about a month before her delivery^u. To the child he gave the name of *Julia Drusilla*, carried her to the temples of all the goddesses in *Rome*, and put her into the arms of *Minerva*, as

^r DIO. *ibid.* ^s DIO. p. 658. Suet. c. 25. ^t Suet. *ibid.*
^u DIO. *ibid.*

(W) *Cæsonia* was daughter to *Vesilia*, who, if *Pliny* is to be credited (37), was delivered of two children in seven months time, of one in eleven, and of *Cæsonia* in eight. All these children lived, as the same writer observes, to a competent age, and enjoyed good health. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæsonia* gained and maintained the affections of *Caius* by her monstrous lewdness (38). After her husband's death, she was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which, affecting his brain, had disordered his understanding, and occasioned that fury and madness which had brought so many calamities upon the state. Whether she administered to him any such potion, is uncertain; but this served as a pretence for the conspirators to dispatch both her and her daughter after the murder of *Caius* (39). *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor often shewed her to his soldiers habited like them, and to his friends without any garments (40).

(37) *Plin.* l. vii. c. 5. (38) *Suet.* c. 25. (39) *Joseph.*
ibid. c. 2. *Juvenal.* *satyr.* 6. v. 615. (40) *Suet.* c. 25.

if to that powerful goddess he committed the care of her education ^w. He laid her likewise at the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, saying, that she was common to him and *Jupiter*, and leaving all men to judge which of her parents was the greatest, from which she derived the more noble origin ^x. But nothing more assured *Caius*, that she was his daughter, for her mother was not renowned for her chastity, than her natural fierceness, of which she soon gave sufficient indications, by scratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played with her ^y. Upon her birth *Caius* complained of his poverty, as we have hinted above, and obliged the people to contribute large sums for the educating and marrying her suitable to her rank, which he applied to his own use. He likewise declared by an edict, that on the first of *January* he intended to receive new-year's gifts, which he did accordingly, standing in the porch of his palace, while the people and nobility with full hands and laps poured out their presents before him ^z. *Augustus* had formerly received new-year's gifts, according to the *Roman* custom, but not out of covetousness, as *Caius*, who is said to have had such a passion for money, that his chief delight was to walk bare-foot, and even roll himself upon heaps of gold, which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine ^a.

His mean-
ness.

THIS year, the *Germans*, having no doubt drawn together their forces to oppose *Caius*, made upon his departure an inroad into *Gaul*; but were repulsed by *Galba* with such vigour and expedition, that *Caligula* could not forbear commending and rewarding both him and his troops, though he generally used, out of jealousy and envy, to discountenance such of his officers as had gained any considerable advantage over the enemy. *Caius* who was then in *Gaul*, assumed the whole glory of this action to himself, and acquainted the senate with it by a letter, which he sent wrapt up in the branch of a laurel, the symbol of victory, boasting, that he had utterly defeated the enemy's numerous forces, and put them out of a condition of disturbing for the future the tranquillity of *Gaul* ^b. *Vespasian*, then prætor, begged he might be allowed to exhibit extraordinary sports on occasion of so signal a victory ^c (X). This year, *Herod Anti-*

Galba de-
feats the
Germans,

pas

^w DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 673. Suet. ibid. ^x JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. ^y Suet. ibid. ^z Idem ibid. ^a Idem, c. 42. ^b PERSIUS, satyr. 6. ^c Suet. in Vesp. c. 2.

(X) On this occasion probably happened what we read in *Suetonius*, viz. that *Caius*, upon the news of the motions of the *Germans*, seized on all the ships he could get, in order to convey himself into the *Levant*, comforting himself with this thought, that he should

Herod
Antipas
banished.

pas was by *Caius* deprived of his tetrarchy of *Galilee*, which was given to king *Agrippa*, and banished to *Lions*, as *Josephus* writes in one place^d, or sent into *Spain*, as he tells us in another^e. Perhaps *Caius*, who came this year with *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, ordered him to remove from *Lions* to *Spain*, where he died. He had enjoyed his tetrarchy forty-eight years, during which time he built a new city in the most delightful spot of *Galilee*, which from *Tiberius* he named *Tiberias*. But of his actions and cause of his disgrace, we have spoken in our history of the *Jews*.

Sports ex-
hibited by
Caius at
Lions.

THE following year, *Caius* was consul without a colleague for the first twelve days, not designedly, but because he was not acquainted sooner with the death of the person who had been named for his colleague, and died at *Rome* a few days before he was to enter upon his office^f. *Caius* began his third consulship at *Lions*, and it was probably on that occasion, that he exhibited the magnificent sports described by *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*. At the same time, he ordained a solemn contention of eloquence, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, obliging those who were overcome to give rewards to their competitors, and to make some composition or other in their commendation. Those who gave no satisfaction at all were condemned to blot out with a sponge, and even with their tongues, what they had wrote, unless they chose rather to be whipt like school-boys, or to be thrown into the *Rhone*^g. Hence an antient poet, speaking of one who was in fear, says, that he trembled like an orator, ready to declaim at *Lions* before the altar of *Augustus*^h. Of this altar at *Lions*, and the sports yearly exhibited there in honour of the deified *Augustus*, we have spoken in the history of his reign.

Caius held the consulship only twelve days; and when news of his resignation was brought to *Rome*, two new consuls, probably *Publicola* and *Nerva* (Y), were nominated. The first
decree

^d JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 9.
^f DIO. p. 653. SUET. c. 17.
fatyr. 1.

^e Idem, bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16.
^g SUET. c. 20. ^h JUVEN.

keep his transmarine provinces, though the enemy possessed themselves of *Italy* and *Rome* itself, as the *Senones* had formerly done (41).

(Y) *Onuphrius* takes these two to be the consuls of this year, because *S. Prosper* marks them as the consuls of the foregoing year, when, according to the general opinion of the chronologers, that office was discharged by *Caius Cæsar* and *L. Apronius Cæstianus*. The same writer pretends, that *Sex. Nonius Celer* and *Junius Quintilianus*, set down by *Frontinus* (42) as consuls between the years thirty-eight

(41) Suet. c. 51. (42) Front. de aquad. p. 119.

and

decree they made was, that the anniversary of the death of *Tiberius* and *Drusilla* should be solemnized in the same manner as that of *Augustus*. This distinction *Caius* had required in a letter to the new consulsⁱ. As for *Caius*, he began the year with the murder of *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, and cousin-german to his father *Germanicus* (Z). He had invited him to his court, and received him at his arrival with great demonstrations of kindness; but observing one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the sports, that the lustre of his purple drew upon him the eyes of the whole company, he caused him, no doubt out of jealousy, to be immediately arrested, condemned him to banishment, and privately ordered him to be massacred on his journey^k. *Dion Cassius* ascribes his death to the great riches he possessed^l. Be that as it will, the *Mauritanians*, upon the news of his death, revolted, being stirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceased prince's freedmen, desirous to revenge the death of his master. The inhuman and imperious tyrant caused likewise *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* to be arrested, but only condemned him to banishment. We shall have occasion to speak of this prince in the following reign.

The murder of Ptolemy king of Mauritania.

Caius, before he left *Gaul*, gave out, that he designed to invade *Britain*, and accordingly ordered his troops from all quarters to march to the *Gaulish* shore opposite to that island. He soon came to the place of the rendezvous himself, and upon his arrival drew up his men along the coast, imbarqued on a magnificent galley, and having advanced a small way from the shore, returned suddenly, and, ascending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be disposed in order and to the best advantage, the trumpets to sound, and the signal of battle to be given. Neither soldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a sudden he ordered them to gather the cockle-shells on the shore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, saying, *These are the spoils of the con-*

Caius's memorable expedition against Britain.

ⁱ Dio. p. 659.

^k Suet. c. 35.

^l Dio. p. 659.

and forty-nine of the christian æra, bore that dignity from the first of July to the end of this year (43).

(Z) He was the son of *Cleopatra Selene*, daughter of *Antony* and the celebrated *Cleopatra*, as *Germanicus* was the son of *Antonia*, daughter to the same *Antony*. *Juba*, the father of *Ptolemy*, was first king of *Mauritania*, which *Augustus* made him exchange for part of *Getulia*, and the countries formerly possessed by *Bocchus*, that is, the two *Mauritanias*, the *Tingitana* and *Cæsariana* (44).

(43) *Onuph. in fast. p.* 298.
annal. l. xi. c. 5. § 23.

(44) *Dio. l. lv. p.* 567. *Tacit.*

quered

quered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capitol. Then, to reward his fellow-soldiers for so glorious a victory, he distributed among them a very considerable sum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in safety the rewards of their valour; and that so glorious a conquest might never be forgot, he caused a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, for setting up lights to direct ships at sea in the night^m. A modern writerⁿ will have the tower built on this occasion to be that which stands at the entry of the port of *Boulogne*, and is called by the natives *la tour d'ordre*.

*His folly
and ambi-
tion.*

*His cruel
design.*

*Sets out for
Rome.*

AND now *Caius* thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble achievements. Accordingly he wrote to his officers at *Rome*, injoining them to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen; but at the same time warning them, not to put him to any extraordinary expence, since every man's estate was at their disposal. Before he left *Gaul*, he chose the tallest men of that province, without distinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them *German* names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow and colour it red, that they might pass for *Germans*. He likewise commanded the galleys, in which he and his chief officers had put to sea, to be conveyed to *Rome* for most part of the way by land^o. Before he left *Gaul*, he took it in his head to put those legions to the sword that had mutinied after the death of *Augustus*, and in a manner besieged his father *Germanicus* and himself, then an infant. His officers, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from cutting them all off; but could not by any means divert him from decimating them for a crime, which had been so many years before committed and forgiven. Notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of his friends and chief officers, he ordered them to assemble without arms to receive his commands. The legionaries, not suspecting in the least his design, readily obeyed, and, in the mean time, the cavalry began to surround them. This gave them some umbrage, and many of them slipped away to take their arms, with a design to sell their lives dear, in case any violence was offered them; which the coward no sooner perceived, than he dismissed the assembly and fled, making what haste he could to reach *Rome*, that he might vent his rage upon the senate, for the wrong he pretended they had done him by not decreeing him a triumph, though he had declared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours, and that he would punish them with the utmost

^m Suet. c. 46. Dio. p. 659.

ⁿ Buch. de Belg. l. iv. c. 12.

^o Suet. c. 47.

severity, if they pretended to assume it^p. They chiefly were at a loss how to behave with respect to his pretended conquest of *Britain*. To compliment him on his victory looked like mockery; on the other hand, they were told, that he spoke seriously of it as a noble exploit. What resolution they took in the end, we find no-where recorded. *Suetonius* only tells us, that they dispatched an embassy to him, consisting of the most considerable men of their order, intreating him to hasten his return to the city. The deputies met him on his journey towards *Rome*, not yet recovered from his late fright, and with the utmost submission presented their request to him in the name of their whole body. *I will come*, answered *Caius*, *I will come, and bring this along with me*, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword. He even declared by an edict, which he caused to be set up in the city, that he would return; but it should be only for the knights and people; as for the senate, he would for the future be to them neither a prince nor a citizen. As he drew near *Rome*, he forbade any of the senators to meet him. He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himself with an ovation, making his entry on the last of *August*, which was his birth-day, four months and some days before his death^q. From this time he resolved utterly to extirpate the senate, and would have put his wicked design in execution, had he not been prevented by death. In the four months he lived, he caused several senators of distinction to be inhumanly murdered, one in particular for no other crime, but because he begged leave to shut his eyes, being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to assist at the execution of his son^r. For the bloody and inhuman monster took great delight, as we have hinted above, in thus tormenting the most innocent parents. It was commonly reported, that he designed to cut off the most considerable men of the senatorial and equestrian order, and then remove the seat of the empire to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*. This report gained great credit after his death, when two books were found in his cabinet, one with the title of *gladius*, the sword, the other of *pugio*, the dagger, both containing the names of many eminent persons, whom he designed to destroy^s. These books were committed to the custody of *Protogenes*, one of the ministers of his cruelty^t. Besides these books was found a great chest filled with various sorts of poisons, which being by *Claudius's* orders thrown into the sea, infected the waters, and destroyed a vast quantity of fish^u. However, he

He threatens the senate.

Various instances of his cruelty.

^p SUET. C. 48. ^q SUET. C. 49. ^r SUET. C. 27. DIO. p. 660. ^s Idem, c. 49. ^t DIO. ibid. ^u SUET. ibid.

was somewhat reconciled to the senate before his death on the following occasion: *Protogenes*, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into the senate under colour of delivering some message from the prince, and all the senators crowding round him to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on *Scribonius Proculus*, and with an angry tone, *How dare you*, said he, *presume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to Cæsar?* There wanted no more, the other senators instantly fell upon him with their daggers, stabbed him in several places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled members about the streets, *Caius* beholding with great pleasure so dismal a spectacle ^w. *Suetonius* tells us, that this worthy senator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to satisfy *Caius*, who, taking a fancy to see a senator thus mangled, had without the least provocation pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty satiated, till the limbs and bowels of the innocent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleased with so dismal a sight, and the readiness the senate had shewn to take vengeance on his supposed enemy, he declared himself by a public edict reconciled with that body ^x; and the senate on their side, to acknowledge so great a favour, honoured him sometimes with the title of *hero*, and sometimes of *god*; which scandalous flattery puffed him up to such a degree, that thenceforth he shewed himself more ambitious than ever of divine honours, punishing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, persons of great merit and distinction, for neglecting to invoke his celestial genius: nay, some, for pretended offences against his godhead, were first torn and mangled with stripes, and then sawed asunder ^y (A).

Dion

^w Idem, c. 28. Dio. ibid. ^x Suet. ibid. ^y Dio. p. 661.

(A) What *Pliny* relates (45), if true, might have sufficiently convinced him both of his folly and weakness. For that writer tells us, that the last time he left *Rome*, as he went by sea from *Asturia* to *Antium*, his galley, which was attended by many others, stopt all on a sudden; and while the other vessels pursued their course, continued immoveable in spite of the utmost efforts of four hundred rowers. The whole company were greatly surpris'd, as we may well imagine, at such an extraordinary accident, and many of the mariners threw themselves into the sea to find out the cause of it; when they discovered a fish about half a foot in length, which seem'd to be of the snail kind, fastened to the keel of the royal galley. This is the fish to which the *Greeks* have given the name of

(45) *Plin. l. xxxi. c. 1.*

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Dion Cassius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the dismal effects of his pride, avarice, lewdness, prodigality, &c. observes in this place, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconstancy and fickleness of his humour, which often hurried him in a moment from one extreme to another; and concludes his observations with the following words: Sometimes he liked to see his palace crouded, and sometimes would see no company, not his most intimate friends: he was out of humour when any petition was presented to him; and more so, when nobody appeared to ask him any favour: sometimes he dispatched business with great expedition; at other times he was slow and tedious, putting off from day to day matters which required the greatest dispatch: he squandered away immense treasures with a prodigality which knew no bounds, and amassed new sums with the most sordid avarice: sometimes he was pleased with liberty of speech and abhorred flattery; but all on a sudden punished the least liberty, and took delight in being flattered: he often pardoned those who were guilty of most enormous crimes, and condemned such as were not charged with any: upon some of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, nobody knew why, with the utmost contempt: in short, so changeable was his humour, so various and inconsistent was his conduct, that his most intimate friends were at a loss what they should do, what they should say to please him, seeing he was often affronted with what he had taken delight in a few hours before ^z (B).

The inconstancy and fickleness of Caius's temper.

THE

^z Idem, p. 641—644.

echeneis, and the *Latins* that of *remora*. It was brought to *Caius*, who, instead of acknowledging his folly, in pretending to be equal in power to the gods, foamed with rage upon his reflecting, that so small a creature had thus bid defiance to so mighty a prince, to the lord of the universe.

(B) This is intirely agreeable to what we have read in *Philo*, who was well acquainted with *Caius's* strange and variable humour. There was no depending, says that writer, upon the kindness and good-will he shewed you, however great and in appearance sincere. When he had granted a favour, he soon repented and recalled it; nay his benefits were often the fore-runners of greater evils. Thus he frequently set at liberty such as were confined for crimes real or supposed, and soon after ordered them to be dragged back to the place of their confinement without any new guilt, telling them, to increase their former miseries, that now they were to expect no mercy. Many he condemned only to banishment, when they expected nothing but a cruel death; then, repenting of his clemency, he caused them to be executed in the place of their exile. His bounties he

A conspiracy formed against him.

Cassius Chærea at the head of the conspiracy.

THE following year, *Caius* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Cn. Sextius Saturninus* for his colleague, but held it only to the seventh of *January*, when he resigned the fasces to *Quintus Pomponius Secundus*. *Rome* had now for the space of near four years groaned under the oppressions of the most cruel and inhuman tyrant, that had ever been invested with power; when at length a bloody doom overtook the author of so much blood-shed and slaughter. The conspiracy, which for the present put an end to the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by *Cassius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had signalized himself in a very eminent manner, as we have already observed, in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, when the legions in *Germany* revolted. As he was a man of no less probity than bravery, the hatred he bore *Caius*, on account of his cruelties and extortions, first inspired him with the design of ridding the world of so great a plague. He was already resolved to resign his employment, and spend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commission from *Caius* to gather the taxes; for no commodity escaped without paying some tax or other, and the emperor levied them not by the publicans, as was usual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages thence accruing. In this commission *Chærea*, who was naturally compassionate, acquitted himself more to the satisfaction of the oppressed people, than of the emperor, who thereupon reproached him with want of spirit; and, conceiving an aversion to him, took pleasure in exposing him to the derisions of the soldiery. For though he was a man of great courage and resolution, yet, from his manner of speaking and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him, says *Seneca*^a, for a person of that extraordinary bravery, which he shewed on all occasions, without betraying the least concern in the greatest dangers. *Caius*, now incensed against him, laid hold of his outward appearance to reproach him with effeminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converse with women, than command men. When it was his turn to come

^a SENEC. ad Ser. c. 18.

often revoked, obliging those, who had received them, to refund them with usury. Several of his chief favourites he reduced to beggary, that they might not be tempted to retire, and enjoy the wealth which they acquired. Thus the very favours he bestowed were in the end attended with the ruin of those who received them, and therefore no less dreaded than his resentment (46).

(46) *Philo legat.* p. 1039.

for the parole, the emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always either some obscene word, or the name of some famous prostitute; insomuch, that the soldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought them the parole, and often diverted themselves with guessing what word *Chærea* would bring. But, as he was a man of too great spirit to put up such gross affronts, he resolved to convince the emperor how undeservedly he was taxed by him with effeminacy and want of courage. Having therefore determined to be revenged at all adventures on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unseasonable sarcasms, the reputation he had deservedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his design to some of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time, a senator of great distinction, named *Propedius*, was accused by one *Timidius* of having uttered injurious speeches against *Caius*. The only evidence produced against him was *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian; but she, when summoned to appear before the judges, declared that she had heard no such speeches. Hereupon *Timidius* requiring that she might be examined by torture, *Caius* ordered *Chærea* to see her immediately put upon the rack. *Josephus* tells us, that the tyrant commonly charged *Chærea* with commissions of this nature, being persuaded, that to avoid the imputation of faint-heartedness, that is, of good-nature, he would take care to execute them with extraordinary severity^b. But he was never so much at a loss how to behave as on this occasion; for *Quintilia* was privy to the conspiracy; whence he was afraid she might discover it upon the rack, if tortured without compassion; on the other hand, to shew any mercy to her, might cost him his life. But *Quintilia* herself delivered him from his uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot, giving thereby to understand, that no torments should extort from her a discovery of the plot. And truly she bore the rack with unparalleled constancy, without suffering a single word to escape her, in prejudice either of *Propedius* or the conspirators, tho' she was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that *Caius* himself, when she was brought back to him, being moved with pity and admiring her resolution, ordered her a sum of money, and dismissed *Propedius* untouched. As for *Chærea*, he was so affected with the constancy of *Quintilia* and the torments she had suffered, of which he had himself been the minister, that he immediately imparted his design to *Papinius* and *Clemens*, the former a tribune, as he was himself, of one of the prætorian co-

What provoked him against Caius.

The constancy of Quintilia

^b JOSEPH. l. xix. c. 1.

He gains
several
persons of
distinction.

horts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their bravery, and deliver *Rome* and the world from so bloody a tyrant, who employed them, not as the officers of the guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the design; but *Clemens* desiring to be excused from bearing any share in the execution of it on account of his age, promised to assist them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no small anxiety and apprehension of his betraying the secret (C). *Chærea* therefore, without loss of time, had recourse to *Cornelius Sabinus*, tribune likewise of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great courage, a lover of liberty, and consequently highly dissatisfied with the administration of *Caius*. *Sabinus* had formed the same design, but had not yet made any one privy to it for fear of being discovered. He therefore readily joined *Chærea*, and with him went immediately to sound *Annius Minucianus*, or, as others call him, *Vinicianus*, a senator of great distinction and merit, and mortally hated by *Caius*, who suspected him ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus*, with whom *Minucianus* had lived in close confidence. After the usual ceremonies were over, *Minucianus* asked *Chærea*, *What was the parole for that day?* which he taking for a sufficient declaration of his intention, *Do you*, said he, without any further preamble, *but give me the word liberty, and under your conduct I'll revenge my private injuries and the public calamities; do you but give me the word of command, and Rome shall no longer groan under the oppressions of an insulting tyrant.* At these words, which *Chærea* uttered with great vehemence and ardor, *Minucianus* embracing him,

(C) *Clemens* seems to have had no share in the execution of the design; since *Mucianus*, in conferring after his death the command of the prætorian cohorts upon his son *Clemens Arretinus*, told him, that his father had with honour and reputation discharged that office under *Caius* (47). And yet *Dion Cassius* names amongst the conspirators, *Calinus*, one of *Caius's* freedmen, and the commander of the prætorian guards (48); and *Suetonius* tells us, that the conspiracy was not executed without the concurrence of the most considerable amongst the emperor's freedmen and of the officers of his guards, who joined the other conspirators the more readily, because they found themselves suspected and hated by *Caius*, ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus* (49). As for the emperor's freedmen, *Josephus* assures us, that *Calixtus*, the most wealthy amongst them, favoured the conspiracy, being well apprised, that he could not by any other means escape the cruelty of *Caius*, and enjoy the immense wealth he had unjustly acquired (50).

(47) *Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 68.* (48) *Dio. l. lix. p. 662.* (49) *Suet. c. 56.* (50) *Joseph. ibid.*

commended his resolution, exhorted him to pursue his design, and promised to assist, to the utmost of his power, both with his sword and counsel (D).

THE number of the conspirators increased daily, which retarded the execution of the design, some of them being over-cautious, lest they should miscarry in an enterprize, on the success of which depended their safety, and the welfare of their country. If the attempt, said they, should not succeed, we should soon see every house in the city floating in blood. Not our lives only, but those of our wives, children, friends, relations, and acquaintance are at stake. We must expect no mercy from so cruel and inhuman a tyrant, who will take care to guard himself well for the future against any attempts of the like nature. Let us not therefore be over-hasty, but patiently wait for such an opportunity, as may promise certain success to our undertaking. *Chærea* did not relish this speech; to him every opportunity seemed favourable: as he was not in the least suspected by *Caius*, he offered to dispatch him, when he went up to the capitol to offer sacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he assisted at certain religious ceremonies, which he himself had instituted. He was for throwing him down head-long from the top of the *Julian* basilic, whence he used to scatter money among the populace; but the rest of the conspirators, thinking they could not use too much caution, did not judge any of these opportunities sufficiently safe and proper for the execution of their design. However, they all agreed at last to make the attempt during the sports, which were to be exhibited in honour of *Augustus* in the palace on the twenty-first of *January*, and the three following days; for after these sports, *Caius* was to leave *Rome* and repair to *Alexandria*, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of *Egypt*, as he had done the other provinces of the empire (E). But notwithstanding their agreement

His intrepidity and resolution.

(D) *Josephus* tells us, that as *Chærea* was about this time entering the senate, no doubt to attend *Caius*, for he was no senator, he heard a voice, which seemed to come from some one in the croud, encouraging him to dispatch what he designed, and assuring him, that heaven favoured his design. He was at first afraid, lest some of his associates had betrayed the secret; but afterwards concluded, that either one of his friends, or some divinity, pushed him forward to the speedy execution of his purpose (51).

(E) It was perhaps at these sports, that *Caius*, transported with rage against *Jupiter*, because the noise of thunder prevented him from hearing the actors, threw out most dreadful blasphemies against heaven, and impiously defied *Jupiter* himself, with these words;

(51) *Idem ibid.*

Dispatch

*A day fixed
upon for
putting
Caius to
death.*

agreement and the resolution they had all shewed at their last meeting, they were still for putting off the attempt; but *Chærea*, having called them together on the third day of the sports, exhorted them not to let slip the present opportunity, represented the dangers to which their irresolution exposed them, and, by a speech full of noble and generous sentiments, inspired them with such courage, that they unanimously agreed at all adventures to make the attempt the next day, when *Chærea* was by good luck to be upon guard, and consequently to receive of the emperor, according to custom, the parole with the sword by his side ^b (F). *Caius* came that day, the twenty-fourth of *January*, more early than usual, to the theatre, and appeared, contrary to his custom, gay, affable, and good-humoured; insomuch, that the spectators were greatly surprised at his obliging behaviour, and the complaisance he shewed to all who approached him. After he had sacrificed to *Augustus*, in whose honour the sports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and *Chærea* with the other officers that day upon guard at some distance behind him. When the sports began, one *Bathybius*, who had been prætor, happening to sit by a consular of his acquaintance, named *Cluvitus*, for at these shows there was no distinction of places, he asked him softly, *Whether he had heard any news?* *None at all*, answered *Cluvitus*: *But I can tell you something*, replied *Bathybius*, *to which you are perhaps a stranger; in the*

^b JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. i.

Dispatch me, or I'll dispatch you (75); for he foolishly persuaded himself to be upon a level with, and equal in power to, the greatest of the gods. This monstrous impiety, says *Seneca*, probably animated the conspirators with new courage.

(F) *Dion Cassius* tells us, that on the twenty-fourth of *January*, the day on which *Caius* was killed, an *Egyptian*, by name *Apolonius*, was brought to him, having been sent out of *Egypt* to *Rome* for pretending to foretel the emperor's death. *Caius* not being then at leisure to examine him, ordered him to be kept under close confinement till the sports were over. But he being killed in the mean time, the *Egyptian* was after one day's confinement set at liberty (76). *Suetonius* mentions many prodigies, to warn the emperor of his approaching end; amongst the others he tells us, that *Caius* being admonished by the oracle at *Antium* to be upon his guard against *Cassius*, he immediately sent assassins to murder *Cassius Longinus*, at that time proconsul of *Asia*, not remembering that *Chærea* was likewise named *Cassius* (77).

(75) *Senec. de ira*, l. i. c. 16.

(76) *Dio. p.* 663.

(77) *Suet.*

piece, which is to be acted to day, will be represented the death of a tyrant. *Cluvitus* answered with a verse out of *Homer*, which he whispered in his friend's ear; Silence, lest some of the Greeks should over-hear us^c. Historians observe, that this was the day on which *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was slain by *Pausanias*, as he was entering the theatre to behold the same tragedy that was acted before *Caius*^d. Another piece was to be exhibited in the night, representing some fabulous accounts of the infernal regions^e; for *Caius*, who took great delight in such representations, declared, that as this was the last day, the sports should continue all night, with a design, as was believed, to appear on the stage himself, and there display his skill and address in dancing, in which he took great pride^f (G). About noon, when the emperor used to withdraw for a short time to bathe and refresh himself with some nourishment, *Chærea* stole out with a design to fall upon him as he passed from the theatre to his apartment. But *Caius*, contrary to his custom, shewed no inclination to leave the sports, telling those who sat by him, that since it was the last day of the shows he had a mind not to bathe till they were over. At the same time, he called for some refreshment, which he shared with those who were about him, amongst the rest with *Pomponius Secundus*, then

^c Idem ibid.^d Idem ibid. & Suet. c. 57.^e Suet. ibid.^f Dio. p. 663.

(G) He was, says *Suetonius*, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer; he sometimes danced on the stage, and frequently before his friends in the palace. One night, while he was in that humour, he sent for three grave consuls, caused them to be awaked out of their sleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace, where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling in apprehension of immediate death, they suddenly heard a great noise of musical instruments, and at the same time saw the emperor coming leaping out in a long robe, to display before them his skill and address in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew, and sent the three consuls word, that they might, when they pleased, return home. He took such pleasure in seeing *Mæster*, the famous mimic, dance, that he punished, with great severity, such as gave him the least disturbance: a *Roman* knight making some noise while he was dancing, the emperor immediately sent him word by a centurion to depart that instant for *Offia*, and there wait for a letter, which he should soon send after him for *Ptolemy* king of *Mauritania*. The knight obeyed, crossed over to *Africa*, and presented the letter to *Ptolemy*, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words; To the bearer do neither good nor evil (78).

(78) *Idem*, c. 54.

consul,

consul, who sat at his feet and often kissed them. *Minucianus*, who was next to him, and had seen *Chærea* go out, rose up with a design to go out and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's resolution. But *Caius* taking hold of his robe, *Sit still, my friend*, said he, in a very obliging manner; *you shall go out with me*. *Minucianus*, as it were, out of respect, sat down again, but soon after rose up and went out; neither did *Caius* offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon some necessary occasion, and would soon return. He found *Chærea* waiting in the entry, which led to the theatre, and acquainted him with the emperor's resolution. Hereupon the resolute tribune thought it adviseable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than let slip the present opportunity, and offered to go in immediately and stab him in his seat. *Minucianus*, and such of the conspirators as were with him, for some of them were in the theatre, expecting the signal, approved of *Chærea's* bold proposal, who was thereupon entering the theatre, when word was brought him, that the emperor, at the persuasion of *Ampronas*, and some others who were privy to the conspiracy, had changed his mind and was coming out. The conspirators immediately drew together, and under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed such as they imagined would lend him any assistance. *Caius* at length came out, his uncle *Claudius* and *M. Vinicius*, who had married his sister *Julia*, walking before him, with some persons of great distinction. When he entered the palace, instead of going straight to his apartment, as he usually did, and following his officers and attendants, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to see there certain youths, who had been sent him out of *Asia*, to act and dance upon the stage, and were just then arrived. He was so pleased with them, that he would have immediately returned with them to the theatre, being impatient to see them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himself first †. While he was entertaining himself with the *Asiatic* youths, *Chærea* came for the parole, and *Caius* gave him one, as usual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. *Chærea* returned him a smart answer, and, at the same time drawing his sword, discharged a great blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to those, who would make us believe, that *Chærea* did not, as he might, dispatch him at one blow, lest he should be too soon out of his pain^r. *Caius*, struck with amazement at the boldness of the

Caius assassinated.
Year after
the flood,
 2040.
Of Christ,
 40.
Of Rome,
 789.

† JOSEPH. *ibid.* SUET. c. 58. DIO. p. 663 & Vide JOSEPH. *ibid.*

tribune,

tribune, had not presence of mind enough to call for assistance; however, he attempted to fly; but *Cornelius Sabinus*, having pushed him down upon his knees, *Chærea* with another blow broke his jaw-bone; then the rest of the conspirators, rushing in, dispatched him with thirty wounds, he for some time crying out, *I am still alive*; and the conspirators, *Repeat, repeat the blow*; which was the signal agreed on. We are told, that *Aquila* was the person who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conspirators took delight in mangling his body even after his death; nay, they are said to have carried their rage to such a height, as to cut off and eat pieces of his flesh ^h (H).

SUCH was the end of *Caius Cæsar Caligula*, the fourth emperor of *Rome*, a prince so monstrously wicked, that nature, says *Seneca*, seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what mischief could be effected by the greatest vices, supported by the greatest authorityⁱ. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *January*; so that he reigned but three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, according to those who fix the death of *Tiberius* on the twenty-sixth of *March*; or three years, ten months, and eight days, if we suppose him, as some do, to have begun his reign on the sixteenth day of the said month. He had lived, according to *Suetonius*^k, twenty-nine years; according to others, twenty-eight years, four months, and twenty-four days^l. Of the confusion and disorders attending his death we shall speak in the following reign. His body remained in the place where he had been assassinated, till the night was far spent, when it was privately conveyed to the *Lamian* gardens, where, being half burnt upon a pile erected in haste, it was, without any solemnity, or even ceremonies, committed to the earth. This last duty was paid him, according to the *Roman* writers, by his wife *Cæsonia*; but,

*His body
privately
conveyed
away, and
buried.*

^h DIO. p. 663.

ⁱ SENEC. de ira.

^k SUET. c. 59.

^l CLEM. Strom. l. i. p. 539. EUTROP. in vit. Claud.

(H) Some writers, quoted by *Suetonius* (79), say, that while he was speaking with the *Asiatic* youths, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a mortal wound on the head, saying, *Mind this*; after which *Cornelius Sabinus* ran him through the body. Others, cited by the same writer, tell us, that *Sabinus* coming for the parole, and *Caligula* giving him the word *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cried out, *Be sure to remember it*: hereupon *Caius* turning about, *Chærea* cut off his jaw at one blow, and struck him to the ground. The other conspirators then rushed in, and dispatched him (80).

(79) *Idem*, c. 58.

(80) *Idem* *ibid.*

according to *Josephus*, by king *Agrippa*, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, caused his body to be conveyed away, lest it should be insulted by the incensed populace. Some time after his sisters, being returned from banishment, took it up again, burnt it to ashes, and solemnly interred it. *Suetonius* affirms as a thing not to be doubted of, that those who had the care of the above-mentioned gardens were frightened with dreadful apparitions, so long as the body remained there; and that in the apartment where he was murdered, a frightful noise was heard every night, till it was burnt down to the ground¹. *Charea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, by name *Julius Lupus*; to dispatch his wife *Cæsonia*, and with her his only daughter, an infant; the tribune stabbed without mercy the mother, and taking the innocent child out of the cradle, dashed her brains out against a wall^m. The senate, even after *Claudius* was raised to the empire, were for declaring *Caius* infamous. This *Claudius*, who was his uncle, would not allow; but nevertheless ordered all his statues to be pulled down and broken, disannulled most of his acts, and gave his assent to a decree of the senate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future agesⁿ.

The birth,
education,
&c. of
Claudius.

As we have hitherto had no opportunity to speak of *Claudius*, who succeeded his nephew, but had led a retired life till he was raised to the empire, it may not be improper to premise to the history of his reign a succinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities, and also of his wives, children, and freedmen, whom we shall frequently have occasion to bring upon the stage. *Claudius* was born at *Lions* on the first of *August*, *Iulus Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus* being consuls, so that this year he was in the fiftieth of his age^o. He was named *Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus*^p. Upon his accession to the empire, he assumed the names of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, as did likewise all his successors; by which means the name of *Cæsar*, which was peculiar to the *Julian* family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the presumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of *Augustus* was a mark of the sovereign power. As for the name of *Julius*, it was quite laid aside, and never after assumed by any of the emperors^q. *Claudius* was, by his mother *Antonia*, the grandson of *Marc Antony* and *Octavia*, sister to *Augustus*, and by his father

¹ Suet. c. 59. ^m Idem ibid. Dio. p. 663. JOSEPH. ibid. c. 2. ⁿ JOSEPH. ibid. Dio. p. 667. ^o Suet. in Claud. c. 2. ^p Suet. ibid. Dio. p. 665. ^q Vide GOLTZ. p. 140.

Drusus, who died in *Germany*, the grandson of *Livia Augusta*, and consequently nephew to *Tiberius*, brother to *Germanicus*, and uncle to *Caius*. However, no one imagined he would ever have attained to the sovereign power, till the very day he was invested with it, all men being rather destined to the empire, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, than he, for whom fortune, or rather providence, reserved it in the dark^r. For being very sickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was thereby so weakened both in his body and mind, that he was looked upon as incapable of any public employment, and long after he was of age kept under a governor, of whom he complained in a book, which he published, as of a barbarous and unmannerly person, who had been formerly a groom, and was set over him on purpose to plague and chastise him upon every trivial occasion. His mother *Antonia* used to call him a human monster, just begun by nature, but never finished; and when she upbraided any one with dulness and stupidity, her common expression was, *You are as stupid as my son Claudius*: his grandmother *Livia* could not bear the sight of him: his nephew *Caligula*, when he had butchered many of his kindred, saved him purely for a laughing-stock; he was held in the same contempt by his sister *Livilla*, by *Augustus*, and all his family (I): the kindest word *Augustus* gave him was that of *Misellus*,

*Despised by
all his re-
lations.*

^r TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 18.

(I) *Suetonius*, to shew us what opinion *Augustus* entertained of *Claudius*, produces several of the letters to *Livia* concerning him: *I have*, says he, in one, *my dear Livia*, advised with *Tiberius* according to your desire, about what is to be done with your nephew *Tiberius*, that is, *Claudius*, at the solemnity of *Mars*. *We are both of opinion, that we must resolve, without further delay, what course to take with him; if his weakness is not very remarkable, we ought, without all doubt, to advance him by the same steps and degrees by which his brother was raised. But if we find any weakness or incapacity in his body or mind, we must not give occasion to the world to mock and deride both him and us: it is now time to deliberate and conclude, whether he is capable of public employments or not. I think it would not be amiss to charge him, at the approaching solemnity of Mars, with the care of entertaining the priests, upon condition, that he suffers himself to be directed by the son of Silanus his kinsman, who will instruct him, and prevent his doing any thing notoriously ridiculous. But I am utterly against his seeing the Circensian games from so conspicuous a place as the pulvinar, because he will be there exposed to the eyes of the whole theatre. Neither would I have him to attend his brother on the feriae Latinae to mount Albanus; and as to the government of the city, during his brother's absence, I do not think him at all qualified for such an employment. Thus my dear Livia, I have*

12

declared

Misellus, poor wretch°. Being thus despised and utterly neglected by his own relations, he became the jest of the court (K), and

° SUET. C. 2, & 3.

declared my opinion, which is, that we defer no longer, but come to a final resolution, whether we are to raise him or no. This part of my letter you may shew, if you please, to Antonia. In another he writes thus : *During your absence, I shall constantly invite young Tiberius to my table, that he may not sup with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus : I wish the poor child would propose to himself the example of some well-bred person, and imitate him in his gesture, habit, and mien ; for tho' he is not much esteemed by men of penetration, yet he is not without some noble sentiments.* And in a third ; *May I die, my dear Livia,* says he, *if I am not amazed how your nephew Tiberius could give me so full satisfaction in his declamation ; it is surprising, that a person who talks so ill, should write and declaim so well.* Augustus, well apprised of the weakness of his understanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur, and in his last will mentioned him only amongst his third heirs, who were no-ways related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred sesterces. His uncle Tiberius honoured him with the consular ornaments, but never allowed him to discharge the office of consul ; and when the young prince importuned him for some real preferment, he wrote him word, that he had sent him forty pieces of gold against the *Saturnalia*, or feasts of *Saturn*, for play-money, and to lay out, as he pleased, in the *Sigillaria*, which was a kind of fair after the *Saturnalia*, lasting seven days, and so called from the little images and puppets, in *Latin*, *Sigilla*, which were then sold. Upon this answer, *Claudius*, laying aside all hopes of rising to any considerable employment in the state, betook himself to a retired life, spending his time with persons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the suburbs, or at his country-house in *Campania*, where he gave himself intirely up to gaming and drinking, diversions suitable to the low company he kept. However, the senate, in consideration of his high birth, passed a decree, enacting, that he should be added, above the limited number, to the college of the priests of *Augustus*, into which none had ever before been admitted but by lot ; that a house belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground by accidental fire, should be rebuilt at the public charge ; and that he should have a vote in the senate, and deliver his opinion amongst the consulars. But this decree did not take place, *Tiberius* alledging against his voting in the senate the weakness of his understanding, and promising to make good at his private expence the losses he had sustained by fire. Nevertheless, *Tiberius* in his last will named him amongst his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of sesterces (81).

(K) *Suetonius* tells us, that if he happened to come to table, when the other guests had taken their places, no one shewed him the least

(81) *Idem*, c. 2—7. *Dis.* p. 665.

and was treated even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew with the greatest disrespect imaginable (L). He was not only destitute of parts, but moreover extremely timorous; infomuch, that there was no accident so trivial, no man, woman, slave, or child, so contemptible, as not to frighten him, and when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reasoning. This timorousness was owing to his education; for he was brought up amongst women and freedmen, and obliged from his infancy to depend intirely upon them, and submit to their will and pleasure, without having any passions, or even discernment, of his own^t. He gave out after he came to the throne, that in the reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caius* he had counterfeited folly to escape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly shewed, that it was not assumed, but real^u. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel^w, while others ascribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions of which we shall have occasion to speak in the history of his reign. Though he had many great faults, yet, when compared with *Tiberius* or *Caius*, he did not pass for a bad emperor^x. From his childhood he applied himself to the study of the liberal sciences, and gave frequently public testimonies of his proficiency in them^z. He arrived at no small perfection in oratory, and his discourse was not without elegance, when it was the result of study. He was well skilled

His timorousness.

His learning.

^t DIO. *ibid.* ^u Suet. c. 38. ^w Idem, c. 34. ^x DIO. l. lx. p. 665. ^z Suet. c. 3. ^a Tacit. annal. l. xiii. c. 3.

civility, but diverted themselves with seeing him running about the table to find out a place; if he refreshed himself, as he usually did after meals, with a short repose, they took pleasure in throwing the stones of olives and dates at him; sometimes they awaked him with the blow of a rod, or whip; and sometimes, while he was asleep, they put his sandals upon his hands, that, when he awaked he might rub his face with them (82).

(L) He was, as *Dion Cassius* observes, so notoriously neglected, that, notwithstanding the prerogative of his birth, he did not rise above the rank of a knight, till the age of forty-six years, when his nephew *Caius* created him senator, in order to honour him with the consulate (83). Nevertheless, to this contempt and neglect was owing the power he acquired; for *Caius* would never have spared him, had he imagined him capable of aspiring at it (84). Besides, the base treatment he met with moved both the people and soldiery to compassion, and procured him their affections (85).

(82) Suet. c. 8. (83) Dio. p. 644. (84) Idem, p. 658.
(85) *Aurel. Vict.* c. 3.

both

both in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, wrote several books (M), and added three letters to the antient alphabet (N), which, however, continued in use no longer than his reign ^b. *Seneca* commends his works, and speaks of him as an encourager of learning ^c. As to his person, he was tall and well-shaped; but had something very disagreeable in his mien, something very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his low voice and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief subject of *Seneca's* railleries ^d. These defects, as well as his stammering and the trembling of his head, *Dion Cassius* takes to be the effect of the infirmities, to which he was subject in his childhood and youth ^e.

His

^b SENEC. c. 41.^c SENEC. lud. in Claud.^d Idem ibid.^e DIO. c. lx. p. 665.

(M) At the persuasion of *Livy* the celebrated historian, and with the assistance of *Sulpitius Flavius*, *Livy* dying before he began his work, he wrote in forty-three books the history of *Rome* from the death of *Cæsar* the dictator to his own time. He is said to have wrote with great liberty, and to have been on that account often rebuked by his mother *Antonia* and his grandmother *Livia*. He published also seven volumes of *his own life*, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (86), and a defence of *Cicero* against the writings of *Gallus*, which, in the opinion of *Suetonius* (87), was a learned performance. His history he recited in public, submitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He had a particular value for the *Greek* tongue, spoke it fluently, and wrote in that language the history of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty books, and that of the *Carthaginians* in eight. To make these histories the more famous, he added a new school to the old one at *Alexandria*, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two *Greek* histories to be read in both schools (88).

(N) *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, and *Varro* agree, that *Claudius* added three letters to the *Latin* alphabet, two of which are well known, viz. the *Æolic digamma*, and the *antifigma*; the former was an F inversed, thus, ꝥ, and sounded like the V; as *terminaꝥit ampliaꝥitque*, and *Digi Augusti*, &c. The antifigma served instead of the *Greek* Ψ, or instead of P S. and was wrote thus, ꝥ. The figma of the antient *Greeks* resembled our C; whence *Claudius*, to his new letter, consisting of two figmas, having their backs turned to each other, thus, ꝥꝥ, gave the name of antifigma. As to the third letter, we are quite in the dark. Some take it to have been the diphthong ai, which is found in most inscriptions of *Claudius's* time, thus, *antoniai*, *Digai*, &c. But it is manifest, that this diphthong was in use long before his reign. Others, from a corrupt

(86) Suet. c. 41.

(87) Idem ibid.

(88) Idem, c. 42.

passage

(89)

HIS wife, when he came to the empire, was *Valeria Messalina*, his cousin, whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention. He had already by her a daughter, named *Octavia*, who was afterwards married to *Nero*. Not many days after his accession to the empire, his wife *Messalina* was delivered of a son, named first *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus Caesar*^f. By his second wife, *Ælia Petina*, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called *Antonia*, whom he married first to *Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, both descended from illustrious ancestors. His first wife, *Plautia Urgulanilla*, brought him *Drusus*, and a daughter, called *Claudia*. *Drusus* lost his life at *Pompeii* before he was fourteen, being choaked by an apple, which stuck in his throat, while, in play, he was throwing it up into the air, and catching it in his mouth. As for *Claudia*, though she was born five months before he divorced her mother, yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but suspecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen, called *Boter*, he caused her to be stript naked, and to be laid, after the divorce, before her mother's door^g.

His wives
and chil-
dren.

Messalina and *Agrippina*, whom he married after her death, bore an absolute sway over *Claudius*, who acted under them more like a slave than a prince^h, disposing of honours, governments, employments, armies, &c. as they and his freedmen, whose power he raised as high as his own, thought fit to direct him. Amongst the latter his chief favourites were *Possides* the eunuch, *Felix*, *Harpocras*, *Polybius*, and above all *Narcissus*

His freed-
men.

^f SUET. C. 27. DIO. p. 548. ^g SUET. ibid. ^h SUET. C. 29.

passage in *Velius Longus*, conclude it to have been we know not what letter, invented to soften the harsh sound of the letter R. There are not wanting some who pretend the letter X to have been first contrived by *Claudius*; but *Isidorus* plainly shews, that it was invented and used in the reign of *Augustus* (89). The Greek φ had, as *Quintilian* observes, a different sound from that of the Latin PH; whence some conjecture the third letter invented by *Claudius* to have answered the Greek φ, which is not altogether void of probability. But on this subject nothing has been, or can be, offered, except what is merely conjectural. *Claudius* published a book, when he was yet a private person, on the necessity of admitting these letters, and the use of them: when he was advanced to the empire, he obliged all to use them; but after his death they were disused and quite laid aside; though in the times of *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* they were still to be seen in several records and journals, and in the tables of brass, on which were published the decrees of the people (90).

(89) Vide *Isidor. de orig.* (90) *Suet. c. 41. Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 14.*
and

and *Pallas* (C). To these we may add *Callistus*, or, as others call him, *Calixtus*, a man of great craft and address (P). He was privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, as we have related above, and gained the favour of *Claudius*, by persuading him, that he had been charged by *Caius* to poison him; but had

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Possides* was rewarded by *Claudius* in his *British* triumph, and amongst the other brave officers presented with a spear; but whether the eunuch deserved that mark of distinction, we find no where recorded. *Felix* was brother to *Pallas*, *Claudius*'s reigning favourite, and the most powerful person in the whole empire. He is by most writers named *Claudius Felix*, but by *Tacitus*, *Antonius Felix*, because he was first the slave of *Antonia*, the mother of *Claudius*, and afterwards of *Claudius* himself, whose name he likewise took upon his being manumitted. He was in high favour with *Claudius*, and by him raised to the first posts of the army, and afterwards to the government of *Judea*, *Galilee*, *Samarina*, and *Perea*, that is, of the country beyond the *Jordan* (91). *Suetonius* observes, that from a slave he became so great and considerable, that he was the husband of three several queens, or rather princesses of royal blood. One of these was *Drusilla*, the daughter of king *Agrippa*, whom, by means of a magician, named *Simon*, he persuaded to abandon her husband *Axizus*, king of *Emesus*, and marry him (92). In marrying *Felix*, she renounced, according to *Josephus*, the *Jewish* religion, which *Axizus* had embraced out of complaisance to her. *S. Luke* nevertheless calls her a *Jewess* (93). *Felix* married another *Drusilla*, grand-daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and daughter to *Juba* king of *Mauritania* (94). Who was the third princess we find no-where recorded. To *Harpocras*, another of his favourite freedmen, he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter and of exhibiting plays, which was contrary to the decree passed in *Tiberius*'s reign, and by us mentioned there. *Polybius* was a man of learning, and had assisted *Claudius* in his studies, who thereupon heaped extraordinary honours upon him, allowing him often to walk between the two consuls (95). Of *Narcissus* and *Pallas* we shall speak anon.

(P) *Callistus* had been slave to a private citizen, who sold him to *Caius*, but was afterwards obliged, as *Seneca* observes (96), to purchase his favour at a much higher price than that, at which he had sold him; nay, he was often seen waiting at his door, and courting even his porters, that he might be allowed to enter with the rest, and attend the levee of one, whom he had formerly kept in chains. *Scribonius Largus*, a celebrated physician of those times, inscribed to him a work, wherein he styles him *Caius Julius Callistus* (97). *Suetonius*, in speaking of the freedmen of *Claudius*, makes no men-

(91) *Suet. c. 28. Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5.*

(92) *Idem ibid.*

(93) *Act. c. xxiv. v. 24.*

(94) *Idem ibid.*

(95) *Suet. ibid.*

(96) *Senec. epist. 47. Tacit. annal. 11.*

had, under various pretences, put off from day to day the execution of his orders^l. *Calixtus*'s office was to receive the requests, which were presented to the emperor; *Narcissus* was his secretary, and *Pallas* had the whole management of the finances. These three divided the sovereign power amongst them^k. Each of them was, according to *Pliny*¹, richer than *Craffus* had ever been; nay, they possessed greater wealth than the emperor himself, who was thereupon told, as he complained one day of his poverty, that he would be rich enough, if he could but prevail upon his freedmen to take him for their partner^m. Having premised thus much in general concerning *Claudius* and those who governed under him, we shall now resume the thread of our history.

THE unexpected news of *Caius*'s death, which was brought while the people were intent upon the shows, and in a trice spread all over the city, occasioned a general uproar. Upon the first alarm the deceased emperor's litter-men hastened with their poles to his rescue, and were immediately followed by his German guards, named the Celtic band, who, finding *Caius* lying dead on the ground and his body mangled, in the manner we have related, vented their rage on all they met, without examining whether they were privy to the conspiracy or not; and in this confusion were killed *L. Asprenas*, who had been consul three years before, *Norbanus*, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, *Anteius*, a senator of great

The alarm which the death of Caius occasioned in Rome.

Several persons of distinction killed.

^l JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. i. ^k ZONAR. l. v. SUET. ibid.
¹ PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 10. ^m SUET. ibid.

tion of *Callistus*, who, it is certain, bore a great sway in that reign; but names one *Harpocras*, who is scarce taken notice of by any other writer. This has prompted some to believe, that *Harpocras* and *Callistus* were one and the same person. But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Callistus* was also named *Harpocras*, since *Scribonius Largus* names him only *C. Julius Callistus*. Besides *Seneca* speaks in one place of *Callistus* (98), and in another of *Harpocras* (99); and tells us, that the latter was executed by *Claudius*'s orders. Had this been the end of so famous and celebrated a person as *Callistus*, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* would not, we conceive, have failed to mention it. *Suetonius* perhaps makes no mention of *Callistus* in speaking of *Claudius*'s freedmen, because he was not, properly speaking, one of his, but of *Caius*'s, freedmen, by whom he was first manumitted, and afterwards employed in quality of secretary (100). He was alive in the eighth year of *Claudius*'s reign, and died soon after (1).

(98) *Senec. epist.* 47. (99) *Idem lud. in Claud.* (100) *Joseph. antiq.* l. xix. c. 6. (1) *Tacit. annal.* l. 11. c. 27.

The consuls
seize the
capitol.

distinction, and several others, who came meerly out of curiosity to know whether the report was true or no. As for *Chærea*, he retired, before the emperor's death was publicly known, to the house of *Germanicus*, which was contiguous to the palace, and there with the chief of the conspirators lay concealed, till the *Germans*, by whom *Caius* was extremely beloved on account of his prodigality, had vented their first fury. The people, suspecting *Caius* had caused the report of his death to be spread abroad, on purpose to discover their sentiments, continued in the theatre, without taking any notice of what was rumoured about. But they were greatly alarmed, when word was brought them, that the emperor's guards had surrounded the theatre, and were ready to enter it sword in hand, to sacrifice the whole multitude to the manes of their massacred general. And this indeed they designed in the first transports of their rage; but a public herald appearing unexpectedly in the theatre, clad in deep mourning, after having proclaimed the emperor's death, commanded the people quietly to retire to their respective houses, and the soldiery to withdraw to their quarters without raising any further disturbance. They both obeyed, which was more than was expected, with great readiness, so that the tumult was soon appeased, and tranquility restored to the city. Then the consuls, *Q. Pomponius Secundus* and *Cn. Sentius Saturninus*, having, at the head of the city-guards who were under their command, seized on the forum and the capitol, assembled the senate, in order to deliberate with them about the most proper measures in so critical a conjuncture. While they were assembled, both the populace and soldiery, whom *Caius* had gained with the immense sums he distributed amongst them, and the magnificent shows he exhibited almost every day, cried aloud for vengeance; which so terrified the senate, that they were ready to pass a decree, enacting, that the conspirators should be forthwith apprehended and executed as traytors and enemies to their country, when *Valerius Asiaticus*, a senator of great quality and reputation, rising up, spoke with great vehemence against the measures they were entering upon, commended the zeal of the brave patriots who had delivered their country from so cruel a tyrant, publicly wished he had had the glory of dispatching him with his own hand, and exhorted the fathers to despise the clamours of the multitude. Hereupon they took courage, and by an edict, which they caused to be read to the people, commanded them to return to their several employments, and the soldiery to their camp. Then the conspirators appeared publicly, and owned the fact; and *Sentius Saturninus*, one of the consuls, having in a speech, which he uttered with great zeal and ardor, displayed the bene-
fits

fits of liberty and miseries of tyranny, encouraged the fathers to resume their antient authority, and to begin the exercise of that power to which they alone had a just claim, by conferring such honours and rewards on *Chærea*, as the eminent service he had rendered the republic well deserved. The senators, animated with his speech, agreed to restore *Rome* to her antient liberty, and utterly to extinguish the name of the *Cæsars*. They spent all that day and the following night, in deliberating about the measures for bringing about so great a change, without kindling a civil war within the very walls of the city, but parted after long and warm debates without agreeing upon any. When the senate rose, *Chærea*, whom they had appointed commander of the city-guards, went to the consuls for the parole, who gave him the word *liberty*. No such honour had been paid to the consuls ever since the establishment of the monarchyⁿ.

The senate resolves to restore Rome to her antient liberty.

In the mean time, the soldiers in the camp took such measures as utterly defeated those of the senate. *Claudius*, who had been with *Caius* a few minutes before he was murdered, and was retired to a room in the palace called *Hermaum*, upon the first alarm of his death, stole away in a great fright, and hid himself behind the hangings in a dark corner of the palace, whence he heard the noise of the soldiery, and saw some of the *German* guards pass close by him with the head of *Asprenas*, which they carried, as it were, in triumph. This sight increased his fright to such a degree, that he continued motionless in the same place, scarce daring to breathe through fear of being discovered, till a common soldier, called by some *Gratus*, by others *Epirius*, but probably *Epirius Gratus*, running about the palace in quest of plunder, discovered his feet, and dragged him out of his hiding-place. *Claudius*, not doubting but the soldier designed to murder him, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears begged for mercy, which *Gratus*, finding who he was, not only granted, but saluted him emperor, and carried him to his comrades, who at his instigation honoured him with the same title. They then put him into a chair, and, as his servants were fled, carried him upon their shoulders by turns to the camp, the people, who imagined they were carrying him to execution, bemoaning his misfortune; for he had hitherto done nothing that could deserve any man's hatred. He was well received in the camp; but, as he was naturally timorous, he passed the night in no small apprehension^o. He was inclined not to accept the empire; but king *Agrippa*, who had just interred the body of *Caius*, arriving in the camp, and

The soldiery find Claudius.

ⁿ JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. & 2. SUET. in Calig. c. 59. DIO. l. lx. p. 664. ^o SUET. in Claud. c. 10.

The people join the
foldiery.

The senate
advise
with king
Agrippa.

hearing the army designed to raise *Claudius* to the sovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and, leaving him in that resolution, returned home. On the other hand, the foldiery, being well apprised, that the state could not long subsist without an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantageous for them to give than to receive one, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of *January*, took an oath of allegiance to *Claudius*, who thereupon promised them fifteen great sesterces a man ^p. He was the first emperor, as *Suetonius* observes, who gave money to the soldiers upon his accession to the empire; but his example was followed by most of his successors ^q. The people, who had expressed great joy upon the hopes of recovering once more their antient privileges, no sooner heard that *Claudius* was declared emperor by the army, than they changed their mind, approved with loud shouts what had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one prince, than many tyrants. The senate, however, persisted in their former resolution of asserting the public liberty, and were even for making war upon *Claudius*; but afterwards growing cooler on account of the differences that arose amongst them, and not being able to come to an agreement, they sent for king *Agrippa* to advise with him. The king obeyed the summons with great readiness, and appearing in the senate, dressed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his house that day, he asked what was become of *Claudius*, as if he suspected him to have been murdered together with his nephew. Hereupon the senate related to him what had passed, to which he pretended to be an utter stranger, and at the same time asked his advice (R). The traitor protested, that he was ready to sacrifice his life to the glory of the senate and to the public liberty; but at the same time starting innumerable difficulties and exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he craftily

^p JOSEPH. *ibid.*

^q SUE T. *ibid.*

(R) *Josephus* tells us in his history of the Jewish war, that king *Agrippa* was at the same time sent for both by the senate and by *Claudius*, and that he chose to go first to *Claudius*, who sent him in his name to the senate (2). This is not to be easily reconciled with what he writes in his *antiquities*, viz. that *Agrippa* being sent for by the senate, immediately obeyed the summons, but pretended an intire ignorance of what had passed, either in the palace or camp, relating to *Claudius*. We have followed him in his *antiquities*, which he wrote the last.

(2) *Joseph. bell. l. ii. c. 28.*

endeavoured

endeavoured to deter them, as solicitous about their safety, from having recourse to arms. He told them, that in his opinion they were no-ways in a condition to make head against the prætorian guards; and that he therefore advised them, rather to send a deputation to *Claudius*, begging him not to accept of the empire. This embassy he offered to take upon himself; the senate returned him thanks for his zeal, accepted his offer, and dispatched him the same day to the camp with two tribunes of the people, *Veranius* and *Bruchus*. The tribunes conjured him to submit to the authority of the senate and people, put him in mind of the evils and calamities which the republic had suffered under the former tyrants, assured him, that the senate had resolved at all events to attempt the recovery of their antient privileges, earnestly intreated him seriously to reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of *Caius*, &c. The speech of the tribunes made a deep impression on the mind of *Claudius*, who was naturally timorous; but *Agrippa* in a private audience encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity, acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irresolution of the senate, and exhorted him to assume forthwith the imperial power, and return an answer to the deputies becoming an emperor. *Claudius* followed the advice of *Agrippa*, which occasioned no small confusion in the city, the senate declaring, that they were determined rather to risque a civil war, than submit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war, and accordingly *Claudius*, being acquainted with their resolution, began to put himself in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time, the people, surrounding the place where the senate was assembled, demanded with threats an emperor, declaring aloud, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the senate. This frightened the fathers to such a degree, that they immediately separated; but the consuls summoned them to meet again the next morning before break of day. Only a small number of them obeyed the summons, scarce a hundred persons, the rest being either retired into the country, or keeping close in their houses, through fear of being insulted by the populace. While those who met were deliberating how to thwart the designs of *Claudius*, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the senate, joining the populace, began to cry aloud, that they would have an emperor; that the senate might chuse whom they pleased; but that they were resolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This put an end to the deliberations of the senate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aside, and *Claudius*,

A deputation sent to Claudius.

The senate betrayed by Agrippa.

The people demand an emperor.

And are joined by the city guards.

with

with the usual ceremonies, declared emperor, (S). After this declaration the senators hastened to the camp, each of them striving to be the foremost in paying their court to the new prince. The soldiery received them with insults, wounded some of them, and would have killed the consul *Pomponius Secundus*, who had been the most sanguine of all in the cause of liberty, had they not been restrained by *Claudius*, who received him with the greatest tokens of respect, and placed him next to himself ^r.

*Claudius
declared
emperor.*

AND now *Claudius*, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, accompanied by the senate and prætorian guards, and, entering the city in a kind of triumph, offered a solemn sacrifice in the capitol by way of thanksgiving to the gods, who had thus raised him to the empire; and then withdrew to the palace, where he immediately summoned a council of his

^r JOSEPH. *ibid.* DIO. p. 666. SUET. c. 10.

(S) The senate, being well apprised, that all their efforts towards the recovery of their liberty must, in the present disposition of the people and soldiery, necessarily prove ineffectual, resolved at first to name an emperor themselves, and not accept one from the soldiery. Accordingly, several persons were proposed, all better qualified than *Claudius* for that high station. *Josephus* names the three following senators, all men of extraordinary parts, and equal to the sovereignty; viz. *Annius Minucianus* or *Vinicianus*, *Volterius Asaticus*, who had been both privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, and *Camillus Scribonianus*, who revolted the following year. *Minucianus* had most votes; but the consuls, dreading the consequences of a civil war, which they thought unavoidable, if they named any but *Claudius* to the sovereign power, put off, under various pretences, the final decision of such an important affair. In the mean time, the gladiators, on whom the senate chiefly relied, and the city guards went over in crowds to *Claudius*; so that *Minucianus* and the others gave over soliciting for a dignity, which they were well apprised they could not long enjoy. *Cherea* did all that lay in his power to put a stop to the desertion of the soldiery, but to no purpose; for while he was encouraging the few who remained, to exert themselves in the defence of their liberties, instead of listening to him, they took up their standards, and, marching sword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades in the camp of the prætorian guards. The senate, seeing themselves thus abandoned by all their forces, were at length forced to join the people and soldiery, and declare *Claudius* emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him at the same time all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, *Cherea* and *Sabinus* continued protesting, that they would rather fall by their own hands, than submit to *Claudius* (3).

(3) *Joseph. antiq. c. 5.* DIO. p. 665.

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CLAUDIUS



NERO.



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friends to deliberate with them about his conduct, with respect to those who had murdered *Caius*: in his heart he approved of the action; but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one should not pass unrevenge'd, with the advice of his friends, he caused the brave *Chærea* (T), *Lupus*, who had put to death *Cæsonia* with her daughter, and a few more to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the rest, and amongst them *Cornelius Sabinus*, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*; but the brave tribune, grieved for the death of his friend *Chærea*, and scorning to outlive him, laid violent hands on himself *. After this the emperor caused an act of oblivion to be pass'd with respect to all that had been transacted in the senate, from the death of *Caius* to the time of his accession to the empire, and observed it so strictly, that he even rais'd those to the first employments who had been the most sanguine in the cause of liberty. The senate immediately decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modestly declined the greater part of them, and caused a decree to be pass'd in the senate, forbidding any one to pay him divine worship, or style him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cn. Pompeius*, he would not suffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occasion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniversary of his accession to the empire †. He no sooner began to exercise the authority with which he was invest'd, than he suppress'd the law of majesty, which under the two preceding emperors had proved so fatal to *Rome*. At the same time, he called home all the exiles; eas'd the people of the tributes with which *Caius* had loaded them; forbad such as had any relations of their own, however distant, to name

Chærea
and some
of the con-
spirators
put to
death.

Instances
of *Clau-*
dius's mo-
desty, equi-
ty, &c.

* JOSEPH. & DIO. *ibid.*

† DIO. p. 667.

(T) *Chærea* died with the constancy of a true hero; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear, notwithstanding the great example he had before his eyes. As he was pulling off his garments at the place of execution, he complain'd of cold; which unseasonable complaint *Chærea* turning into ridicule, told him, that cold had never yet done harm to a wolf, alluding to his name *Lupus*, which in the *Latin* tongue signifies a wolf (4). They were both beheaded, and the *Roman* people, a few days after their execution, offering the usual sacrifices in the month of *February*, in honour of their deceased friends, did not on that occasion forget the brave *Chærea*, acknowledging their obligations to him, for having deliver'd the republic from so destructive a tyrant (5).

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) DIO. p. 666.

Is beloved
by the peo-
ple.

His timor-
ousness.

Renders
himself
contempti-
ble.

him among their heirs; restored the estates, which had been unjustly seized by *Tiberius* and *Caius*, to the owners or their heirs: ordered all the statues, which *Caius* had caused to be brought to *Rome* from *Greece* and other countries to be carried back, and restored to the cities whence they had been taken, &c. With these and innumerable other instances of his clemency, justice, and good-nature (U), he won the hearts of the people to such a degree, that upon a groundless report of his being assassinated, they raised dreadful disturbances in the city, calling the soldiers traitors, the senate parricides, and loading with horrible curses and imprecations all whom they suspected to have been any ways accessory to his death. The tumult continued till the magistrates assured the people from the rostra, that *Claudius* was only gone to *Ostia*, whence he would return in a short time ^u. But the zeal, which the people shewed on this and several other occasions for his safety, was not sufficient to cure his natural timorousness. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the first month of his reign, to appear once in the senate, because *Cæsar* the dictator had been murdered there. He caused all, whom he admitted to his presence, to be first narrowly searched, lest they should have some weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be persuaded to excuse women, and even children, from being searched in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was constantly surrounded by his guards, whom he also obliged to attend him at table, distrusting the domestics even of his most intimate friends. He never failed to visit in person such of the senators as were indisposed, but always sent his guards before to search every corner of the house ^w. However, these unnecessary and ridiculous precautions did not render him so contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, as the weakness and want of judgment, which he betrayed in the administration of justice. He was no ways qualified for that office; but nevertheless could not be prevented from hearing and de-

^u Suet. c. 12. Dio. p. 669. ^w Suet. c. 35.

(U) When news of *Caligula's* death reached *Gaul*, several persons of distinction in that province solicited *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, who commanded on the *Rhine*, to lay hold of that opportunity, and seize the sovereignty for himself. The legions too offered to stand by him, thinking they had as good a right to dispose of the empire as the prætorian guards. But *Galba* rejected their offers with indignation, which so pleased *Claudius*, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after shewed a particular affection for him (6).

(6) Suet. in *Galb.* c. 7.

ciding

ciding the most intricate causes, which served only to expose him to public derision, and often to insults, which he bore with incredible patience. *Suetonius* tells us, that a *Greek*, pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an *old fool*; and that a *Roman* knight, thinking himself wronged by him, had the boldness to throw his pen-knife at him, which wounded him in the cheek^x. We are not told, that he ever resented these gross affronts; which sufficiently shews the weakness of his understanding.

In the first year of his reign, he enlarged the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, with the addition of *Judæa* and *Samaria*, which had been formerly possessed by his grandfather *Herod the Great*. To his brother *Herod* he gave the principality of *Chalcis* at the foot of mount *Libanus*, and granted to both the privilege of entering the senate, allowing *Agrippa* to appear there with consular, and *Herod* with prætorial, ornaments^y. He also restored *Mithridates the Iberian* to his kingdom, *Mithridates the Cilician* to the kingdom of *Bosporus*, and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*, who had been all unjustly deprived of their dominions by *Caius*^z. Soon after his accession to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from the island of *Pontia*, to which they had been confined by their brother *Caius*; but his wife *Messalina*, who governed him with an absolute sway, jealous of the power which *Julia* assumed, prevailed upon him to send her back this very year to the place of her former banishment, under pretence that she was guilty of adultery and several other crimes, which by the envious *Messalina* were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated *Seneca* had his share in the misfortunes of the unhappy princess, being after his quæstorship banished to the island of *Corfica*, upon a bare, and, as is commonly believed, altogether groundless, suspicion of a criminal conversation with her^a. This year, the *Romans* gained some advantages over the *Mauritanians*, who had taken arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their king, barbarously assassinated by *Caius's* orders^b. About the same time, *Sulpi- tius Galba* overcame the *Catti*, and *P. Gabinius Secundus* the *Marfi*, two German nations. *Gabinius* after his victory had the good luck to discover and bring back with him to *Rome* one of the eagles, which the *Germans* had taken upon the defeat of *Varus*. For these victories *Claudius* took the triumphal ornaments and the title of emperor. *Gabinius* defeated likewise

Restores several princes to their dominions.

Seneca banished.

^x Idem, c. 15. ^y JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 4. DIO. p. 670.
^z JOSEPH. & DIO. ibid. ^a TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 8. DIO. p. 670. ^b DIO. ibid.

the *Chauci*, another German nation, and was allowed by *Claudius*, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occasion, to assume the surname of *Chaucius* ^c.

THE following year, *Claudius* entered upon his second consulship, having for his colleague *C. Largus*, but held it only for two months: to whom he resigned the fasces we are no-where told; *Largus* continued consul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he first assembled the senate in quality of consul, obliged all the senators to bind themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the laws of *Augustus*; took the same oath himself; but would not allow any of the magistrates or senators to lay themselves under any obligation with respect to his own laws ^d. This year the *Mauritanians* were defeated anew by *Suetonius Paulinus*, who extended his conquests to the river *Nigris*, which separates *Africa* from *Æthiopia*. *Cn. Hosidius Geta* succeeding *Paulinus* in the command of the Roman troops in *Africa*, gave *Salabes*, the *Mauritanian* general, two great overthrows, which obliged the whole country to submit to the yoke. *Claudius* divided the kingdom of *Mauritania* into two provinces, viz. the *Cæsariana* and the *Tingitana*, the former being so called from *Cæsar*, a name now common to all the emperors, and the latter from *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, the metropolis of that province. Both these provinces were, by the appointment of *Claudius*, governed by Roman knights ^e (W).
This

Mauritania reduced and divided into two provinces.

^c SUET. C. 24.
I. V. C. I.

^d DIO. p. 671.

^e DIO. ibid. PLIN.

(W) *Dion Cassius* tells us, that *Geta* pursued the *Mauritanians* beyond mount *Atlas*; and that while he was in those dry and sandy countries in great distress for want of water, a magician, who lived there, taught him certain charms, which, he said, were frequently practised by the inhabitants with wonderful success, when they wanted water. *Geta* gave no great credit to the magician; but being prompted, partly by curiosity, partly by the distress he was in, to make use of the charms which the *Mauritanian* had taught him, he was greatly surprised to see all on a sudden the sky overcast, and a great quantity of water fall from heaven. The barbarians, concluding from thence, that the gods favoured the Romans, sent deputies to treat with, and submitted to, *Geta*, upon his own terms. Thus *Dion Cassius* (7). We read in *Pliny*, that *Claudius* sent a colony to *Tingis*, which city he named *Julia Traducta* (8). But we are inclined to believe, that this colony was sent to *Tingis* by *Julius Cæsar*, since it is mentioned by *Strabo* (9), who died before the

(7) DIO. l. lx. p. 671.
p. 140.

(8) PLIN. l. v. c. i.

(9) STRAB. l. iii.

reign

This year *Claudius* caused a law to be passed, commanding, that those who were named by the senate to the government of provinces, should depart from *Rome* before the beginning of *April*^f; but the year following he allowed them to stay in *Rome*, till the middle of that month. At the same time, he published an edict, forbidding those, whom he should charge with the government of provinces, to return him thanks, as was customary, in the senate, since they owed no obligations to him; but he on the contrary was greatly indebted to them, for easing him of part of his burden^g. The great famine, which raged this year at *Rome*, prompted *Claudius* to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*, which great work he happily completed, though *Cæsar* the dictator, if some mistake is not crept into *Suetonius*, had many years before attempted it in vain^h. It was an undertaking, says *Dion Cassius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire; but the successors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it, so that soon after his death it was choaked up with sand and became quite uselessⁱ (X). At the same time, *Claudius* undertook the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, in the country of the *Marfi*, and the conveying of its waters, by a deep canal, into the *Tiber*, or rather the *Liris*, in which work he employed thirty thousand men for eleven years together, but to no effect, as we shall see in the tenth year of his reign.

Claudius
makes a
harbour at
the mouth
of the *Ti-*
ber.

THIS year, *Messalina* and *Claudius*'s freedmen began to abuse the prince's weakness and the two great power he allowed them, to the destruction of such of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or any-ways incurred their displeasure. The first who fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a person of

^f Dio. l. lx. p. 672. ^g Idem ibid. ^h Suet. c. 20. Dio: p. 672. ⁱ Idem ibid.

reign of *Claudius*. *Vossius* takes *Pliny* to have been mistaken in giving to *Tingis* in *Africa* the name of *Julia Traducta*, which, in his opinion, was peculiar to the city of *Tingis* in *Spain*, built in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, and peopled with inhabitants from *Tingis* in *Africa* (10).

(X) *Suetonius* calls it the port of *Ostia*, though it lay on the other side of the *Tiber* over-against *Ostia* at a place still called by the inhabitants *il porto*, the haven. The same writer tells us, that at the entrance of the harbour was sunk the vessel, in which the great obelisk we spoke of in the preceding reign, was brought out of *Egypt*, as a foundation for the piles, upon which was raised a high tower, according to the model of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* (11).

(10) *Voss. in hist. p. 197.* (11) *Suet. c. 20.*

Lewdness
of Messa-
lina,

Death of
Silanus.

great distinction and known integrity. He married to his first wife *Æmilia Lepida*, grand-daughter to *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*, and had by her *L. Junius Silanus*, to whom *Claudius* had betrothed his daughter *Octavia*. Upon the death of *Æmilia Lepida*, which happened this year, *Claudius*, who held him in the number of his most intimate friends, persuaded him to marry *Domitia Lepida*, mother to his own wife *Messalina*. But to his great misfortune the empress, whose lewdness knew no bounds, fell in love with him herself, and was not ashamed to disclose to him her passion. *Silanus* rejected with the utmost indignation her incestuous solicitations, which provoked her to such a degree, that she resolved upon his ruin, and compassed it with the concurrence of the freedman *Narcissus* in the following manner. *Narcissus* rushed into *Claudius's* chamber one morning by break of day as in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was still in bed, that he had dreamt *Silanus* designed to murder him that very day. *Messalina*, as had been agreed on beforehand, pretending to hear the freedman's accounts with surprise and amazement, assured the emperor, that she had been for several nights together frightened with the same dream. In the mean time, *Silanus*, who had been told the day before, that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, suddenly came in, which so terrified *Claudius*, of all men the most timorous, that, without any further inquiries, he commanded him to be immediately seized and executed. The same day he acquainted the senate with what had passed, and was not ashamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his safety, even in his sleep * (Y). The death of *Silanus* alarmed the nobility, who

* Suet. c. 37. Dio. p. 674. Tacit. annal. xi. c. 37.

(Y) *Suetonius* tells us, that a person, who had a suit at law depending before *Claudius*, in the same manner rid himself of his adversary, telling him he had dreamt the night before, that he was assassinated; and afterwards, when his adversary appeared, whispering him in the ear, that he was the assassin. This was enough for *Claudius* to have him immediately apprehended and executed, as if he had been convicted. The poor unmanly wretch was at the least apprehension of danger easily put upon the most cruel and sanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reason and temper, which had naturally no bias to cruelty. When returned to himself, he often testified great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a sudden fright, without knowing what he did or said: nay, we are told, that he frequently inquired what was become of those very persons who had been executed by his orders; that he sometimes sent to invite them to dine with him the very

who thinking their lives and estates precarious under a weak prince, intirely governed by his wife and freedmen, resolved by his death to put an end to their reign, and deliver themselves from the dangers that threatened. *Annius Vinicianus*, or, as *Josephus* calls him, *Minucianus*, who had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*, and after his death had been by the senate judged equal to the empire, was at the head of the conspiracy, and drew into it *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, who had been consul ten years before, and with him a great number of knights and senators. *Camillus*, who was at the head of a powerful army, openly declared his design, and by assuring the troops under his command that he had nothing in view but to restore *Rome* to her antient liberty, persuaded them to take an oath of allegiance to him; and at the same time, as he was well acquainted with *Claudius's* timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him filled with reproaches, and threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not forthwith resign the empire, and, betaking himself to a private and retired life, save him the trouble and charge of making war upon him. The coward was so terrified with this letter, that he assembled, in the utmost consternation, his friends, to deliberate with them, whether or no he should resign the sovereign power to *Camillus*? But he was soon delivered from his fears; for *Camillus's* soldiers, not being able, by some strange accident, to remove their ensigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor, began upon that omen to repent of their revolt, and being persuaded that the gods disapproved of it, fell upon their officers, and cut most of them in pieces. *Camillus* himself found means to escape to the island of *Iffa* on the coast of *Dalmatia*, where he was stabbed in the arms of his wife *Junia* by a common soldier, named *Volaginius*, after he had bore the name of emperor for five days¹. Upon his death most of the conspirators, and amongst the rest *Vinicianus*, laid violent hands on themselves; some were seized and executed, and some by purchasing with large sums the favour of *Messalina* and

Camillus
revolts;
and writes
a threatening letter
to *Claudius*.

*Is abandoned by
his men;*

And murdered.

¹ Suet. c. 13. Dio. p. 674. Plin. l. iii. epist. 16. Tacit. hist. l. ii. c. 75.

very next day, and was under the utmost concern when informed of their death, protesting with tears in his eyes, that he had given no such orders (12). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen: hence many bloody executions, according to the degree of his own timorousness, or of their ambition, revenge, and avarice.

(12) Suet. c. 37. 39.

the

the emperor's freedmen, never were, though notoriously guilty, inquired after, while many innocent knights and senators were, under colour of being concerned in the conspiracy, stripped of their estates by the rapacious *Messalina* and *Narcissus*, and either sent into banishment, or executed without mercy. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that one of *Camillus's* freedmen, by name *Golefes*, being apprehended and brought before the senate, spoke there with great courage and freedom. Whereupon *Narcissus*, who was present among the emperor's attendants and stood behind him, making up to the freedman, asked him, *What would you have done, if your master had got possession of the empire? I should have kept behind him*, said he, and, mindful of my condition, not presume to speak in his presence^m. The courage and resolution of *Arria* is celebrated by most of the antient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a consular man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was seized in *Dalmatia*, and sent to be tried at *Rome*. *Arria* being by the merciless soldiers denied the satisfaction of attending her husband in the same vessel, followed him in another, and arriving at *Rome*, there publicly reproached *Junia*, the wife of *Camillus*, with want of courage and conjugal affection, in living after she had seen her husband inhumanly murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from thence, that she was resolved not to outlive her husband, watched her day and night; but she, to convince them that all their precautions were to no effect, beat her head against the wall with such violence, that her friends, for some time, believed her dead. However, she recovered; but finding she could not, with all her interest, for she was in great favour with *Messalina*, save her husband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, she took a dagger, plunged it into her own breast, and pulling it out again, presented it to her husband, saying, *Non dolet; I don't feel it*ⁿ. *Martial* makes her say, *I don't feel my wound, but shall feel yours*^o (Z). *Otho*,
father

The constancy,
firmness,
and death
of *Arria*.

^m DIO. p. 675.
epig. 14.

ⁿ PLIN. l. iii. epist. 16.

^o MART. l. i.

(Z) This action of *Arria* is mightily cried up by the antients, especially by *Pliny* the younger: but nevertheless, that judicious writer thinks his heroine far more commendable for the constancy and resolution she shewed in dissembling the extreme grief she felt on the death of one of her children, that her husband who was dangerously ill and tenderly loved the child, might not be acquainted with his misfortune, till he was perfectly recovered. The constancy and intrepidity she shewed at her death proceeded probably from vanity and a certain fondness for fame, says *Pliny*; but her manly behaviour in the height of her grief was the effect of the most refined virtue,

father to the emperor of that name, being appointed to succeed *Camillus* in the command of the troops in *Dalmatia*, had the courage to cause the heads of those soldiers, who had any hand in the murder of their officers, to be cut off in his presence; nay, in the midst of the camp, though he well knew, that *Claudius* had approved of what they had done, and even advanced some of them to considerable posts in the army. This conduct displeased the emperor; but *Otho* soon regained his favour, by discovering a conspiracy formed against him by a *Roman* knight, who was apprehended, convicted, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, by the consuls and tribunes of the people ^p.

THE following year, *Claudius* was the third time consul, having for his colleague *L. Vitellius*, the second time consul. *Claudius* held that dignity, according to *Suetonius* ^q, only two months; but, according to *Dion Cassius*, to the beginning of *July* ^r, when both he and his colleague resigned the fasces to *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* and *C. Sulpitius Galba*, as we learn from an antient inscription ^s. This year *Claudius* deprived the *Lycians* of their liberty, to put a stop to the differences that reigned amongst them, and to punish them for having in a tumult put some *Roman* citizens to death ^t. Their country was added to the province of *Pamphylia* ^u (A). In *Rome*, *Messa-*

The two
Julia's put
lina, to death.

^p Suet. in Oth. c. 1. Dio. l. lx. p. 675.

^q Suet. c. 14.

^r Dio. p. 676. ^s Vide Onuph. in Fast. p. 189.

^t Suet. c. 25.

^u Dio. p. 676.

virtue, since she could not be prompted to it by any prospect of fame or glory (13).

(A) The *Lycians* on this occasion sent a deputation to *Claudius*, at the head of which was one of their country, who enjoyed the rights of a *Roman* citizen; but *Claudius*, finding he did not understand the *Latin* tongue, caused his name to be razed out of the roll of citizens: he treated in the same manner many others, whom he judged unworthy of the *Roman* name (14). He forbade under severe penalties such as were not free of the city to assume the name of any family in *Rome*; and even condemned some persons to death, and caused them to be publicly executed, for no other crime, but because they had falsely passed themselves upon the world for *Roman* citizens. But notwithstanding this rigor, he granted the freedom of the city to an infinite number of persons of all nations, who had wherewithal to purchase it of *M. Julia* or his freedmen. It was at first sold at a very high rate, but became afterwards so common, that it was purchased, as was then said by way of raillery, for a

(13) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 16.*

(14) *Dio. ibid.*

broken

Claudius
designs to
subdue
Britain.

lina, abusing the absolute sway she had over her weak husband, persuaded him by her malicious insinuations first to put to death his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whom he had banished the year before to the island of *Pontia*, and afterwards *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus* and grand-daughter of *Tiberius*: she was likewise niece to *Claudius*, being the daughter of his sister *Livilla*. They were both condemned and executed, says *Suetonius*, without being allowed to defend themselves, though nobody could prove the charge that was brought against them*. However, the latter *Julia* well deserved, on another score the doom that overtook her; for she was chiefly instrumental, as we have related above, in the ruin of her husband *Nero* the son of *Germanicus*. When *Claudius* quitted his consulship, the senate decreed him triumphal ornaments, which put him upon undertaking some enterprise that might intitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he chose for his warlike exploits was *Britain*, at that time harrassed with civil wars. Some *Britons* of distinction having abandoned their own country, to avoid the fury of the factions that raged there, and taken refuge in *Gaul*, their countrymen complained, not without threats, of the *Romans* for entertaining them, and insisted upon their being sent back. This served as a pretence to make war upon them, one of the fugitives, by name *Bericus*, persuading the emperor by many arguments to attempt the conquest of that great island, which no *Roman* had ever dared to invade since the time of *Cæsar* the dictator. At his instigation, *Claudius* dispatched orders to *Plautius*, who had succeed *Gabinus* in the command of the troops in *Lower Germany*, to convey, without delay, all his forces over into *Britain*. This order was not relished by the soldiery, who, in a mutiny declared, *That they would not make war out of the compass of the world*. Hereupon *Claudius* sent his freedman *Narcissus* to appease the mutiny, and encourage the disheartened legions to obey their general. *Narcissus*, upon his arrival, ascended the tribunal, and thence began to harangue the legions, who, provoked at the audaciousness of the slave, abused him with most opprobrious lan-

* Suet. c. 29.

broken glass (15). Hence *Seneca* wrote in the invectives he published against *Claudius*, that if he had lived longer, he would have made all the *Greeks*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards* free of *Rome* (16). This to *Seneca* seemed very absurd; but was afterwards practised by other emperors, and, in the opinion of *St. Austin*, very wisely (17).

(15) *Dio Suet. ibid.* (16) *Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 476.*
(17) *Aug. civ. Dei. l. v. c. 17.*

language, bidding him quit the camp, and return to the masquerades and plays at *Rome*; for they were determined, without his harangues, to follow their general. Accordingly, they immediately began their march to the sea-side; and imbarquing on the vessels, which *Plautius* had with incredible expedition, got ready for that purpose, landed in *Britain*, before the inhabitants had any notice of their design, whom therefore they easily defeated in several skirmishes, and advanced as far as the *Thames*. But *Plautius*, not thinking it safe to penetrate farther into the country, wrote to *Claudius*, pursuant to his instructions, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a farther pursuit of his conquests. Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor, who had drawn together a good number of legions, and kept them in a readiness to march to the assistance of his lieutenant in *Britain*, left *Rome*, and imbarquing at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles* (B); thence he marched by land to *Gessoriacum*, now, as is commonly believed, *Boulogne**, and from that place set sail for *Britain*, where he landed without opposition; and joining *Plautius*, whom he found incamped on the banks of the *Thames*, which he passed, defeated the enemy, and made himself master of several strong-holds, among the rest of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*, according to *Cambden*, where stood the palace of *Cynobelinus*, one of the *British* kings. In this expedition *Vespasian* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; for partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, he fought thirty pitched battles, subdued two powerful nations, took twenty strong

Plautius
passes over
into that
island.

Is followed
by Clau-
dius.

* Vide *BUCHER*. de Belg. p. 147.

(B) *Claudius*, before he set out from *Rome*, committed the government of the city, and the command of the troops left there, to *Lucius Vitellius*, the father of the emperor of that name, and this year the emperor's colleague in the consulship. He was a man of parts and valour; but, as we have observed already, a most infamous and slavish flatterer of persons in power. Being appointed, as we may say, regent in the absence of *Claudius*, he discharged his trust with great credit and integrity. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Claudius* put off his departure from *Rome* for a few days upon a slight indisposition, which seized *Sulpitius Galba*, afterwards emperor; so highly was he favoured and beloved by *Claudius* after the discovery of the above-mentioned conspiracy. *Claudius* in his passage from *Ostia* to *Marseilles* was twice in danger of being shipwrecked, which induced him to pursue his journey from *Marseilles* to *Boulogne* by land (18).

(18) *Suct. c. 17.*

His conquests there.

towns and upwards, and reduced the island *Vectis*, or the island of *Wight* ^y. *Claudius*, having disarmed the *Britons* who had submitted, appointed *Plautius* governor of the conquered provinces, and, charging him to pursue his conquests, returned in great haste to *Rome*, which, however, he did not enter till the next year; but the senate decreed both to him and his son the surname of *Britannicus* (C).

His triumph.

THE following year, *L. Quinctius Crispinus* being the second time consul with *M. Statilius Taurus*, *Claudius* was received at *Rome* with a most magnificent triumph (D): and the senate, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to pursue their conquests, decreed, that all the treaties made by them should have the same force, as if made by the senate and people of

^y Suet. in Vesp. c. 4. & in Claud. c. 27. Dio. p. 679. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 4.

(C) *Claudius* set out from *Rome* on his *British* expedition about the beginning of *July*, and returned to the city in the beginning of *January* (19). He staid in *Britain* a few days, says *Suetonius* (20); sixteen days, says *Dion Cassius* (21). On his return he imbarqued on the *Po*, and, entering by one of the mouths of that river the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Ostia* (22). *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that he left the island without fighting one battle, nay without bloodshed (23); and in another (24), that *Vespasian*, partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, fought thirty battles. The latter is agreeable to what we read in *Dion Cassius*, whom we have followed. *Eutropius* (25) and *St. Jerom* (26) fix to this year the conquest of the islands *Orcades*. But *Tacitus* writes, that they were not subdued by, or known to, the *Romans*, till the reign of *Vespasian* (27). They were not perhaps subdued, but they were certainly known this very year to the *Romans*, since *Pomponius Mela* mentions them in his description of the world, which he wrote while *Claudius* was waging war in *Britain* (28).

(D) That the show might be more glorious by the concurrence of people, he not only gave leave to the governors of provinces to be present at it, but permitted several banished persons to return home on purpose to behold it. In the solemnity his wife *Messalina*, magnificently adorned, followed him at some distance in a stately chariot. He mounted the steps of the capitol on his knees, being supported by his two sons-in-law. Among the spoils of the enemy he placed a naval crown on the top of his palace hard by the civic crown, in token of his victory over the sea (29).

(19) Dio. p. 680. (20) Suet. ibid. (21) Dio. ibid. (22) Plin. l. iii. c. 16. (23) Suet. ibid. (24) Idem, in vit. Vespas. c. 4. (25) Eutrop. in vita Claud. (26) Hier. in Chron. (27) Tacit. in vit. Agr. c. 10. (28) Mela, l. iii. c. 6. & Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 25. (29) Suet. c. 27.

Rome

Rome^a. *Claudius* after his triumph restored to the senate the provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconsuls^b. He likewise honoured *M. Julius Cottius*, prince of the *Alps* called *Cottia*, with the title of king, and enlarged his barren territories^c; but deprived the *Rhodians* of their liberty for crucifying some *Roman* citizens^d, which, however, he restored to them nine years after, that is, in the fifty-third year of the christian æra^e.

THE next consuls were *M. Vinicius*, whom *Claudius* named to that dignity, though he had caused his wife *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* to be put to death, and *T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus*. As the city was filled with statues, *Claudius* Some wise ordinances of *Claudius*. enacted a law, forbidding any new statues to be erected within the walls of *Rome*, without the consent of the senate, and at the same time ordered a great many already raised to be taken away^f. He punished with great severity some governors of

provinces, who had oppressed the people they were set over, and enacted several wholesome laws for bringing such to justice as should for the future be guilty of the same fault; ordering all governors to return to *Rome*, as soon as the time of their command was expired, to answer there the complaints that might be brought against them. The prerogative of granting leave to senators to travel out of *Italy*, which *Augustus* had lodged in the senate, he claimed himself, and obliged the senate to yield it to him by a decree^g. This year, on the first day of *August* about an hour after mid-day, happened an eclipse of the sun. The emperor, as this was his birth-day, took care to give notice of it to the people before-hand, that they might not be surprised at that phænomenon, or draw bad omens from it^h.

IN the following consulate of *Valerius Asiaticus* and *M. Junius Silanus*, died *M. Vinicius*, brother-in-law to *Claudius*, *Vinicius poisoned by Messalina*. being poisoned by *Messalina*. He was a man of a quiet temper and lived retired, concerning himself only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd *Messalina* conceived a violent passion for him, and poisoned him, because he could not by any solicitations be prevailed upon to injure *Claudius*ⁱ. *Asinius Gallus*, the son of *Agrippina*, *Tiberius*'s first wife, conspired this year against the emperor, with a design to seize the sovereign power for himself; but the conspiracy being discovered, *Claudius* only condemned him to banishment, as a person from whom he had nothing to apprehend, since he was of a very low stature, ill-shaped, of a very deformed countenance,

^a DIO. p. 680. ^b SUET. c. 25. ^c DIO p. 681. ^d SUET. c. 25. ^e Idem ibid. ^f DIO. ibid. ^g SUET. c. 23. DIO. p. 682. ^h DIO. p. 682. ⁱ DIO. p. 683.

Claudius's
clemency.

and so inconsiderate, that he had aspired to the sovereignty, though quite destitute of both friends and money, upon the bare supposition, that he should be immediately acknowledged by all on account of his noble descent. This generous behaviour in *Claudius* was highly commended by persons of all ranks; and no less pleasing to the people was the decree, which he got passed in the senate, forbidding freedmen to appear in judgment against their patrons, and impowering their former masters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful, or gave them any just motive of complaint ^b (E).

Claudius
censor.

THE next year, *Claudius* was consul the fourth time with *Lucius Vitellius*, the third time consul; but after two months resigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of censor, chusing for his colleague *Lucius Vitellius*, already consul, who, as we have often observed, had a wonderful talent for flattery (F). In the discharge of this important office, *Cla-*

^b DIO. p. 684. SUET. c. 25.

(E) St. *Jerom* tells us (30), that *Thrace*, which had hitherto been governed by kings, was this year, the fifth of *Claudius* and forty-seventh of the christian æra, reduced to a Roman province. *Eusebius* likewise writes, that *Rhemetalces*, king of *Thrace*, being killed by his own wife, *Claudius* conquered that country. But of this memorable event no mention is made by the Greek or Latin writers, whose works have reached our times.

(F) He left no stone unturned, says *Suetonius*, to work himself into the favour of *Claudius*: observing him intirely addicted to his wife *Messalina* and his freedmen, he begged of the former, as the greatest favour she could bestow upon him, that she would grant him the honour of pulling off her shoes. *Messalina*, well pleased to see a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his request; and *Vitellius*, the first time he discharged his honourable employment, carried away one of her shoes, and wore it constantly in his bosom, not being ashamed to pull it out in public and often kiss it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narcissus*, the emperor's reigning freedmen, he worshipped amongst his household gods. When *Claudius* entertained the people with the secular games, so called, because they were exhibited but once in a century, his compliment to him was, *Sape facias; May you many times exhibit these sports*. Not only *Claudius*, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were so taken with the gross and fulsome flattery of this fawning slave, that they not only raised him to the first employments in the empire, but likewise his two sons, whom he had the satisfaction to see consuls in the same year, the one succeeding the other (31). His elder son was afterwards raised to the empire.

(30) Hier. in chron. (31) Suet. in vit. c. 2.

dus

dius performed some things highly commendable, but in others gave such instances of his weakness and want of understanding, as exposed him to public derision. He published above twenty edicts in one day, most of them quite trifling and ridiculous; by one of them, for instance, he warned the senate and people to take care that their wine-vessels were well pitched, since there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the best remedy of all against the sting of a viper. When he came to inquire into the manners of the Roman knights, he dismissed a young man most notoriously vicious, without any punishment, because his father gave him a good character, telling him, *You have a censor at home.* Another, infamous for debauching both married and unmarried women, he only admonished, *either to live chaste, or to be lewd more warily; for why must I know,* said he, *with what women you keep company?* ¹ This year was remarkable for the deaths of several persons of great distinction, whom *Claudius*, at the instigation of *Messalina*, caused to be executed. *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, who had married *Antonia*, the emperor's eldest daughter, fell the first. He was of an illustrious family, but not descended from *Pompey the Great*, being the son of *Crassus Frugi*, who likewise bore the surname of *Great*. His credit with the prince, his great nobility, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to *Messalina*, occasioned his ruin. He was condemned and had his head cut off by a soldier sent to him for that purpose, without so much as knowing that he was accused^k: so great and absolute was the sway, which *Messalina* had obtained over her weak, timorous, and credulous, husband. At the same time, *Crassus*, the father of *Pompeius*, and his mother *Scribonia* were by the order of *Claudius* put to death, though the former intirely resembled him, being, to use the expression of *Seneca*, as great a monster as himself, and therefore no less qualified to be emperor ¹. Several other persons of this ancient and illustrious family were at the same time sacrificed to the jealousy of *Messalina*, and the fears of *Claudius* ^m. Upon the death of *Pompeius*, the emperor married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cornelius Sylla Faustus* ⁿ, brother to *Messalina*, if *Zonaras* is to be credited ^o, who had a son by her, upon whose birth *Claudius* would not suffer any public demonstrations of joy. Many knights and senators of rank were after the death of *Pompeius* accused of conspiring against the prince, some of whom *Cla-*

Exposes his weakness in the discharge of that office.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus put to death.

¹ Suet. c. 16. ^k Suet. c. 29. Dio. p. 679. Senec. lud. in Claud. ¹ Senec. ibid. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Suet. c. 27. ^o Zonar. p. 184.

dius,

Valerius
Asiaticus
accused.

His trial.

clius pardoned, that is, such as he did not fear; but *Valerius Asiaticus* (G) was prosecuted without mercy for no other crime, but because he possessed, and had embellished with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of *Lucullus*, which *Messalina* coveted. He was charged with a design of withdrawing into *Gaul*, to stir up his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of *Vienne* in that province, and supported there by numerous and powerful families, all his own relations. He was accused by *Sosibius*, preceptor to *Britannicus* (H), who easily prevailed upon the weak and timorous prince to secure his life and empire, by the destruction of his pretended enemy and rival. *Crispinus*, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately dispatched with a body of soldiers to seize him at *Baïæ*; which he did accordingly, and hurried him to *Rome* in chains. He was tried, not in the senate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the presence

(G) *Valerius Asiaticus* was a native of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province on account of his wealth and numerous dependents. He had been one of *Caius's* most intimate friends; but that prince having first debauched his wife, and afterwards bragged of it in a public assembly in his presence, the brave *Gaul*, who had too much spirit to put up such an affront, resolved to be revenged on the outrageous tyrant; and accordingly with great readiness entered into the conspiracy, nay, became, according to *Tacitus*, the principal director in the plot; though he had no share, as we are told, by *Josephus* and *Dion Cassius*, in the execution of it. When the senate, after the assassination, were for punishing the conspirators, *Valerius* rising up, commended the action, owned himself privy to it, and publicly wished he had had the glory of dispatching the tyrant with his own hand. The senators, animated by his firmness and resolution, took courage; granted impunity to the conspirators, and were even for decreeing them rewards (32). *Valerius* had been consul, the year before, the second time, having been once honoured with that dignity in the preceding reign.

(H) This is probably the *Sosibius*, whose writings are quoted by *Arnobius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *Suidas*. He was instructed by *Messalina* to warn *Claudius* under the mask of zeal, that great wealth in the hands of private men proved always dangerous to princes; that *Valerius* was, on account of his immense riches and powerful alliances in *Gaul*, capable of disputing the empire with him; that he was not only highly esteemed by his countrymen the *Gauls*, but in mighty favour with the *Roman* people; that it was already a prevailing rumour through all the provinces, that he designed to put himself at the head of the armies, &c. (33). These malicious and groundless insinuations were sufficient to put the timorous *Claudius* upon the most cruel and bloody precautions.

(32) *Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 1. Dio. l. lix. p. 663.*

Ibid.

(33) *Tacit.*

of *Messalina*. However, he pleaded his cause with such eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from *Claudius* and *Messalina* herself. But the empress, fearing pity and tenderness should get the better of her other passions, left the room, and in going out, whispered *L. Vitellius* in the ear not to let the accused escape ^p. As *Valerius* declared that he had never before seen any of the witnesses, who were produced against him, *Sossibius* at last brought in one, who, he said, was well acquainted with him. He had beforehand informed his evidence, that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore upon his entering the room he desired him in the first place to tell them which was *Valerius Asiaticus*: *I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he*, said the witness, pointing at another bald person, who happened to be present. This convinced *Claudius* that *Asiaticus* was free from all guilt; but while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous *Vitellius*, throwing himself at his feet, and putting him in mind of the good services of *Asiaticus* to the commonwealth, of his attachment to *Antonia*, the prince's mother, of his gallant behaviour in the late *British* expedition, &c. begged him in the end with many tears to display his mercy, by granting to so worthy and deserving a citizen the free choice of his own death. *He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.* *Claudius*, without further consideration, complied with his request; which was in effect condemning *Asiaticus*, who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death ^q (I). *Messalina*, not satisfied with the ruin of *Asiaticus*, suborned persons, who urged

^p TACIT. *ibid.*^q *Idem*, c. 2, 3.

(I) He behaved with great firmness and intrepidity both at his trial and after his condemnation; besides the charge of treason, he was accused of winking at the licentiousness of the soldiery, of neglecting military discipline, of carrying on an adulterous amour with *Poppæa*, the mother of that *Poppæa*, who became so infamous in the reign of *Nero*, and lastly with surrendering his person, like an harlot, to unnatural lust. This last article *Asiaticus* could not brook; but interrupting the accuser, by name *Suilius*, a person, it seems, of some rank, *Ask thy own sons*, *Suilius*, said he, *they will satisfy thee that I am a man*. After his condemnation, he continued his usual exercises, walking, bathing, and even supping cheerfully, telling his friends, that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen by the craft of *Tiberius*, or the fury of *Claudius*, than thus to perish by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery of such a base and prostitute sycophant as *Vitellius*. After supper he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed to another place, lest the heat and smoke should hurt his trees, and lessen their cool shade: After this he opened his veins without betraying the least concern, and bled to death (34).

(34) *Idem*, c. 3.

Poppæa, with whom he was supposed to carry on a criminal conversation, to lay violent hands on herself, to avoid the disgrace of a shameful imprisonment, with which they threatened her. The emperor was so utterly unapprised of her unhappy end, that her husband *Scipio* being a few days after at table with him, he asked him why he came without his wife? *Scipio* answered, that she was dead; but dared not mention the particulars of her death^r. Afterwards two illustrious Roman knights, surnamed *Petræ*, were accused and condemned, because one of them had had a dream, which was supposed to portend some misfortune, either to *Claudius* or the empire (K).

Claudius
supports
the plead-
ers.

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees from their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint of this grievance being begun by *Caius Silius*, consul elect, the whole senate concurred, and demanded, that the *Cincian* law might be revived, injoining that no man should, for pleading a cause, accept of any gift or payment. The demand of the senate was with great vehemence promoted by *Silius*, and with equal ardor opposed by the pleaders (L). *Claudius* favoured the latter, and

^r Idem ibid.

(K) Some writers say, that he saw *Claudius* in a dream crowned with a garland of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, which was interpreted to foretel a public famine: others have wrote, that the chaplet he saw was of vine-branches and white leaves, which he construed to portend the death of the prince at the close of autumn. But whatever he dreamt, both he and his brother were sacrificed, partly for a dream, and partly for accommodating, as was pretended, *Asiaticus* and *Poppæa* with the use of their house for their private assassinations.

(L) *Silius* urged the examples of the ancient orators who had required no other reward for pleading, but present applause and the praises of posterity. By allowing orators to take fees, we put them upon the level with mechanics, said he, and debase eloquence, of all accomplishments the most glorious and honourable, to sordid lucre: besides, if eloquence once becomes venal, orators will, upon the prospect of greater gain, be tempted to betray those whom they have undertaken to defend; they will promote enmities, accusations, mutual hatred, quarrels, &c. as a sure means of enriching themselves: if no man finds his advantage in defending suits, there will be few suits to defend: as diseases are the market of physicians, so will our quarrels and animosities prove the revenue of the pleaders, who will therefore take care to inflame us against each other, and keep us always at variance. They might remember *Caius Asinius*, *M. Messala*, and more lately *Arruntius*, and *Eserninus*, who were raised to the highest dignities of the state by an unblemished life and an eloquence never exposed to sale. Thus spoke *Silius*. In answer to him, the pleaders owned, that fame was indeed the greatest reward a man could

and therefore the senate, instead of subjecting them, as they designed, to the penalties of the law against extortion, if they took any fee at all, or even present for, pleading, contented themselves with settling their fees, which were not to exceed two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring those who were not satisfied with that sum, guilty of extortion^r. The same year the *Cherusci*, who inhabited the present dutchy of *Brunswick*, had recourse to *Claudius* for a king, who sent them *Italicus*, son to *Tilavius* the brother of the famous *Arminius*. *Italicus* was born at *Rome*, and brought up there after the *Roman* manner; which induced the *Cherusci*, though they received him at first with great joy to take arms against him, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards restored by the *Longobards*, and, being supported by them, oppressed in a most tyrannical manner the *Cherufcan* state. At the same Wars in Germany. time, *Sanguinius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, being dead, the *Chauci* made incursions into that province; but *Cn. Domitius Corbulo*, the greatest commander of his age, who was sent to succeed *Sanguinius*, obliged them to retire, pursued them into their own country, and would have forced them to submit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Claudius*, who feared *Corbulo* more than he did the *Germans*, put a stop to his conquests, and

^r Idem, c. 5—8.

could wish for, but uncertain, and therefore not to be depended upon; that the practice of pleading was intended for the good of mankind, was a common refuge for all men, and prevented the powerful and mighty from oppressing those who were not by themselves in a condition to withstand them; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expence; since they, who professed it, neglected their domestic concerns to apply themselves to the business of others. Many followed the profession of war, many that of husbandry, and by both professions a livelihood was acquired; nay, nothing was pursued by any man, but with a view to the advantages it produced. As for *Asinius*, *Messala*, &c. they were either enriched by the civil wars, or heirs of wealthy houses; and therefore might well be above gain, and plead only for glory; but equally obvious were the examples of *P. Clodius* and *Caius Curio*, who never pleaded but for extravagant fees; for themselves, as the study of eloquence had proved very chargeable to them, they thought it but reasonable that they should reap some advantage from it. These considerations appearing of no small force to *Claudius*, the revival of the *Cincian* law was dropt (35). This law was enacted by *M. Cincius*, tribune of the people, in the year of *Rome* 549, and revived by *Augustus*, who caused it to be confirmed by a decree of the senate (36).

(35) *Tacit. ibid.* c. 7.

(36) *Dio. l.* liv.

Plautius
returns
from Bri-
tain.

ordered him to lead back all the *Roman* forces over the *Rhine*; *Corbulo* obeyed without uttering more than that *happy were the Roman commanders in former times*. As he had taken great pains to restore the antient discipline amongst the legions, whom he found utter strangers to military toils, that they might not relapse into a habit of idleness, he employed them in digging a canal three-and-twenty miles long between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations*. A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at present by the name of *Fliet*, which extends from *Sluys* on the *Meuse* to *Leyden* on the *Rhine*†. The emperor granted to *Corbulo* triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to prosecute the war. He was succeeded by *Curtius Rufus*, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the consular dignity, commanded armies, and died proconsul of *Africa*‡ (M). Towards the end of the year, *Aulus Plautius*, returning from *Britain*, was received by *Claudius* with great marks of distinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor himself attending him in that ceremony, and yielding to him the most honourable place§. *P. Ostorius Scapula* succeeded *Plautius* in the government of *Britain*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. About this time, a *Roman* knight, by name

* Idem, c. 19, 20. † BUCH. de Belg. l. iv. c. 11. ‡ TACIT. c. 20. § SUET. c. 24. DIO. p. 685.

(M) He was, according to some writers, the son of a gladiator. When he grew to a man, he attended a *Roman* quæstor into *Africa*, where while he was walking at *Adrumetum*, in the middle of the day, under a porch, a woman above human size appeared before him, and accosted him with these words; *Thou Rufus, shalt one day govern this province with proconsular power*. Animated with hopes from this presage, he returned to *Rome*, where, by the liberality of his friends and his own qualifications, he gained the quæstorship, and afterwards standing for the office of prætor in competition with several persons of great distinction, carried it by the interest of *Tiberius*, who gave him this encomium; *To me Curtius Rufus seems to be descended from himself*. He was, says *Tacitus*, a servile flatterer, of those above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age, arrived at the consulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, was in the end proconsul of *Africa*, and dying there, fulfilled the presage. This, according to some authors, is the *Quintus Curtius*, whose history of the exploits of *Alexander the Great* has reached us. *Vossius* indeed is of opinion, that this history was wrote in the reign of *Vespasian*, and not of *Claudius*; but the arguments with which he supports his opinion, are of no force (37).

Cneius Novius, was discovered armed with a dagger, among those who were paying their court to the prince. When put to the rack, he confessed his design of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never discover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had put him upon that attempt ^x.

THE following year, *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor, and *Lucius Vipsanius Poplicola* being consuls, *Claudius* in quality of censor created several new patrician families, most of those which had been raised to that dignity by *Romulus*, *L. Brutus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, being extinct. He likewise supplied the vacancies in the senate, introducing into that body some *Æduans*, that is, natives of *Autun* in *Gaul*, and promoting a decree of the senate, qualifying such of the *Gaulish* nobility as were *Roman* citizens to be admitted to the senatorial dignity. Such senators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded therein with great tenderness, advising them to resign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might soften and hide the infamy of their expulsion. For these regulations, the consul *Vipsanius* proposed, that *Claudius* should be styled *The father of the senate*; but he modestly declined that title. He then numbered the citizens, who in that survey amounted to six millions nine hundred thousand ^y. This year, *Claudius* was at length acquainted with the disorders of his wife *Messalina*. She was the daughter of *Valerius Messala Barbatulus*, the emperor's cousin, and of *Domitia Lepida*, the granddaughter of *M. Antony* and *Octavia*, *Augustus*'s sister; so that she was *Augustus*'s great niece, as *Claudius* was his great nephew ^z. We have related several instances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell short of her monstrous lewdness. Her chief favourite was *Caius Silius*, the most comely young man in *Rome*, with whose graceful person she was so enchanted, that she obliged him to divorce his wife *Silana*, that she might ingross him wholly to herself. *Silius* was not unapprised of the blackness of his crime, and the doom which threatened him; but to withstand *Messalina* was present destruction. He therefore complied with her vicious inclination; and the empress, far from pursuing her amours privately and by stealth, openly frequented his house with a numerous train, accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with wealth and honours, &c. After some time, *Silius*, apprehensive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empress, without disguise, that they were

^x TACIT. c. 23.
Claud p. 478.

^y Idem, c. 25.

^z SENEC. lud. in

Messalina
openly mar-
ries Silius.

gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that desperate attempts were the only security in glaring guilt; that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt *Britannicus*. This proposal, bold beyond all example and almost all belief, *Messalina* applauded, and a few days after, the emperor being gone to *Ostia* to assist at a sacrifice, she married *Silius* with all the usual solemnities in the face of the senate, of the equestrian order, of the whole people and soldiery. *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion Cassius*, who relate this memorable incident, being well apprised how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife should in his life-time dare to espouse another husband in form, and celebrate with him in the face of the city the nuptial feasts, declare, that how wonderful soever and incredible it may seem, they frame no fiction; but only recount what is unquestionably true, and what they had learnt from the living or written testimony of their fathers. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Messalina* induced *Claudius* himself to sign the marriage-contract, as if it were only dissembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head^a. Horror seized the prince's family, especially those who bore the chief sway in it. It was no riddle whither such a marriage tended, and they dreaded nothing so much as a revolution, which would put an end to their power. On the other hand, when they recollected the stupidity of *Claudius*, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent persons sacrificed to her fury, their own apprehensions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. *Calistus* and *Pallas*, the reigning favourites, were still for dissembling the empress's enormities, and frightening her by secret menaces from keeping company with her adulterer. *Narcissus* thought the emperor should by some means or other be immediately acquainted with the monstrous conduct of his wife; and persisting in his opinion, he prevailed by gifts and promises upon *Calpurnia* and *Cleopatra*, two courtesans in high favour with *Claudius*, to undertake the discovery; which they did the more willingly, as by the fall of *Messalina* they apprehended, that their own authority would be thoroughly established. *Calpurnia*, therefore, while the emperor was still at *Ostia*, upon the first occasion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, *Messalina has married Silius*; and at the same time asked *Cleopatra*, who purposely attended to attest it, whether she had not found it to be true? *Cleopatra* confirming it, *Claudius*, struck with amazement, ordered *Narcissus* to be called, who, begging pardon for having concealed from him the dis-

^a Suet. c. 29.



orders of his wife, told him, that he was in a state of divorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city, and that *Messalina's* new husband, if he made not dispatch, would be sovereign of *Rome*. He then sent for his most trusty friends, particularly for *Turranius*, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and next for *Lusius Geta*, commander of the prætorian guards, and inquired of them. As they avouched it, all who were about *Claudius*, insisted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, and, by securing the prætorian cohorts, consult his preservation before his revenge. *Claudius* was so confounded and dismayed, that he often asked whether he was still emperor? whether *Silius* was yet a private man? In the mean time, *Messalina* was indulging herself without the least apprehension in all manner of diversions, not imagining, that any one would dare to disclose her disorders to the emperor, over whom she had so mighty a sway. As it was then the middle of autumn, she exhibited in her house a representation of the vintage, in which her new husband *Silius* personated *Bacchus*, being attended by a choir of mock-priests and priestesses, among whom was *Messalina* herself with a thyrsus in her hand, and her hair loose and flowing. But in the midst of their jollity and revels, messengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that *Claudius* was apprised of all, and approached bent upon sudden vengeance. Hereupon the company immediately dispersed in the utmost consternation; *Messalina* betook herself to the gardens of *Lucullus*; and *Silius*, who was then prætor and consul elect, to dissemble his fear, resumed the offices of the forum. *Messalina*, finding no other resource, resolved to quit her retirement, and boldly to meet her husband, not doubting but she should be able to avert the storm, if she only obtained to be heard. But in the first place, she ordered her son *Britannicus* and her daughter *Octavia*, to go forth, and embracing their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: she besought *Vibidia*, the oldest vestal, of whom *Claudius* entertained a high opinion, to do the same. She herself passed through the city on foot, attended only by three persons, no one shewing the least compassion for her in her disgrace. When she was without the walls, not being able to pursue her journey on foot, and finding no other convenience, she was glad to be taken up by a gardener in his dung-cart, in which, quite forsaken by all her train, she took the road to *Ostia*. The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright, but was still incessantly asking, whether *Silius* was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewise betrayed no small distrust of *Geta*, commander of his guards, of which *Narcissus*, who entertained

Their security.

She endeavours to appease Claudius.

the

The conduct of
Narcissus.

Messalina
meets the
emperor.

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the same distrust, being apprised, he suggested to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preserve him, than the transferring of the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only, and offered to undertake it himself. *Claudius* came readily into his proposal, and *Narcissus*, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, took his place as such in the emperor's coach, in order to prevent *L. Vitellius* and *P. Lærgus Cæcina*, who were in the same coach, from interceding in favour of *Messalina*. Upon the road, *Claudius* sometimes broke out into bitter invectives against *Messalina*; at other times shewed compassion for her and their common children. *Vitellius* uttered nothing, but, *O heinous! Oh the iniquity!* which words might be interpreted equally against *Messalina* and her accusers. *Narcissus* urged him to speak plain; but gained nothing: *Vitellius* still answered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently construed; and his example was followed by *Lærgus Cæcina*. As they drew near the city, *Messalina* unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud with many tears to *Claudius*, that he would hear the mother of *Octavia* and *Britannicus*. *Narcissus* no sooner saw her, than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and storm with great noise against the impudent and bold conduct of *Silius*, and the abominations of *Messalina*. At the same time, to divert the prince from seeing her, he delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her prostitutions. As the emperor was entering *Rome*, some attempted to present to him his children by her; but *Narcissus* ordered them to be conveyed away: he could not, however, remove *Vibidia*, who insisted with great vehemence, that the emperor's wife might not be condemned without being heard; so that *Narcissus* was obliged to assure her, that *Messalina* should be heard, and should have full opportunity of clearing herself. He then advised the vestal to withdraw, and attend the sacred functions of her office. As for *Claudius*, he kept the whole time a wonderful silence, and *Vitellius* pretended to be amazed; so that *Narcissus* controlled all things. By his command the house of the adulterer was opened, and the emperor carried thither. As he entered the porch, *Narcissus* shewed him the statue of *Silius* the father standing there, tho' the senate had by a decree ordered it to be broken; for he had been arraigned under *Tiberius* of treason, as we have related in his reign: in the house he shewed him the rich furniture of the imperial palace, the monuments of his wife's prostitution and his own disgrace. Having thus worked him up to threats and fury, he led him without delay to the camp, where by *Narcissus's* direction he made a short speech to the soldiery, who with a general clamour demanded that the criminals might be immediately

immediately executed. Hereupon *Silius* and several others, whom *Narcissus* had caused to be arrested, were brought before the imperial tribunal; and, being convicted as accomplices of *Messalina's* prostitutions, were all dragged to execution. *Silius*, without offering any thing in his defence, only begged they would dispatch him soon. *Mneſter*, the player, who had been likewise one of *Messalina's* gallants, created some hesitation. He tore off his garments, and desired the emperor to behold the marks of the stripes he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with *Messalina's* impure solicitations; he reminded him at the same time of his own commands, obliging him to gratify *Messalina* without reserve (N), adding, that others had been tempted to offend by great presents, or mighty promises; but his offence was owing only to compulsion. These considerations biassed *Claudius* to mercy; but his freedmen dissuading him from saving a player after so many illustrious sacrifices, *Mneſter* was condemned and executed with *Traulus Montanus*, a young knight of extraordinary modesty and comeliness, whom *Messalina* had forced to pass only one night with her, and afterwards cast off, her passion being, as *Tacitus* observes, with equal wantonness inflamed and surfeited^a.

*Silius and
her other
adulterers
executed.*

^a TACIT. c. 30—36. DIO. p. 674. SUET. c. 29. SENECA. lud. in Claud.

(N) *Messalina* finding she could neither by threats nor promises induce *Mneſter* to comply with her impure solicitations, had at length recourse to stripes, and caused him to be inhumanly scourged; but to no effect, *Mneſter* dreading to incur the displeasure of the emperor, which, he apprehended, would sooner or later prove fatal to him, if he granted *Messalina* her request; for her abominations were now so public, that he imagined *Claudius* could not be much longer unapprised of them. Hereupon the lewd prostitute, bent upon satisfying at all events the passion she had conceived for the player; *What if the emperor himself*, said she, *should command you to gratify me in what I require? I should, without hesitation*, replied *Mneſter*, *obey the emperor's command*. *Messalina* flew to the emperor, and complained to him of the player, who, she said, had unmannerly refused her a small favour. *Claudius* immediately sent for *Mneſter*, reprimanded him with great severity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reserve. He obeyed, and now alledges this command as a powerful motive to induce *Claudius* to grant him his life (38). But *Narcissus* urging, that his crime was of such enormous malignity, that it availed not how he had committed it, he was executed upon the spot.

(38) Dio. l. lx.

WHEN

Claudius
seems to
relent.

Narcissus
hastens to
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Her death.

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dity of
Claudius.

WHEN these executions were over, *Claudius* returned to the palace, where he passed the best part of the night in feasting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm with wine, for he usually drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint the *unhappy woman*, for these terms he is said to have used, that she should attend the next day and plead her cause. She was then in the gardens of *Lucullus*, whither she had retired, finding she could have no access to *Claudius*, and was there busy in composing a memorial, which she designed to present to the prince, not without hopes of moving him to compassion. But *Narcissus*, alarmed at the message he sent her, and observing that his resentment visibly abated, and his usual affection began to return, ran hastily forth, and directed the tribunes and centurions then upon duty to dispatch *Messalina*, for such was the emperor's express command. With them he sent one *Evodus* a freedman, in whom he could confide, charging him to see his orders strictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeed not without reason, since *Claudius* began to relent, that the doom which he had prepared for *Messalina*, would, if she lived to the next day, rebound upon his own head. *Evodus* flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her lying upon the ground, and her mother *Lepida* sitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with her doom, and at the same time abused her with all the brutal invectives of a slave. Her mother encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, since she could not prolong her life, to die with renown. Hereupon, laying hold of a dagger, she aimed, with a trembling hand, first at her throat, and then at her breast; but had not courage and resolution enough for such an attempt. The tribune therefore who stood before her, without ever opening his mouth, observing her timidity and irresolution, delivered her from her anxiety and fears, by running her through with his sword. Thus just vengeance overtook her at last, in the very gardens for which she had sacrificed, as we have related above, the brave *Valerius Asiaticus*. She was of all women recorded in history, if not the most lewd, the most amazingly bold in the pursuit of her lewdness^b. *Claudius* was still at table, when word was brought him, that *Messalina* was dead; but without any particulars, whether she had suffered by her own, or by the executioner's hand. Neither did he make any inquiries, but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his usual gaiety, without betraying either then, or in the following days, any symptoms of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, or any other human passion or affection, tho' he beheld

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the enemies of his wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the violent end of their mother^c. Nay, *Suetonius* assures us, that as he was a few days after supping with some of his friends, he asked, why his wife *Messalina* came not to supper? Many other instances of the like almost incredible forgetfulness, or rather stupidity, are related by the same writer and by *Dion Cassius*^d.

UPON the death of *Messalina*, *Claudius* publicly declared, that since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future; nay, he gave every *Roman* leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that resolution. But, notwithstanding these protestations, he soon changed his mind, and, not remembering what he had said, declared his intention of marrying. Hereupon great strife and emulation arose among the imperial freedmen, which of them should chuse a wife for one, who had been ever governed by his wives. *Callistus* proposed to him *Lollia Paulina*, daughter to *M. Lollius*, a consular. *Pallas* recommended *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*; and *Narcissus* employed all his interest in behalf of *Ælia Petina*, whom he had divorced before upon a slight and trivial occasion. *Claudius* himself was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his last adviser. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length called together his counsellors, ordering them to declare and defend in his presence their different opinions (O). *Claudius* heard them all with great attention; but was most affected with

Claudius declares his intention to marry again.

And prefers his niece Agrippina to all others.

^c Idem ibid. ^d Suet. ibid. Dio. p. 674.

(O) *Narcissus* alledged in favour of *Ælia Petina* the emperor's former marriage with her, and their common daughter, for by her he had *Antonia*; and that by recalling one who had already been his wife; he would introduce no innovation into his family, but a wife, who would not exercise the hatred of a step mother towards *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, since they were so nearly allied to her own children. *Callistus* urged, that to recall her after so long a divorce and dislike, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride; that *Lollia* was a much more eligible match, for having no issue of her own, she was void of every motive of emulation to his, and consequently would use her step-children with the tenderness of a real mother. *Pallas* recommended *Agrippina* from the following considerations; that with her she would bring the grandson of *Germanicus*, and was herself worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her descent, of tried fruitfulness, and in the prime of her age; that by this match would be prevented her carrying into another house the illustrious blood of the *Cæsars* (39).

(39) Tacit c. 2.

the arguments of *Pallas*, enforced by the caresses and allurements of *Agrippina*, who, under colour of consanguinity, was assiduous in her visits to her uncle. This princess, so famous in history for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* the elder, whose courage and chastity we have often had occasion to celebrate. *Tiberius* married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom she had a son named *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who succeeded *Claudius*, and is known by the name of *Nero*. Upon the death of her husband, she abandoned herself to all manner of lewdness, and was on that score banished by her brother, *Caligula*. *Claudius* recalled her, when she married to her second husband *Crispus Passienus*, one of an illustrious family, and soon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She was in high favour with *Claudius*, even in *Messalina's* time; and therefore would have been sacrificed, as well as her sister *Julia*, to her jealousy, had not the empress been diverted from it by other pursuits. *Claudius* no sooner shewed himself inclined to marry his niece, but she began, as if already married, to exercise the power and authority of a wife. Her first purpose was, to concert a match between her son *Domitius* and *Octavia*, the emperor's daughter; but *Octavia* had some time since been by her father betrothed to *Lucius Silanus*, a youth of great quality, and no less beloved than esteemed by *Claudius*. However, as the weak prince had no judgment, nor choice, nor aversion or affection, but such as were inspired by others, *Vitellius*, foreseeing into whose hands the sovereignty was hastening, in order to purchase the favour of *Agrippina*, began to devise crimes against *Silanus*. That young nobleman had a sister, by name *Junia Silana*, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and no less gaiety; and hence *Vitellius*, then censor, took the accusation, wresting to a charge of incest the mutual affection of brother and sister; an affection no-ways incestuous, but somewhat too free and unguarded; for while *Junia* was by others styled *Venus* on account of her beauty, *Silanus* chose, we know not why, to call her *Juno*, who was both sister and wife to *Jupiter*. This the infamous sycophant *Vitellius* laid hold of; and having first prejudiced the undiscerning emperor against the innocent youth, quite unapprised of any plots against him, he soon after, in quality of censor, degraded him from the rank of a senator, tho' the senate had been already reviewed, and the number of senators fixed a good while before; nay, he obliged him by an edict to renounce his prætorship, though it was of course to expire the next day, con-

Lucius Si-
lanus de-
graded.

* SUET. in Ner. c. 6, 7. TACIT. c. 12, 13.

ferring it for that day upon *Eprius Marcellus*. *Silanus* being thus marked with infamy, *Claudius* broke off the match between him and *Octavia* ¹.

The next consuls were *C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *L. Veranius Nepos*. Tho' *Claudius* and *Agrippina* lived publicly together, yet they durst not celebrate their nuptials, there being no instance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that scruple was removed by *Vitellius*, who having first prevailed, without much trouble, upon *Claudius* to promise, that he would submit to the authority of the senate and the unanimous voice of the people, easily persuaded both orders to approve of the marriage; nay, some of the senators declared, that, if the emperor delayed longer, they would compel him. *Claudius* then yielded; but nevertheless did not celebrate the nuptials, till the senate passed a decree, declaring for ever lawful marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters. But notwithstanding this general law, no one followed the example of *Claudius*, except one *Roman* knight, by name *Titus Alledius Severus*, and he only, as was believed, to court the favour of *Agrippina*. This law was afterwards revoked by the emperor *Nerva*, as was that legitimating the inter-marriage of cousin-germans, long unknown to the *Romans*, by *Theodosius the Great*. The day after the decree of the senate was published, *Claudius* celebrated his nuptials with the usual solemnity: and on the same day *Silanus* slew himself, whether by choice or constraint, is uncertain. His sister *Junia* was banished *Italy*; and to her sentence *Claudius* added an order to the pontiffs, injoining them to offer expiatory sacrifices in the grove of *Diana*; a source of mockery to all men, says *Tacitus*, that penalties and lustrations should be appointed for a pretended incest, while real incest was established by law ². From this time the city assumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like *Messalina*, render the *Roman* state subservient only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparalleled cruelty. She governed all, and the emperor himself, without controul; appeared with him in the senate; placed herself by him on the same tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and ambassadors; and did not even abandon him in the courts of justice, which to the *Romans* was a sight altogether new ³. To signalize the beginning, we may say, of her reign, with some plausible action, she prevailed upon *Claudius*, not only to recal from exile, but to honour with the prætorship,

The senate and people approve of Claudius's marriage with Agrippina.

Seneca recalled from exile.

¹ TACIT. c. 4. DIO. p. 677. SUET. c. 29. ² Idem, c. 8, SENEC. lud in Claud. ³ TACIT. c. 8. DIO. p. 687.

Octavia
betrothed
to Domi-
nius.

Lollia
Paulina
put to
death.

L. Annaeus Seneca, a man by all greatly esteemed on account of his eloquence and accomplishments. But in this she had also her private views, which were the education of her son *Domitius* under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of her ambitious designs; for she did not doubt, but *Seneca* would, out of gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain, for all his philosophy, an irreconcilable hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished^k; and truly his hatred appears but too plainly in his writings. Not long after, *Agrippina*, pursuing her ambitious designs, gained by vast promises *Memmius Pollio*, consul elect, to move the senate, that they would unanimously beseech *Claudius* to betroth *Octavia* to *Domitius*. To this, which was a great step towards the sovereignty, the senate readily agreed; and *Claudius*, not apprised of his wife's aspiring views, with the same readiness consented. Thus was *Domitius*, by the efforts and devices of his mother, raised almost to an equality with *Britannicus*. He was born on the fifteenth of *December* in the thirty-seventh year of the christian æra; so that he was in the beginning of this, the forty-ninth, entered into the twelfth year of his age^l. In the next place, *Agrippina*, no less implacable in her hatred, than ambitious in her views, being enraged at *Lollia Paulina*, for having aspired to the emperor's bed, framed crimes against her, and suborned an accuser, who charged her with consulting the magicians and *Chaldeans* about the match. *Claudius*, without hearing her, represented her supposed guilt to the senate, and required, that her estate might be confiscated, and she banished *Italy*^m. But *Agrippina*, not satisfied with this punishment, sent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The tribune obeyed; and *Agrippina* is said to have with her own hands opened the mouth of the deceased, that from her teeth, which had something, we know not what, very singular, she might be well assured it was her headⁿ (P).

Calpurnia,

^k TACIT. *ibid.*

^l SUET. in *Ner.* c. 6.

^m TACIT. c. 22.

ⁿ DIO. p. 686.

(P) *Lollia Paulina* was first married to *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece* and *Macedon*, from whom she was forced by *Caligula*, who took her to himself. She was grand-daughter to *M. Lollius*, appointed by *Augustus* governor to *Caius Cæsar*, when he was sent into the east. *Claudius*, in representing her pretended guilt to the senate, touched upon her noble descent, telling the senator, that by her mother she was niece to *Lucius Volusius*; that *Cotta Messalinus* was her great-uncle; that she herself was once the wife of *Memmius Regulus*, &c. but of her marriage with *Caligula* he said nothing. He added, that she pursued pernicious designs, and must be divested of

Calpurnia, another woman of great distinction, was likewise doomed to ruin, because the prince had praised her beauty: but as this was from no passion for her person, but only in occasional discourse, her life was spared. This year to the senators of *Narbonne Gaul* was granted the same privilege with those of *Sicily*, of visiting their estates there, without asking leave of the prince. The same year the countries of *Iudea* and *Judea* were, upon the death of their kings, *Sohemus* and *Agrippa*, annexed to the government of *Syria*. About the end of the year, *Claudius* widened the circumference of *Rome*, inclosing, Rome enlarged. according to *Onuphrius*^o, mount *Aventine*. We are told, that such only as had extended the limits of the empire, were, in virtue of an antient institution, impowered to enlarge also the bounds of the city^p. This power *Claudius* probably claimed, in regard of his having conquered part of *Britain*. As for the troubles which happened this year in the kingdoms of *Parthia* and *Bosporus*, we refer our readers to the account we have given of them in our history of those countries (Q).

THE following year, *C. Antistius Vetus* and *M. Suius Nervilianus* being consuls, the freedman *Pallas*, who had conducted the late marriage of *Agrippina*, and was now engaged in a criminal correspondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to her interest, persuaded *Claudius* to adopt, in preference to his own son, *Domitius* for his eldest, because he was three years older than *Britannicus* (R). From this time *Domitius* was

^o ONUPH. in fast. p. 101.^p TACIT. c. 23.

of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this her immense wealth was confiscated, and only about thirty thousand pounds of our money left her. *Tacitus* tells us, that the tribune dispatched by *Agrippina* had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herself (40).

(Q) *Phlegon*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, tells us, that this year, the ninth of *Claudius*'s reign, a woman was delivered at *Rome* of an ape (41).

(R) *Tacitus* tells us, that it was observed by persons skilled in antiquity, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the *Claudii*; which, from *Attus Clausus*, called afterwards *Appius Claudius*, the first who settled at *Rome*, had subsisted upon its own stock. *Lipfius* is not at all pleased with this observation; but urges against it the adoption of *Germanicus*. However, being prompted by his good-nature to excuse the mistake, he acquaints us, that *Tiberius*, when he adopted *Germanicus*, was not himself of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian* family; a poor quibble

(40) *Idem*, c. 22.(41) *Phleg. de reb. memorabil. c. 22.*

indeed,

The hard
treatment
of Britan-
nicus.

was named *Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus* (S). This adoption was applauded by the senate, and a decree passed confirming it, and conferring upon *Agrippina* the sublime title of *Augusta*. However, there was no Roman so void of compassion, as not to be affected with the hard lot of the unhappy *Britannicus*, whom *Agrippina*, under colour of tenderness for him, kept locked up in a nursery, though now nine years old. By degrees she removed from him his former attendants, and even caused some of them to be put to death; among the rest his preceptor *Sofibius*, putting in their room persons who were intirely at her devotion. She would never allow him to appear abroad, nor even to wait upon his father, giving out, that he was disordered in his senses, and troubled with the falling-sickness. Not long after the adoption of *Nero*, *Britannicus* having saluted him, as he was used to do before, by the name of *Ahenobarbus*, *Nero* resented it to such a degree, that he

indeed, and altogether unworthy of so learned a critic! It is surprising, that a writer of such penetration should thus mistake the meaning of *Tacitus*, though conveyed to him in the plainest terms. *Some observed*, says the historian, *that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the Claudii, &c.* Could *Lipsius* possibly suppose *Germanicus* to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family? We cannot think him capable of entertaining a notion so notoriously absurd, since *Germanicus*, *Tiberius's* own brother's son, was; as is manifest, by birth, and without any adoption, of the *Claudian* family. On the other hand, if he does not suppose him to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family, but only for his son, as he truly was, to what purpose alledge such an adoption against those who observed, to the glory of the *Claudian* family, that it had subsisted upon its own stock since its first settling at *Rome*, to the adoption of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*? Besides, if *Tiberius* was himself no longer of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian*, family, how could he adopt *Germanicus* into the former? That *Tacitus* meant not such an adoption as that of *Germanicus*, but an adoption into the family, is evident both from the context in that writer, and from *Suetonius*, who tells us that *Claudius*, when he adopted young *Domitius*, publicly declared, *that no one had ever before been adopted into the Claudian family* (42). But *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*.

(S) *Suetonius* tells us, that, when *Domitius* was born, *Caligula* being desired by his sister *Agrippina* to give the child what name he thought proper, the emperor, fixing his eyes upon *Claudius*, gave him, by way of raillery, his name; which *Agrippina* took much amiss, *Claudius* being at that time the laughing-stock of the court; but now she esteems both herself and her son highly honoured with a name which she then despised (43).

(42) *Suct. in Claud. c. 39.*

(43) *Suct. in Ner. c. 6.*

endeavoured

endeavoured to persuade the emperor, that he was a supposititious child. This year *Agrippina*, to display her power at Rome in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the *Ubii*, a town in which she had been born, and which she called by her own name *Colonia Agrippinensis*. This city is now known by the name of *Cologn*^p. *Agrippinensis*. About the same time the *Catti*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Tiberius*, made incursions into the Roman territories; but were repulsed with great slaughter by *Pomponius Secundus*, commander of the legions in Upper Germany, who, on that occasion, released from bondage some Romans, who had continued in it ever since the massacre of *Varus* and his legions. His vigilance and gallant conduct seemed to the senate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive so much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly cried up by the best judges of antiquity^q. It was at this time too, that *Vannius*, whom *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, had thirty years before created king of the *Suevians*, was driven out by the *Hermundurians* and *Ligians*. *Claudius*, though he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the barbarians, yet granted a safe refuge to the deposed king, and lands in *Pannonia* both to him and his followers. *Vangio* and *Sido*, his own sister's sons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the Romans^r.

THE following year, *Claudius*, being the fifth time consul, with *Servius Cornelius Orfitus* (T), *Nero*, though not yet fourteen, was presented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the same time, the senate, with the concurrence of *Claudius*, decreed, that in his twentieth year he should discharge the consulship, and in the mean time, as consul designed, be invested with proconsular authority out of Rome, and be styled prince of the Roman

^p TACIT. c. 26. SUET. in Ner. c. 7. DIO. p. 667. ^q TACIT. c. 28. ^r Idem, c. 29.

(T) *Claudius* held this his last consulship six months (44). *Onuphrius* adds to his colleague's other names that of *Scipio* (45); and truly the *Orfiti* seem to have been of the family of the *Scipio's* (46). *C. Minucius* or *Minicius Fundanus*, and *C. Verbenius Severus*, were substituted in the consulship to *Claudius* and *Orfitus* (47). *V. Spasian*, who was afterwards emperor, was consul for the two last months of this year, as we read in *Suetonius* (48).

(44) Suet. c. 4.

(45) Onuph. in fast.

(46) Grut. p. 17.

(47) Onuph. lib. 1.

(48) Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.

Burrhus
Afranius
appointed
commander
of the præ-
torian
guards.

A famine
at Rome.

youth. *Claudius* moreover bestowed, in *Nero's* name, a largess upon the soldiery, and another upon the people; and to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, made him appear at the circensian games, which were then solemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial state, while *Britannicus* was carried about in his prætexta, the usual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth; but they were all, under various pretences, soon removed from the palace; even such of the young prince's freedmen, as were found inviolably attached to his person and interest, were partly discharged, and partly put to death, as if they had inspired their patron with hatred and emulation against *Nero*, which might in the end flame out into war and public ruin. Upon their removal, *Britannicus* was committed to the government of others, chosen by his step-mother. The next step which *Agrippina* took towards the accomplishment of her great design was, the removing of *Lusus Geta* and *Rufus Crispinus* from the command of the prætorian cohorts. She imagined them grateful to the memory of *Messalina*, and thence zealously devoted to her children. She therefore alledged to the emperor, that, by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas by the authority of one, they would be more easily kept to their duty. Hereupon *Claudius*, without any further inquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on *Burrhus Afranius*, whom she recommended, an officer highly esteemed by the soldiery, but well apprised to whom he owed his preferment. And now *Agrippina* began to assume a more haughty deportment than ever: she entered the capitol in a chariot, a distinction granted to none but priests. This, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one, who was, without example, the daughter of a *Cæsar*, the mother of one, sister to the late emperor, and wife to the present. But, in the mean time, her chief champion, *L. Vitellius*, was by a senator, named *Junius Lupus*, accused of high-treason; and *Claudius*, ever timorous, would have hearkened to the charge, had not *Agrippina*, by menaces rather than intreaties, turned his resentment against the accuser, who was banished, *Vitellius* desiring no further punishment^s. This year, a great famine raged in *Rome*, and the populace, not confining their complaints to houses and corners, gathered in tumultuous crouds round the prince, while he was publicly administering justice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; insomuch, that with the utmost difficulty he escaped

^s Idem, c. 42.

their

their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude^t. *Suetonius* tells us, that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the enraged populace, but so pelted with crusts of bread, that he narrowly escaped being killed^u. However, instead of resenting such base treatment, he took such effectual care to have the city supplied with corn, that in less than fifteen days no one had occasion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not again be reduced to such distress, he gave all possible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to such as built trading vessels, and took upon himself to make good all the losses they should suffer.

THIS year, the tenth of *Claudius's* reign, the proprætor, *P. Ostorius Scapula*, landing in *Britain* (U), was obliged, soon after his arrival, though the season was already far advanced, to take the field against the *Britons*, who broke into the territories of the friends and allies of *Rome* with so much the more violence and confidence, as they supposed that a new general, not yet acquainted with his army, would not in the beginning of winter dare to take the field and make head against them. But *Ostorius*, who was an officer of great experience, being well apprised, that by the first events of war confidence or consternation was raised in an enemy, led forth such cohorts as were next at hand, fell unexpectedly upon the unwary *Britons* with great slaughter, and pursued such as were broken so close as to prevent their rejoining. Then, as he could not depend upon a peace made by constraint, and therefore not sincere, he deprived of their arms those whom he suspected, and by means of several forts on the *Severn* and the two *Avons*, one of which is called also the *Nen*, he endeavoured to restrain the army from making any farther inroads into the territories of the *Roman* allies. This the *Iceni*, that is, the inhabitants of the present counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* could not brook. They were a powerful people, and not weakened by any wars or invasions; for they had of their own accord entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. Being therefore joined by the bordering nations, they soon raised a consi-

^t Idem, c. 43.^u Suet. c. 18.^w Suet. ibid.

(U) *Aulus Plautius* left *Britain*, and returned to *Rome*, according to *Dion Cassius*, in the sixth year of *Claudius's* reign: whereas *Ostorius* did not arrive in that island, as is evident from *Tacitus*, till three years after. Hence it is plain, that between *Plautius* and *Ostorius* was another governor of this country, whom authors have not mentioned, probably because he performed nothing worthy of notice.

The Iceni
defeated.

They sub-
mit.

The Bri-
gantes re-
duced.

A Roman
colony set-
tled at
Camalo-
dunum.

The Ro-
mans
march a-
gainst the
Silures.

derable army, and incamped in a place defended by a ditch, and narrow lanes, not passable by the horse. *Ostorius*, though not yet joined by his legions, resolved to attack them; and accordingly, having drawn up his auxiliaries and dismounted his cavalry, he advanced in good order to attack the enemy's rustic fortifications. The ditch was soon forced, and the *Britons* put in disorder, being hampered and intangled with their own inclosures. However, as they were cooped in on all sides, and no way was left for them to escape, being animated with despair, they performed many feats of bravery. In this battle *M. Ostorius*, the son of the general, acquired the civic crown, by saving the life of a *Roman* citizen. The *Iceni* being thus overcome, and those unsettled spirits, who had hitherto wavered between peace and war, calmed by their overthrow, *Ostorius* advanced into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the present counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, laying waste their territories, and committing general spoil, till he approached the *Irish* sea, when commotions begun among the *Brigantes*, the inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, the bishopric of *Durham*, and the counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, drew him back; for the *Brigantes* had submitted to him before, probably by their deputies, after the overthrow of the *Iceni*; and the *Roman* general was determined to prosecute no new enterprize, till his former ones were completed and secure. The chief authors of the disturbance were executed, and the rest pardoned, which put a stop to any farther attempts of the *Brigantes*. But the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South-Wales*, would hearken to no terms. *Ostorius* therefore resolved to lead his legions against them; but first conveyed a numerous colony of veterans to *Camalodunum*, in order to keep the conquered countries in awe, and inure the *Roman* allies to the laws and jurisdiction of *Rome*. To *Cogidunus*, a *British* king, and a great friend to the *Romans*, certain cities were given, to attach him still more to their interest; for it was a custom, as *Tacitus* observes*, practised in the earliest ages by the *Roman* people, to employ even kings as their instruments in establishing bondage on rations. After these precautions, *Ostorius* marched with all his forces against the *Silures*, a people resolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the valour and conduct of *Caractacus*, whom many prosperous, and many doubtful, successes had rendered famous, and raised in renown above all the other *British* commanders. As he was better acquainted with the country than the *Romans*, but inferior to them in the number of his troops, he wisely removed the seat of the war into the territories of the

* *TACIT.* in vit. Agr. c. 4.

Ordovices, now *North-Wales*. There he chose a place, against which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was no less difficult to retire; every way incommodious to the *Romans*, and every way favourable to his own men; for it was upon the ridges of exceeding steep mountains, the sides of which, where approachable, he fortified with walls of stone; at the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and the walls which he had reared, were defended by numerous bodies of his bravest men. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer Caradoc*, which is a steep hill on the west borders of *Shropshire*, at the foot of which runs the river *Clun*: *Caradoc* in the *British* tongue is supposed to be the same with *Caractacus* in *Latin*. *Ostorius* having drawn hither all his forces, since the *British* commander was resolved to put the whole to the decision of the sword, began to advance in battle-array towards the enemy. At his approach the leaders of the several confederate nations, who had joined *Caractacus*, ran from rank to rank, animating their followers with representations proper to dispel fear, and rouse in their breasts a martial ardor. As for *Caractacus*, he flew through the whole army, proclaiming, where-ever he passed, that from this day, from this battle, they must date their liberty completely recovered, or their slavery eternally established: he put them in mind of the glorious feats of their ancestors, who had driven out *Cæsar* the dictator, and by whose valour they yet lived free from tribute and the *Roman* axes, yet preserved the persons of their wives and children from dishonour. His harangue was answered by loud shouts and acclamations, which were echoed and doubled by the neighbouring woods and mountains. In the end, every one bound himself by the most sacred oath amongst them, never to yield to force or wounds. The resolute alacrity of the enemy startled the *Roman* general, especially when he discovered the river before him, the ramparts raised upon its banks, the steepness of the mountains filled with men hanging almost over their heads, and in short the most dismal and threatening scene of war he had ever beheld. But the soldiers pressed for the attack, crying out, *All difficulties are surmountable by courage*. *Ostorius* therefore, having carefully surveyed the ground, and tried where the river was fordable, and where not, ordered the trumpets to sound, and his legionaries to advance. They gained without much difficulty the opposite bank; but as they approached the rampart, they were galled with incessant showers of darts, which did great execution, till forming themselves into a *testudo*, they demolished the wall, which covered the enemy, and encountered them hand to hand upon ground equal to both. Then the *Britons*, not able to stand the shock

Caractacus opposes the Romans.

Engages Ostorius the Roman general,

But is de-
feated.

And deli-
vered up
to the Ro-
mans by
the queen
of the Briga-
ntes, and
sent to
Rome

His speech
to Clau-
dius.

of the legions, betook themselves to the ridges of the mountains, where they made a stand against the *Romans*, who pursued them; but as they covered themselves with no armour, and only fought with discharges of arrows, the *Romans* closing with them, easily broke their ranks, put them to flight, and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of *Caractacus* were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered at discretion. He himself had recourse to the protection of *Cartimandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*; but as all things conspire against the unfortunate, he was by her delivered in bonds to the conqueror, according to *Tacitus* in the ninth, but by a more exact computation in the seventh, year after the commencement of the war in *Britain*; so long had he sustained it; and hence his renown, says *Tacitus*, had reached all the islands, spread over the neighbouring countries, and was celebrated even in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where all longed to behold the brave commander, who had for so many years defied the arms, and baffled all the attempts, of the *Romans*. He was immediately sent to *Claudius*, who received him in a kind of triumph. As he drew near the city, the people were summoned, as to some solemn spectacle, to see the illustrious captive; as he passed by, the prætorian guards stood under arms in the field before their camp. Before the *British* king marched his servants and followers, carrying the gold chains and military ornaments, which he had taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife, and daughters; and lastly himself exposed to view. All but he appeared dejected, and descended to supplications unworthy of their rank and character. The king himself, without betraying the least fear, or uttering a word that implored mercy, being brought before the emperor, who was seated on his tribunal, addressed him thus: “ If my moderation in prosperity
“ and success had been equal to my quality and fortune, I
“ should have arrived in this city under another character, that
“ of a friend, and not a captive; nor would you have disdained
“ to receive into terms of alliance a prince, descended from
“ illustrious ancestors, and ruling over so many nations. But
“ different is my present lot, a lot, which reflects no less glory
“ upon you, than disgrace and reproach upon me. I was
“ lately master of men and arms, horses and treasures; and
“ where is the wonder, that I was unwilling to lose them,
“ that I strove to retain them? Though you, *Romans*, aim at
“ extending your dominion over all mankind, it does not thence
“ follow, that all men will readily and voluntarily submit to
“ the yoke. Had I immediately yielded, my misfortune would
“ have been less remarkable, your conquest less renowned:
“ even now, if I am to suffer death, the fame of my resistance
“ and

“and your victory will die with me; but if you preserve my life, I shall be a living monument of your clemency”. *Claudius*, compassionating the misfortunes of so brave a man, and admiring the constancy with which he bore them, generously granted to him, to his wife, his daughter, and brothers, both their lives and liberty. Being released from their chains, they *Who* first paid their duty and acknowledgment to the prince, and next *grants him his life* to *Agrippina*, who was seated upon another tribunal close to the emperor’s^x. We are told, that *Caractacus* being asked, *and liberty* after he had viewed the city of *Rome*, which was then in the height of its beauty and grandeur, what he thought of that stately metropolis? returned the following judicious answer: *I am amazed, that men, who have such magnificent habitations of their own, should leave them, and come so far to bereave us Britons of our poor cottages*^y. In the senate many pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of *Caractacus*, some of the senators extolling it as an event no less illustrious, than the taking of *Syphax* by *P. Scipio*, or of *Perses* by *Lucius Paulus*. To *Ostorius*, who continued in *Britain*, triumphal ornaments were decreed.

THUS far the administration of *Ostorius* had proved successful; but now his fortune began to change; whether it was, that upon the captivity of *Caractacus* the *Romans* thought the war concluded, and thence grew less vigilant, or that the *Britons* enraged, rather than disheartened, at the loss of their king, strove more vehemently to revenge it. However that be, the *Silures* *Some advantages gained by the Silures* fell by surprise upon the prefect of the camp and some legionary cohorts, whom *Ostorius* had left to rear forts in their country; and would have cut them all in pieces, had they not received timely assistance from the neighbouring garisons; as it was, the prefect himself, eight centurions, and a great number of the most resolute soldiers were slain. Soon after they routed the *Roman* foragers and the troops sent to support them. Hereupon *Ostorius* dispatched to their relief some cohorts lightly armed; but they not being able to put a stop to the flight, the legions were drawn out. Their arrival encouraged the fugitives; the fight was renewed, and the success, after having been long doubtful, proved in the end favourable to the *Romans*; the enemy fled, but, as night approached, with small loss. Thenceforward scarce a day passed without some encounter or skirmish, sometimes in the woods, sometimes in the marshes; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge, as design or chance gave them an opportunity. What most exasperated the *Silures* was, a saying of the *Roman* general current

^x TACIT. *ibid.* c. 36, 37. ^y ZONAR. p. 86.

Ostorius
dies.

Other ad-
vantages
gained by
the Silures.

among them, that their name must be utterly extinguished, as was that of the *Sicambri*, who had been partly cut off, and partly transplanted into *Gaul*. Being thus animated, they surprised and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, as they were without due circumspection pillaging the country, to satiate the avarice of their commanders. The spoil and captives they distributed among the neighbouring nations, with a view to draw them too into the revolt. In the mean time, *Ostorius*, sinking under the weight of his cares and anxieties, ended his days to the great joy of the enemy, that so renowned a commander had perished in the war². *Claudius* was no sooner apprised of the death of his lieutenant, than he appointed *Aulus Didius Gallus* to succeed him, who, notwithstanding his expeditious arrival, found affairs in a much worse condition than they had been at the death of *Ostorius*. For the *Silures*, finding the *Romans* destitute of a general, had attacked and defeated a legion commanded by *Manlius Valens*, a disaster magnified both by the enemy and the new general; by the enemy, to terrify and discourage him; by *Didius* to gain the greater glory, if he put an end to the war, or to have the juster excuse, if it continued. In the mean time, the *Silures* made frequent and wide incursions into the territories of the *Roman* allies, committing everywhere dreadful devastations, till *Didius*, taking the field, set upon them, repulsed them, and restrained them within more narrow bounds.

The queen
of the Bri-
gantes
driven out
in spite of
the Ro-
mans.

NEXT to *Caractacus* in merit and valour was *Venutius*, or *Venusius*, one long faithful to the *Romans*, and protected by them, during his marriage with *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*. That princess was amply rewarded by the *Romans*, and in high favour with them, for having seized and delivered up into their hands king *Caractacus*. Wherefore, presuming upon their protection, she wantonly deserted her husband *Venutius*, and married his armour-bearer *Vellocatus*, on whom with her person she conferred her crown. This action, generally abhorred by the *Britons*, occasioned great disturbances in the state, and kindled a civil war among the *Brigantes*. The queen, by craft and subtil stratagems, got the brother and other relations of *Venutius* into her power. But *Venutius*, on the other hand, being supported by the *Brigantes* themselves, who were offended at their queen's reproachful conduct, and scorned to be governed by a woman, and receiving powerful succours from the neighbouring nations, reduced the unfaithful princess to the utmost distress. She then had recourse to her fast friends the *Romans*, who immediately dispatched some cohorts and squa-

² TACIT. C. 38, 39.

drons to her aid. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which was long doubtful; but in the end proved successful to the *Romans*, who rescued the queen from impending danger. *Venutius*, however, maintained himself in the kingdom, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* general. Many battles were fought with doubtful success, and no great advantages gained on either side. At length *Didius*, who was stricken in years, and already fatiated with a long train of honours, gave over all thoughts of restoring the queen, and contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. In this posture continued affairs here till the seventh year of *Nero's* reign, *Didius* and his successor *Veranius* thinking it sufficient just to maintain what acquisitions their predecessors had made, or only to raise some forts further in the island, and very few they were, purely for the name and reputation of having enlarged their government. *Veranius* indeed died in less than a year, and was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*^a, whose feats in this island we shall relate in the reign of *Nero*, when the order of time will oblige us to resume the detail, which it now causes us to interrupt.

THE following year, *Faustus Sylla* and *Salvius Otho Titianus* being consuls, the senate passed a rigorous decree for expelling the astrologers out of *Italy*, which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree issued against women of rank, who married slaves, ordaining, that she who thus debased herself, without the consent of the master of the slave, should herself be reduced to a state of slavery; but where he consented, she should be held for a slave manumitted. *Claudius* declared in the senate, that *Pallas* was the deviser of this scheme; whereupon *Bareas Soranus*, consul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a present of about a hundred thousand pounds of our money. *Cornelius Scipio* added, that public thanks should be returned him for deigning, though descended from the antient kings of *Arcadia*, to be reckoned among the emperor's ministers, and postponing this his antient nobility to the service of the state. The haughty slave accepted the ornaments of the prætorship, and also the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but despised the present, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint the senate in his name, that he was satisfied with the honours, and chose to live still in his antient poverty. Hereupon a decree passed, was engraven in brass, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted slave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now

*A decree
against
women
who mar-
ried slaves.*

*The orna-
ments of
the præ-
torship de-
creed to
Pallas.*

^a TACIT. *ibid.* c. 40. vit. Agr. c. 14. Hist. l. iii. c. 45.

The de-
basement
of the
senate.

A combat
exhibited
on the lake
Fucinus.

worth near seven millions, was extolled for observing the venerable parcimony of the primitive ages. This in truth was a compliment, as *Pliny* the younger observes ^b, made to a slave by a body of slaves. Thus was dignity debased, infamy exalted, the awful authority of the senate prostituted, and the ornaments of magistracy ignominiously defiled. It was not enough for the once great and venerable *Roman* senate to heap honours upon the emperor; they must likewise court, adore, and exalt his slaves and freedmen, creatures brought from the chain and oar, insects naturally doomed to the vilest offices of the kitchen, stable, and privies. This year *Claudius* finished at an immense charge the aqueduct, which *Caligula* had begun fourteen years before, and consecrated it, to use the expression of the antient writers, on the first of *August*, his birth day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its stately ruins, which are still to be seen with an inscription, in which *Claudius* is styled emperor the twenty-seventh time. Four hundred and sixty persons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large salaries assigned them out of the public treasury. The same year the great canal being finished, which was designed for the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, and had kept thirty thousand men constantly employed for eleven years together, being at length finished, before the waters were let out, *Claudius* exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thousand condemned criminals engaged on board an hundred large galleys, representing the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* fleets. The lake was surrounded with an inclosure of huge rafts to obstruct all means of flight or escape. Upon the rafts stood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with galleys; the shore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude; many from the neighbouring towns, others from *Rome* itself, either from a passion to behold the spectacle, or in compliment to the prince: the whole represented a vast theatre, and that greater numbers of spectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river *Liris* was levelled. The emperor presided in a coat of mail, and with him *Agrippina* in a mantle of cloth of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up and ready to engage, a *Triton* of silver, springing by an ingenious contrivance out of the midst of the lake, sounded the charge, and the combat began, which, though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and gallantry of brave soldiers; so that after a most obstinate contest, after many wounds and much blood, *Claudius* granted such of them as remained, their

^b *PLIN.* l. viii ep 6.

lives, and redeemed them from slaughter (W). When the show was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be sunk sufficiently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake. Its bed therefore was dug deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more together, a show of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it. After the show, the emperor made a great banquet just at the fall from the lake; but the water, breaking out unexpectedly with incredible violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, shook the ground to a great distance and by its impetuosity and roaring, terrified and dismayed *Claudius*, his guests, and the spectators, who all betook themselves to flight, and narrowly escaped being carried away with the stream. *Agrippina*, taking advantage of the emperor's fright, charged *Narcissus*, the director of the work, with avarice, as if he had not laid out, but imbezzled the vast treasures allotted for it: on the other hand, *Narcissus* did not spare *Agrippina*, but reproached her with aspiring and boundless views^c. *Dion Cassius* writes, that *Narcissus* let out the waters on purpose to cover another fault, which the desire of saving for his own use the immense sums allowed him for the work, prompted him to commit^d; but what fault that was, he does not tell us: we only learn from *Tacitus*^e, that when the water was discharged, the negligence of the workmen and the insufficiency of the work manifestly appeared. *Suetonius* seems to insinuate, that *Claudius* accomplished this vast undertaking, and drained the lake. *Pliny* likewise reckons the draining of the lake *Fucinus* amongst the most remarkable works of *Claudius*; but it was neglected, says he, thro' envy, by his successor *Nero*. On the other hand, *Dion Cassius* calls the immense sums, laid out on this stupendous work, useless expences; and *Seneca* writes, that the lake *Fucinus* was in his time still full,

*A combat
of gladi-
ators on
the canal.*

*The under-
taking un-
successful.*

^c TACIT. c. 57. SUET. c. 21, 32. ^d DIO. in excerp. Val. p. 678. ^e TACIT. *ibid*.

(W) *Suetonius* tells us, that the combatants, when upon the point of engaging, cried out to *Claudius*, Farewel, good emperor; we, who are going to die, salute you: the emperor returned the compliment, bidding them farewel too; which words they construed as if he had excused them from the combat, and therefore refused to engage, standing still, till *Claudius*, transported with rage, leapt down from his seat, and running in a most unbecoming manner about the banks of the lake, threatened to destroy them with fire and sword, if they did not immediately engage (48).

(48) *Suet. c. 21.*

The weakness of the prince abused by his freedman.

though the workmen had in *Claudius's* time with immense labour finished the canal, which if *Suetonius* is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain for three miles together^f. *Spartianus* says, that *Adrian* drained this lake^g. However, it is still to be seen in the *Farther Abruzzo*, and is known by the name of the lake of *Gelano*. Towards the end of the year the *Bithynians* sent deputies to *Rome* to accuse *Junius Cilo*, their governor, of extortion. He had indeed oppressed them in a most cruel and barbarous manner; but the emperor, when they were admitted to his presence, not well understanding what they said, desired *Narcissus*, when they withdrew, to acquaint him with the end of their embassy. They are come, answered frankly *Narcissus*, to return you thanks for your kindness, in appointing over them a man of such integrity, moderation, and disinterestedness, as *Cilo*. Hereupon *Claudius* relying intirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that *Cilo*, since he had given such satisfaction, should be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people^h: a remarkable instance this of the prince's weakness, and the impudent boldness of his freedmen!

Nero marries Octavia.

THE following consuls were *Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus*, and *Q. Haterius Antoninus*, during whose administration, *Nero*, who had entered the sixteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December*, married *Octavia* the daughter of *Claudius*, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after, to acquire the glory of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the *Ilians*, and obtained for them, as the ancestors of the *Romans*, an intire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatsoever. He likewise made an oration in favour of the *Rhodiens*, and prevailed with *Claudius* to restore them to their antient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-established: a third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of *Bononia*, a *Roman* colony, which had been utterly consumed by fire; and they were at his suit relieved with a large bountyⁱ. The two first orations he uttered in *Greek*, and the third in *Latin*. At the same time the inhabitants of *Apamea*, *Byzantium*, and *Coos*, having recourse to the young prince, obtained by his mediation signal favours; the *Coans* a general immunity from impositions (X), and the inhabitants of *Apamea* and *Byzantium*,

Several favours granted at his suit.

^f Suet. c. 20. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. ^g Spart. in Adr. p. 11.
^h Dio. p. 687. ⁱ Tacit. c. 48. Suet. in Ner. c. 7.

(X) When *Claudius* proposed in the senate a general immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes in behalf of the *Coans*, he made a long descant upon their antiquity; how the *Argives*, or at least

Byzantium, a discharge from all tribute for the space of five years, the latter having suffered much by the late wars of *Thrace* and *Bosporus*, of which we have spoken in the histories of those kingdoms, and the former by an earthquake^m. All this through the policy of *Agrippina*, to gain for her son the reputation of a compassionate and humane prince. On the contrary, she pushed *Claudius* upon all the most detested measures of cruelty. As she was desirous of possessing the fine gardens of *Statilius Taurus*, a senator of great distinction, who had been proconsul of *Africa*, she suborned *Tarquitius Priscus*, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having consulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. *Taurus*, finding *Agrippina* bent upon his destruction, laid violent hands on himself. The senate were to such a degree grieved for the loss of so worthy a citizen, and provoked against the accuser, that exerting themselves on this occasion, they expelled him the senate in spite of the protection and intrigues of *Agrippina*ⁿ. *Suetonius* pretends, that *Taurus* entering into a conspiracy with *Gallus Aspinus*, corrupted several of the emperor's freedmen and domestics with a design to make an insurrection^o, whereas *Tacitus*, whom we have followed, tells us, he was prosecuted merely on account of his fine gardens, which upon his death *Agrippina* seized, as *Messalina* had done those of *Valerius Asiaticus*. *Claudius* had often declared, that the same force should be allowed to the decisions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now to shew that this was no declaration at random, he caused it to be confirmed and established by a decree of the senate. These receivers of the emperors were their stewards, persons intrusted with their domestic concerns, for the most part franchised slaves; and nevertheless to such sons of

Statilius Taurus
accused,
lays violent
hands on
himself.

Claudius
equals the
power of
his freed-
men to his
own.

^m TACIT. c. 58.ⁿ Idem, c. 59.^o SUET. c. 13.

least *Ceus*, the father of *Latona*, first cultivated that island; how *Æsculapius* arrived thither soon after, and with him the art of medicine, an art which had long flourished amongst his descendants, whose names he rehearsed, and marked the several ages, in which they lived. He added, that *Xenophon*, his own physician, was descended from the same family; and that at his request an intire discharge for ever from all tributes ought to be granted to his countrymen, that they might attend only the cultivation of an island sacred to that deity. *Tacitus* observes, that he might have alledged many good offices of theirs towards the *Roman* people, nay, and victories gained by their aid; but had not judgment enough to colour under some public consideration his personal partiality to his physician (49). We shall soon see what return *Xenophon* made him for his kindness.

(49) Tacit. c. 61.

*In unli-
mited ju-
risdiction
granted
to the
knights.*

earth the weak prince, intirely controuled by them, was not ashamed to assert by a solemn decree of the senate, a power equal to his own, and to that of the laws. At the same time he conferred universal jurisdiction upon the equestrian order, the same jurisdiction, for which so many seditions had been formerly raised, and so much blood shed. *Augustus* had ordained, that the knights, who governed *Egypt*, should act judicially; soon after their jurisdiction was extended to other provinces; and even in *Rome* itself many things formerly determined by the prætors, were referred to the tribunal of the knights. *Claudianus* now invested them with the same unbounded jurisdiction, which had been hitherto enjoyed by the senatorial order, and was looked upon by them as their peculiar prerogative P.

THE following year, *M. Asinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being consuls, a change of affairs was portended, if the antients are to be credited, by many prodigies (Y). But *Agrippina* was not so much alarmed by them, as by a saying of *Claudianus*, uttered heedlessly in his wine; *That it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for some time, and at last to punish them.* About the same time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he answered one of his freedmen, who applauded the justice of his sentence, *It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to punish adulteries*; which plainly shewed, that he was not unapprised of the intrigues and amours of his wife.

*Is apprised
of the
wickedness
of Agrip-
pina.*

He likewise betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with *Agrippina*, and the adoption of *Nero*; for his son *Britannicus* presenting himself to him, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindness, bidding him grow up, for he would

P TACIT. C. 50.

(Y) The ensigns of the soldiers and their tents were scorched with fire from heaven; a swarm of bees settled upon the summit of the capitol; children were born of different forms; a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk (50). A blazing star appeared; the monument of his father *Drusus* was struck and split with lightning; the number of every order of magistrates was lessened that year; for one of the quæstors, one of the ædiles, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul, died within a few months. In his designation of consuls, he named none for that dignity beyond the month of *October*, in which he died, as if he had been apprised of his approaching end. The last time he came to the senate, having with great earnestness exhorted his natural and adopted sons to live in unity and concord, he recommended them both to the care and protection of the fathers. The last time he administered justice in public, he is said to have told the people from his tribunal, that *his course was ended* (51).

(50) *Idem*, c. 64.

(51) *Idem* *ibid.* & *Suet.* c. 46.

give him an account of his whole conduct; adding in *Greek*, *It is love that prompts me*; he declared at the same time his intention of giving him soon the manly robe, *That the people of Rome*, said he, *may have at last a true Cæsar*^a. As the emperor let no word drop, which was not immediately carried to *Agrippina*, she resolved to be before-hand with him; but first to destroy by his means *Domitia Lepida*, who gave her no small umbrage. She was daughter to *Antonia* the younger, great niece to *Augustus*, cousin-german to *Agrippina* the elder, and sister to *Cneius Domitius*, the present *Agrippina*'s former husband; so that she accounted herself no-ways inferior to *Agrippina* in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to *Tacitus*, both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their tempers, and no less rivals in vices, than in the lustre of their families and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention and struggle was, which of them, the aunt, or the mother, should acquire the sway over *Nero*. *Lepida* endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious *Agrippina* treated him with severity and threats, like one, who was desirous indeed to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her. To get rid of her troublesome rival, she accused *Lepida* of having sought by charms and imprecations to destroy the emperor's wife, and of disturbing the public peace of *Italy* by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous bands of her slaves in *Calabria*. For these imputations she was by the servile senate doomed to die, and executed in spite of the opposition and interest of *Narcissus*, who grew daily more and more distrustful of *Agrippina*, and therefore strove to save *Lepida*^r. We are told by *Suetonius*, that *Nero* himself was obliged by his mother to appear as a witness against his aunt, though he had a particular kindness and value for her^s. In the mean time, *Claudius* *Claudius* being taken ill, for the recovery of his health, had *is taken ill*. recourse to the soft air and wholesome waters of *Sinuessa*; and this occasion was greedily seized by *Agrippina*, long since bent upon his destruction, and for that purpose well furnished with wicked agents. She thought it would be safest to procure his death by poison; but she was at a loss what sort to use; if it were powerful and sudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if slow and consuming by degrees, there was danger, that *Claudius*, when his end approached, might suspect her, and thence annul the adoption of *Nero*. At length

^a Idem, c. 64. Suet. c. 43.
Ner. c. 7.

^r Idem, c. 65.

^s Suet. in

Is poisoned
by the con-
trivance of
Agrip-
pina.

He adjudged a subtle poison the best, such as would disorder his senses, and not suddenly put an end to his life. An experienced artist in such preparations was chosen, by name *Locusta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning. By her the poison was prepared, and *Halotus*, an eunuch and the emperor's taster (Z), was charged to administer it, which he did accordingly in a dish of mushrooms, of which *Claudius* was a great lover. But whether it was from his natural stupidity, or because he was drunk, he did not seem to feel the virulence of the dose; at the same time a looseness seemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation and force of the poison. *Agrippina* therefore, terribly dismayed, as one who knew that her own life lay at stake, had recourse to *Xenophon*, the emperor's physician, who being already engaged in her wicked designs, under pretence of assisting *Claudius* in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in most potent poison, which soon put an end to his life^t (A). Thus died the emperor

^t TACIT. c. 69. DIO. p. 688.

(Z) The office of taster, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably established by *Augustus*, as we conjecture from the following epitaph still to be seen at Rome: *Genio. Cali. Herodian. Præputator. Divi. Augusti. Idem. Postea. Villicus. In. Hortis. Sallustianis. Decessit. Nonis. Augustis. M. Cocceio. Nerwa. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coss. Tiberius* too had his taster, as appears from the following inscription: *Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clausus. Ti. Aug. Præputator.* Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This custom obtained among the *Persians*, as we read in *Xenophon* (52), and of them in all likelihood the *Roman* emperors borrowed it.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that all the particulars of *Claudius*'s death were soon after so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times were able to relate the most minute circumstances of this black deed. But *Suetonius* writes, that though it is agreed on all hands, that he died by poison, yet authors are not unanimous either as to the place where, or the person by whom it was given. Some, says that writer, tell us, that the eunuch *Halotus*, his taster, poisoned him, while he was banquetting among the priests in the capitol. Others will have it, that in a feast at his own house, *Agrippina*, knowing he was a great lover of mushrooms, presented him with one that was poisoned. Neither are the other circumstances of his death better known, continues the same writer; some relate, that he expired soon after he had taken the poison, others, that he continued all night in great agony, and died about break of day. Some affirm, that he fell asleep as soon as he had taken the dose, and was

(52) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i.*

afterwards

ror *Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero*, on the thirteenth of *October*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of *Caius's* death ^u. He was a weak prince, almost a *His cha-* changeling; had no discernment or passions of his own, but *rafter.* was intirely governed by his wives and freedmen. However, *Tacitus* seems to allow him a share of sense at intervals. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty, and tells us, that thirty-five senators, and above three hundred *Roman* knights, were by his orders put to death. But it is certain, that the prince himself was altogether a stranger to most of these executions; for a centurion bringing him one day word, that, pursuant to his orders, he had executed such a consular, the emperor, with no small surprise, answered, that he had given no such order; but one of his freedmen saying, that the officer had done well in revenging of his own accord injuries offered to the person of the emperor, he acquiesced, and without further inquiry approved of the execution ^w. *Seneca*, in the bitter satyr he wrote against him, says, among other things, that he no more scrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly ^x. But his hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished to the island of *Corfica* and kept there for the space of eight years, prompted him to charge the prince with these crimes, which other writers, free from passion and prejudice, lay at the door of his wives and freedmen. He had, according to *Tacitus*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Suetonius*, many good qualities, was an utter enemy to all pride and ostentation, a stranger to revenge, free from the imputation of avarice, a great lover of justice, and when he acted of himself, and was not by fear bereft of his senses, inclined to mercy and compassion. But *Seneca* paints him as a monster, in whom centered all vices, without allowing him one single virtue, one good quality; whence it is but too manifest, that his passion got the better of his philosophy.

WHILE *Claudius* lay dead in his apartment, the senate, the consuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his recovery, nay, restoratives were still applied, and every thing else performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were disposed for securing the empire to *Nero*. With this view

^u Idem, *ibid.* *Dio.* p. 689. *lud.* in *Claud.* p. 478.

^w *SUET.* c. 23.

^x *SENEC.*

afterwards relieved with vomiting, whereupon the dose was doubled, &c. We have followed *Tacitus*, who seems to have been better acquainted with the circumstances of *Claudius's* death than any other writer, since he relates them without the least doubt or hesitation, as publicly known in his time.

Agrippina,

Agrippina personates great sorrow.

Procures Nero to be declared emperor.

Narcissus sacrificed to the revenge and jealousy of Agrippina.

Agrippina, as soon as the prince expired, personating inconsolable grief, and pretending to seek on all hands some allay to her sorrow, clasped *Britannicus* fast in her arms, styled him the true image of his father, and by various devices kept him in the chamber, and likewise his two sisters, *Octavia* and *Antonia*. At the same time, she posted guards in all the avenues, shut up all the passages, and from time to time gave out, that the prince was recovering. At last, when she had taken all possible precautions to prevent any disturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of *Burrhus*, he was received with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. Some indeed hesitated, frequently looking and asking, where was *Britannicus*? but as he was detained in the chamber of the deceased emperor, and no one appeared to propose him, they presently joined the others, and embraced the choice that was offered them. Thus *Nero* was carried to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late prince, he was saluted emperor. The declaration of the soldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the senate, which were, without reluctance, accepted by the people both at *Rome* and in the provinces. To *Claudius* was decreed a solemn and pompous funeral, the same as had been ordained for *Augustus*, *Agrippina* emulating the magnificence of her great-grandmother *Livia Augusta*. His last will, however, though attested by the hands and seals of all the magistrates, was not read in public, lest his preferring there the son of his wife to his own son might be resented by the people.

Nero had scarce been saluted emperor, when the imperious and revengeful *Agrippina* made what haste she could to dispatch *Narcissus*, who had spoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no small affection for *Britannicus*. She caused him to be immediately arrested, and dragged to prison, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, constrained to lay violent hands on himself, fore against the will of *Nero*. He is said to have been at once profuse and rapacious, to have surpassed in wealth *Cræsus*, the kings of *Persia*, and *Claudius* himself, and at the same time to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an absolute sway under *Claudius*, his friendship was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces, all striving who should make him the most magnificent presents. We have seen in the course of *Claudius*'s reign, by how many crimes he deserved the doom that overtook him at last. But

† TACIT. C. 69. SUET. C. 44

after

after all, he was faithful to his master, preserved his life with great care, and was ready, as *Tacitus* informs us, to lay down his own for his service^a. *Agrippina* would never have attempted to poison *Claudius*, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited^a, had she not first removed *Narcissus*, by persuading him to try the baths of *Campania* for the recovery of his health. Before he laid violent hands on himself, he consigned to the flames several letters and secret papers against *Agrippina*, which, as the prince's secretary, he had in his custody, that her accusers might not be exposed to the fury of a woman, whose tempestuous spirit, to use his expression, and violent lust of dominion, if not restrained, would soon drown *Rome* in blood^b. *Zonarus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Narcissus* put an end to his life upon the tomb of *Messalina*^c. About the same time, another victim, far more illustrious, was sacrificed, and indeed unknown to *Nero*, by the deadly fraud of *Agrippina*. This was *Junius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, a man of great wealth and equal quality, but of a quiet disposition, and so little inclined to raise any disturbances in the state, that he had, during the late reigns, spent his life in slothful indolence, and even in scorn; insomuch, that *Caligula* used to call him the golden sheep. However, as upon the death of *Claudius*, it was whispered among the populace, that as *Nero* was scarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, such a man as *Silanus* ought to be preferred to him, one of ripe years, of an unblemished character, and, what was then highly esteemed, descended from the *Cæsars*; for he too was the great-grandson of *Augustus*; this was enough for *Agrippina* to dispath him; and accordingly she sent orders, without her son's consent or knowledge, to *P. Celer*, a Roman knight, and to *Helius*, a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in *Asia*, to murder *Silanus*. Her orders were obeyed, and poison was given him at a banquet by the two assassins, so openly, as if they were neither ashamed nor afraid to own the murder. A torrent of slaughters would have followed, had not *Afranius Burrhus* and *Annæus Seneca* prevented it. These were the young prince's governors, who was now only in the seventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power, yet, by a rare instance, they lived free from all jealousy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accomplishments. *Burrhus* was his instructor in the military art, and *Seneca* in the precepts of eloquence. In these different offices they assisted and supported each other, the easier to ma-

And Ju-
nius Sila-
nus.

Burrhus
and *Seneca*
the young
prince's
governors.

^a *TACIT.* c. 65. ^a *DIO.* p. 688. ^b *Idem* *ibid.* ^c *ZONAR.* p. 187.

They re-
strain the
fury of
Agrippina.

Claudius's
funeral
praises.

nage between them the dangerous age of the prince, neither of them having any thing in view, any thing at heart, but the service of their illustrious pupil and the welfare of the public. They had both one constant struggle to maintain against the turbulent spirit of *Agrippina*, who, transported with the lust of ruling without controul and supported by *Pallas*, was for sacrificing, even before the obsequies of her husband were performed, to her rage and jealousy, all those who gave her the least umbrage. But *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, unanimously exerting their authority, restrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. *Nero* indeed heaped all kinds of honours upon her, and to the tribune, who came to attend him, the first day of his government, for the word, he gave that of *optima mater*, *excellent mother*: the senate too, the first time they assembled, decreed her two lictors, and several other marks of distinction; but the emperor's governors, bearing a greater sway than she over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing such excesses, as she had been guilty of during the late reign^d.

Nero's first care after his accession to the empire was, to perform, with all possible pomp and magnificence, the obsequies of the deceased emperor: he pronounced himself his funeral oration, in which he displayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many consulships, the many triumphs of his ancestors; he likewise touched upon his personal accomplishments, especially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleasure. But when he began to cry up the wisdom, foresight, and providence of *Claudius*, the whole audience broke into a loud laughter; though the speech was of *Seneca*'s composing, and discovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, says *Tacitus*, a fine genius and a style well adapted to the taste of that time. On this occasion it was observed, that *Nero* was the first *Roman* emperor who stood in need of another man's eloquence; *Cæsar* the dictator stood in rank with the most distinguished orators, and none of his successors wanted eloquence, address, and energy in speaking. But *Nero* having from his early childhood applied himself to graving, painting, singing, and managing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of *Seneca*, where-ever he had occasion to speak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. *Seneca* had one under him, named *Beryllus*, who is styled by *Josephus*^e, *Nero*'s preceptor, but was only his *Greek* secretary.

^d TACIT. annal. 13. c. 1, 2. SUET. c. 8. DIO. l. lxi. p. 690.
^e JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

WHEN the obsequies were over, the young prince repaired to the senate, where, after an introduction, in which he acknowledged himself indebted for the empire to the authority of the senate and the concurrence of the soldiery, he declared in what manner he designed to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and decision of affairs; that the whole power and authority should not be confined to a few persons, but every magistrate should have their peculiar jurisdiction; that nothing should be saleable within his walls, nor any access there to informers; that between his family and the republic a just distinction should ever be maintained; that the senate should preserve their antient jurisdiction; that *Italy* and the provinces belonging to the people should apply only to the consuls, and by them procure access to the fathers; that to himself he reserved what was especially committed to his care, the direction of the armies: he concluded with assuring them, that he designed to govern his people according to the model of the deified *Augustus*. The senate ordered this speech, which was likewise composed by *Seneca*, to be engraved on a plate of silver, and to be annually read in the senate by the new consuls^f. At the same time, they accumulated all kinds of honours upon him, which he accepted, without refusing any, except that of *Father of his country*, in consideration of his youth^g, which, however, he assumed before the second year of his reign expired, as appears from some antient medals^h. He seemed at first inclined to perform the mighty promises he had made to the senate; for this year he gave innumerable instances of clemency, moderation, and good-nature: to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces a man; to such of the senators as were descended from illustrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual salaries, to some five hundred thousand sesterces, besides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewise allowed monthly to his guards: many impositions he utterly suppressed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redressed several disorders; restrained the profuse luxury of feasts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, *Claudius* himself being greatly addicted to feasting; with the approbation of the senate he published an edict, forbidding the selling of any thing boiled in public houses, except pulse and greens; he suppressed a kind of sports, in which certain persons, running up and down the city, pretended to have by custom acquired a right of robbing, as it were in jest, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could seizeⁱ. The senate likewise, depending upon the prince's

^f TACIT. C. 3. SUET. C. 10. DIO. p. 650.^g SUET. C. 8.^h Vide GOLTZ p. 44.ⁱ SUET. C. 16.

Claudius
deified.

The un-
bounded
ambition of
Agrip-
pina.

declaration, began to exercise their antient jurisdiction; and made various regulations, among the rest the two following: that no orator or pleader should receive any fee, payment, or present, for defending a cause; and that those, who were designed quæstors, should be no longer obliged to exhibit public shows of gladiators. All this was opposed by *Agrippina* as annulling the acts of *Claudius*; but *Nero* preferred the counsels of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to those of his mother, and the fathers prevailed. However, out of respect to her, he caused her late husband *Claudius* to be ranked among the gods, with all the solemnity and pomp of priests, altars, and sacrifices: which gave occasion to the pleasantry of *Gallio* the brother of *Seneca*, who hearing of the deification of *Claudius*, could not help saying, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged to the *Tiber* ^k. Towards the end of this year, *Nero* bestowed the *Lesser Armenia* on *Aristobulus* the son of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*; to *Sabemus* he gave, with the ensigns of royalty and title of king, the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagene*, and adding some towns of *Galilee* to the territories which *Claudius* had given to *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, king of *Judæa* ^l. Before the year expired, embassadors arrived from *Armenia* to plead before *Nero* a cause of their nation; and while the emperor was hearing them, seated on the imperial throne, *Agrippina* appeared all on a sudden, and was advancing to sit in joint judgment with the prince. The whole assembly was struck with amazement; but no one daring to restrain her, *Seneca* suggested to him, to descend and meet his mother; and thus, under the disguise of filial reverence, that public disgrace was prevented; for the *Romans* thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations should believe them to be governed by a woman ^m. The audience was put off to another day, when *Seneca* and *Burrhus* took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was but a youth, and wholly indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and therefore pretended to answer foreign embassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies; to preside among the *Roman* eagles, and in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire, which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed upon the young prince to assemble

^k DIO. p. 688.
^m TACIT. *ibid*.

^l TACIT. c. 5. JOSEPH. *ibid*. l. xx. c. 5.

the senate in the palace, that, posted by a door behind a curtain, she might over-hear the debates without being seen^m. *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, well apprised what dreadful disorders she would raise, if she once got the ascendant over the prince, left no stone unturned to lessen her power; and their attempts were not without success, as we shall find anon. The same year, *Nero* applied to the senate for a statue to his father, and for the consular ornaments to *Asconius Labeo*, who had been his tutor. The senate not only complied with his request, but at the same time decreed statues to himself of solid silver and gold, which he absolutely refused, and checked those who proposed them. *Nero's modesty.* The senate likewise decreed, that the year should for the future begin on *December*, the month in which *Nero* was born; but, notwithstanding the ordinance of the senate, he preserved the antient custom of beginning the year with the first of *January*. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against *Corinas Celer*, a senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against *Julius Densus*, a Roman knight, who was charged with his devotion to *Britannicus*, as a great crimeⁿ.

THE following year, *Nero*, who was, by a decree of the senate, to exercise the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, though he was now but in his eighteenth, took possession of that dignity, agreeable to the custom of other emperors, who never failed to assume the fasces the year after their accession to the empire. He chose for his colleague *L. Antistius Vetus*; but would not suffer him to swear, as was usual, upon his acts, an action mightily cried up by the fathers, with a design to animate his youthful mind to the pursuit of glory resulting from things of greater moment. At the same time, he gave a signal instance of his mercy towards *Plautius Lateranus*, whom, formerly degraded from the order of senator for adultery with *Messalina*, he now restored to his antient rank. *Tacitus* observes, that he made great professions of clemency in the frequent speeches, which *Seneca*, the composer, uttered in public by his mouth, either to manifest what good counsels he gave him, or to display his own wit^o. After two months he resigned the fasces; but to whom we are no-where told. This year, *Nero* first began to slight the authority of his mother, which was no-ways displeasing to *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, who dreaded her violent spirit, and expected to see the calamities of the late reign renewed, if she came to bear the chief sway in the administration. The young prince conceived a violent passion for a franchised slave, by name *Acte*, and at the same time assumed as confidants in his amour *Otho* and *Claudius Se-*

Begins to slight the authority of his mother.

^m Idem ibid.ⁿ Idem, c. 11.^o Idem ibid.

He is indulged by his governors in his passion for Acte.

But checked by his mother.

necio; the first of a consular family, the same who arrived afterwards at the empire, and the other the son of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful persons, but utterly abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and on that score admitted by *Nero* to an intire intimacy. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were soon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but, upon mature deliberation, thought it adviseable not to thwart him in his amour, since with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince satisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were restrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageously insult women of the greatest distinction; for he had already conceived an utter aversion to his wife *Octavia*, however illustrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue. Thus reasoned *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, men, without all doubt, of great penetration, experience, and discernment^p. But *Dion Cassius* ascribes to their unseasonable condescension and indulgence the many horrible excesses, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the latest posterity. Crimes, says that judicious writer, are linked together, and a passion, when once let loose, is scarce ever again restrained within due bounds. The prince's governors meant well; but the prince, finding they did not check the first sallies of his passion, took by degrees greater liberties, and at length, impatient of all controul, gave a loose to his irregular appetites. Thus *Dion Cassius*¹. But, however that be, *Agrippina* could not dissemble the irregular conduct of her son, not from any motive of virtue, as will soon appear, but because she dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no stone unturned to check his growing passion; she filled the city with the angry invectives of an incensed woman, complained, fretted, and stormed, that a manumitted slave was become her rival, a hand-maid her daughter-in-law. But the fouler her reproaches were, the more they fired his passion; so that, being at length overcome by its force, he shook off all respect to his mother, and threw himself, without reserve, into the arms of *Seneca*, with whom he knew *Annaeus Sernus* (B) lived in close confidence, one

^p TACIT. c. 12.

¹ DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 681.

(B) He was commander of the city guards, and generally esteemed, notwithstanding his thus cloaking *Nero's* passion for *Acte*. To him *Seneca* inscribed his books *de tranquillitate*, and was to such a degree grieved for the loss of so dear and worthy a friend, as he himself owns in one of his letters (38), that he deserved to be ranked among those who had suffered themselves to be overcome by an unmanly grief.

(38) *Senec. epist.* 63.

who

who had hitherto cloaked the prince's passion for *Acte*, by pretending to be in love with her himself, and had openly presented to her in his own name whatever *Nero* in secret bestowed upon her. *Agrippina* was no sooner apprised of this, than she changed her arts and address, attempting to regain the confidence of her son by soft and alluring speeches; she often offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleased, within her own arms, he might more privately indulge his passion, a passion pardonable in one of his youthful years and sovereign fortune. She even acknowledged her unseasonable severity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was not much short of the imperial treasures. Thus from being over-strict in checking her son, she became all at once beyond all measure submissive and fawning. This sudden change deceived not *Nero*; and his intimate friends, dreading it, besought him to be upon his guard against the snares of an implacable and deceitful woman ^s.

Who endeavours afterwards to humour him.

It happened about this time, that as *Nero* was surveying the rich ornaments, in which the emperors wives and mothers used to appear on solemn days, he chose out the most pompous and stately, and sent them as presents to his mother. This the young prince did to convince her, that though he would not be controuled by her, yet he bore her no rancour or ill-will; but *Agrippina*, transported with rage, uttered bitter complaints against her son, who, she said, by sending her such trifles, did not so much intend to make her a present, as to exclude her from all the rest, and to divide with her what he had wholly received from her. These words, as slanderers and tale-bearers are never wanting in courts, were immediately carried to *Nero* with aggravations, who thereupon provoked with *Pallas*, by whom chiefly *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious designs, dismissed him from his employment, the management of the finances, which he had received from *Claudius*, and in which *Nero* and he had acted more like the sovereign director of the empire, than of a minister. We are told, that as he left the palace, attended by a great throng of followers, *Nero* said, not unpleasantly, *Pallas is going to abdicate the sovereignty*. The emperor, however, assured him upon his word, that he should not be questioned for his past behaviour, and that as to his accounts, the public should have no more demands upon him, than he upon the public. Thus *Pallas* forfeited his power, but preserved immense wealth, amounting to seven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of *Nero's* reign, as we shall relate in its proper place. The

A new motive of misunderstanding between Nero and Agrippina.

Pallas dismissed.

*His disgrace
highly re-
sented by
Agrip-
pina.*

disgrace of *Pallas* provoked *Agrippina* to such a degree, that, not able to refrain her rage, she abandoned herself to it without controul, uttering dreadful threats and curses even in the emperor's hearing. *Britannicus*, said she, is now grown up, the true and worthy son of *Claudius*; he is now fit to assume the empire of his father, an empire, which one, who is a son only by adoption, holds to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abusing and insulting his mother: she threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the steps she had taken to secure the empire to the ungrateful monster her son, the surreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poisoning her husband, the crying calamities she had brought upon her own family, the unhappy house of *Germanicus*, &c. She added, that only one comfort by the providence of the gods remained to her, that her step-son was still alive; with him she would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the decision of the soldiery, whether the prating pedagogue *Seneca* and the maimed *Burrhus*, or the son of the deified *Claudius* and the daughter of the renowned *Germanicus*, should have the sovereign rule of mankind. At the same time, she shook her fist at the emperor himself, tossed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curses, imprecations; devoted the monster, so she called her son, and his governors to the infernal furies; invoked the manes of her husband *Claudius*, of the *Silani*, and many others, whom she had murdered to no purpose. This alarmed *Nero*, and as *Britannicus* the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began seriously to reflect with himself, now on the violent temper of his mother, then upon the promising genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feasts of *Saturn* a glaring proof, and gained by it the favour and esteem of all. Besides many other innocent diversions practised on that occasion by the *Roman* youth of the like age and condition, it was an antient custom among them to chuse a king, whose commands, whatever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was chosen by lot, and in the palace, where the emperor, who was himself but a youth, *Britannicus*, and other children of the first quality, diverted themselves with this pastime, the lot fell upon *Nero*, who thereupon gave to all the rest different commands, yet such as exposed them to no ridicule; but that to *Britannicus* was to stand up in the middle of the company, and there sing a song. He hoped the boy, unaccustomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himself in public, would become an object of laughter. But *Britannicus*, to the great surprise of all, with a becoming modesty, and an undisturbed address, though

*Nero endeavours
to expose
Britannicus to ri-
dicule.*

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thou
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though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raised his voice, and sung a few verses, importing, that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjustly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modest and comely aspect of the youth, the deep concern which he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all, who were present, made within themselves, drew sighs and tears from the whole company. *Nero*, struck with the address of the youth, but more with the verses he sung, immediately withdrew, as did all the rest in silence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their tears flow unrestrained. From that time *Nero* conceived an irreconcilable hatred to the innocent youth, and being now alarmed at the threats of his mother, he resolved to rid himself of one, whom he no longer looked upon as a brother, but as a competitor. But not daring openly to command the execution of a person of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poison to be privately prepared, employing as his agent *Julius Pollio*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whose custody was kept under condemnation for poisoning the famous *Locusta*, who had administered poison to *Claudius*. As for those who were about the person of *Britannicus*, *Agrippina* had long taken care, that they should be such as had no sense of honour or honesty. The dose was therefore hastily prepared by *Locusta*, and administered to the young prince by the hands of his governors; but whether it was not powerful enough in itself, or, to prevent a discovery by its sudden operation, it had been qualified, it was without effect, being voided by a looseness. Hereupon *Nero* threatened the tribune with immediate death, and would have ordered *Locusta* to be executed, pursuant to her former sentence, for preferring her own safety to the security of the prince, had she not undertaken to prepare a dose, which, she engaged, should dispatch him as suddenly as a dagger. Accordingly the deadly potion, compounded of several poisons, all of experienced energy and quickness, was prepared in a chamber next to the emperor's, and in his presence. The opportunity to give it him was taken while he was dining with the emperor; but at a separate table, and more sparingly served, as it was the manner of the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but sitting posture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was first tried by a special officer of theirs, a taster. To the end therefore, that neither this custom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be discovered, by the death of both, the matter was thus concerted. To *Britannicus* drink was presented without poison, and tried by the taster, but scalding

*Resolves
upon his
destruction.*

Britannicus
poisoned.

hot, and for that reason returned. It was then tempered with cold water, into which poison had been poured before-hand, of such force and quickness in its operation, that *Britannicus* had scarce drunk it when he fell to the ground, bereft at once of speech and life. Fear and trembling seized his companions; some instantly made off, but others, who comprehended the mystery, remained with their eyes fixed stedfastly upon *Nero*, who, with the air of one utterly ignorant, declared, that it was only an usual fit of the falling-sickness, to which *Britannicus* had been subject from his early childhood, and that by degrees his sight and understanding would return. *Agrippina* and the young prince's sister *Octavia* were both present, but strove to conceal their grief and surprise; wherein *Octavia* indeed topped her part, having learnt, however raw in years, artfully to dissemble every symptom of grief and tenderness, and every other affection of her soul. But *Agrippina*, sensible that her last refuge was snatched from her, could not help betraying manifest tokens of dread and consternation. However, with disguised looks, she endeavoured to smother her concern; so that after a short silence the gaiety of the entertainment was resumed. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Titus*, afterwards emperor, being among the other young noblemen at the table with *Britannicus*, when he drank the baneful potion, tasted it, but recovered after a lingering and dangerous illness^u. This is no-ways consistent, as every reader must perceive, with the detail, which *Tacitus*, of all the antient writers the most accurate, gives us of that remarkable incident.

His funeral.

UPON one and the same day were seen the untimely fate of *Britannicus* and his funeral pile, to which his corpse was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been prepared before-hand. His remains were repositied in the field of *Mars* without any pomp, solemnity, or even a funeral oration; though he was the last branch of the *Claudian* family, which had subsisted in great splendor, and upon its own stock, without adoptions, ever since the time of *Romulus*, that is, for the space of eight hundred and three years. During the funeral a violent and tempestuous shower of rain fell, which the populace looked upon as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for such a crying iniquity, while others, reflecting on the eternal dissensions of rival brothers, and the unfociable genius of sovereignty, called it a pardonable crime^w. *Nero* by an edict justified the hasty dispatch of the obsequies, complained, that in *Britannicus* he had lost the support of a brother, and exhorted the fathers to cherish with the greater tenderness a prince, who

Nero's hypocrisy.

^u Idem, c. 16, 17. ^u Suet. in Tit. c. 2. ^w Tacit. c. 17.

alone survived of a family, born to sustain the sovereign power. He then distributed the possessions of *Britannicus*, his palaces in *Rome*, his manors and villas throughout *Italy*, like spoils taken in war, among the chief persons of his court, to purchase by such donations their approbation, or at least their silence. *Tacitus* tells us, that some were severely censured for sharing in these distributions, notwithstanding the severity and uprightness they professed. He means, no doubt, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; but endeavours to excuse them, by adding, that they were perhaps constrained to accept the presents by the authority of the emperor, who, being stung with the guilt of his own conscience, hoped, that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largesses he could engage, as it were, in the same guilt, persons of such credit and reputation. In this distribution, *Nero* did not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempestuous spirit. She caressed *Octavia*, the deceased prince's sister, and the emperor's wife; held frequently secret cabals with her confidants, and was upon all hands amassing treasure, as if she had some great design to support with it: she paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received in the most obliging manner such of the nobility as came to wait upon her. These measures were known to *Nero*, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards, which attended her, as consort to the late emperor and mother to this, and also the band of *Germans*, which, as a further honour, had been added to the former: at the same time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the house, which had belonged to her grandmother *Antonia*. He repaired thither now and then to visit her, but always surrounded with a croud of officers, and withdrew after a short compliment. *Agrippina* was immediately deserted in her new habitation; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while she lived in the palace, instantly vanished; no one appeared to comfort her in her disgrace, no one to visit her, except a small number of ladies, and these not from any friendship or affection, to which insects, who frequent courts, are commonly no less strangers than to virtue and honesty, but to watch all the words and actions of the disgraced princess, and carry them with the usual aggravations of tale-bearers to the emperor. Among these was *Julia Silana*, whom *Caius Silius* had divorced, as we have related above, to marry *Messalina*. She was no less infamous for her lewdness, than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty; had been long dear to *Agrippina*, and had for a considerable while lived with her in great intimacy; but being afterwards disgusted with her for diverting *Sextius Africanus*, a noble youth, from marrying her, she resolved now to make *Agrippina* pay dear

*Agrip-
pina dri-
ven out of
the palace*

She is accused unjustly.

Burrhus intercedes for her.

She is found innocent, and returns in to favour.

dear for the wrong done her. With this view she instructed two of her own creatures, *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, to accuse her, as if she designed to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great-grandson to *Augustus*, with a view to raise disturbances in the state. This was by *Iturius* and *Calvisius* imparted to *Atimetus*, the freedman of *Domitia*, *Nero's* aunt, and by him to *Paris*, the celebrated player, who was also *Domitia's* freedman. *Paris* hastened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail of the pretended conspiracy, and so terrified him, that, without any further inquiries, he resolved not only to put his mother and *Plautus* to death, but to remove *Burrhus*, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to *Agrippina*. Some authors write, that a commission was already dispatched to *Cacina Thuscus*, intrusting him with the command of the prætorian bands; but that *Burrhus* retained his dignity by the interest and mediation of *Seneca*: others write, that no jealousy was entertained of that officer's fidelity. However that be, *Nero* could not be diverted from the cruel purpose of killing his mother, till *Burrhus* took upon him to see her executed, in case she were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he said, ought to be heard before condemnation, and much more a mother. Early next morning, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, attended by some of the emperor's freedmen to watch their discourse, went to wait on *Agrippina*, and notify to her the charge brought against her, and give her the names of her accusers. She received them with great haughtiness, and when her crimes were explained to her, defended herself with her wonted fierceness, but at the same time with such energy, that *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, fully convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but at her request prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview, during which she took not the least notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were sufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, lest she should seem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance should be taken of her accusers, and suitable rewards conferred on her friends, and obtained both. Among her friends *Fenius Rufus* was honoured with the charge of supplying the city with corn; to *Aruntius Stella* was given the direction of certain public shows; to *Caius Balbilius* was assigned the government of *Egypt*, and that of *Syria* to *Publius Anteius*, who was nevertheless under various pretences detained at *Rome*. Of her accusers, *Silana*, *Calvisius*, and *Iturius* were sent into exile; against *Atimetus* sentence of death was pronounced and executed; but *Paris*, the emperor's inseparable companion in his debauches, was dismissed without any punishment.

punishment^x. This year *Pallas* and *Burrhus* were charged with a design of raising to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia*, the late emperor's daughter; but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of *Pallas*, however innocent, gave on this occasion no small offence; for the accuser naming to him some of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchised slave had the impudence to answer, that he never condescended to speak to any of his domestics, but constantly signified his pleasure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn to keep their distance. *Burrhus*, though accused, sat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuser *Petus* was condemned to banishment. Towards the close of the year, the emperor caused the cohort to be removed, which used to attend, as a guard, at the public sports, to exhibit thereby a plausible appearance of popular liberty, and also to prevent the soldiery from tainting their discipline with the licentiousness of the theatre^y. Such was *Nero*, during the first year of his reign, when he gloried in not having shed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which *Seneca* inscribed to him some time after he had entered the nineteenth year of his age, that is, about the fifty-fifth of the *Christian æra*. The chief aim of that excellent writer throughout the whole work is to imprint deeply in the mind of his pupil, that a general and extensive beneficence is the genuine characteristic of a good prince; that those who are intrusted with the sovereign power, are not only bound to protect the innocent and guiltless, but often extend their mercy and good-nature to those who may seem unworthy of their favour and protection. This he insinuates to have hitherto been practised by *Nero*, and relates a celebrated saying of the young prince, who being desired by *Burrhus* to sign a warrant for the execution of two public robbers, put it off from time to time; but *Burrhus* pressing him to dispatch that affair, he at last set his hand to the warrant with the utmost reluctance, which he expressed with the following words mightily extolled by *Seneca*: *Oh had I never learnt to write^z!*

The arrogance of *Pallas*.

A signal instance of *Nero's* clemency.

THE following year, *Quintus Volusius Saturninus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio* being consuls, *Nero* began to indulge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, especially *Otho* and *Senecio*, of whom we have spoken above, incessantly repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to

^x TACIT. c. 20—22. ^y Idem, c. 23—24. ^z SENEC. de clem. l. ii c. 1. SUET. c. 10.

Nero
abandons
himself to
revelling
and de-
bauchery.

be awed by a *Burrhus* or a *Seneca*; that they ought to tremble before him, as their sovereign, and not he before them, as his tutors and masters, &c. As youth are more susceptible of bad than good counsels, the young prince, in spite of the wholesome advice of his governors, abandoned himself to unseasonable revellings, and filled *Rome* with innumerable disorders. For, unmindful of his rank and disguised in the habit of a slave, he scoured in the night the streets, the public inns, and the stews, followed by his debauched companions, who seized as a lawful prey whatever they found exposed to sale, and assaulted whomsoever they met. In these frolics he often ran great dangers, and once was so wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the scar, no one imagining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the streets. But when that came to be known, his name was falsely assumed as a cloak by others, who in separate gangs practised the same excesses; so that such combustions happened almost every night in the city, as if it had been stormed by an enemy. The prince having one night offered some affront to a woman of distinction, as she was returning home in the dark, her husband, by name *Julius Montanus*, a senator, who attended her, not only repulsed the aggressor, but handled him so roughly, that he was for several days obliged to keep his room: *Suetonius* says, he was almost killed. However, he dissembled this treatment so long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but *Montanus* having at last discovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored by a letter his forgiveness, *Nero*, thinking he reproached him by owning he knew him, obliged him by threats and menaces to lay violent hands on himself. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was constantly attended in his nocturnal rambles, by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators following him at some distance, who, however, were ordered not to interpose, till the prince's party was quite overcome. He likewise took great delight in stirring up and inflaming the different factions in the play-house, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in battle, it was a great diversion to him to throw stones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerously wounded a prætor in the head. These tumults rent the whole city into parties and factions, some favouring one player, and some another; insomuch, that greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, but that of driving the players out of *Italy*, and recalling the soldiers to guard the theatre at the celebration of the public shows^a.

Players
driven out
of Italy.

^a TACIT. c. 25. SUET. c. 26. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 685.

Under the same consuls, *Vipsanius Lenas* was accused of extortion in his government of *Sardinia*, and condemned to banishment: *Gestius Proculus*, charged with the same crime, was acquitted: *Clodius Quirinalis*, commander of the fleet which rode at *Ravenna*, being convicted of several acts of cruelty, prevented by poison his impending condemnation: *Caninius Rebilus*, one of the ablest civilians and richest citizens in *Rome*, redeemed himself from the uneasiness of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, which was thought the more surprising, as he had ever been infamous for his effeminacy and lasciviousness. The same year, died *Lucius Volusius Saturninus*, in the ninety-third year of his age, a man of great integrity, wealth, and interest, and nevertheless, what to *Tacitus* seems a kind of prodigy, never obnoxious to, or disturbed by, any of the bloody emperors under whom he lived ^b. He was father to *Quintus Volusius*, this year's consul, who was born to him in the sixty-second year of his age: he was governor of *Rome* when he died ^c.

THE next consuls were *Nero*, the second time, and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, who, after six months, resigned the fasces to *Ducennius Geminus* and *Pompeius Paulinus*. This year, *Nero* remitted the duty upon the sale of slaves, distributed to the populace a largess of four hundred small sesterces a man, and issued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public shows, being well apprised, that such acts of munificence were only designed to stop the mouths of the people, who in the end bore the whole charge; so that the liberality of their governors and their avarice concurred equally to undo them. He likewise consented, with great readiness, to a decree of the senate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his slaves, those who had been manumitted, if they still continued under the same roof, should be executed with his other slaves. *Lucius Varius*, who had been consul, but formerly degraded for extortion, he restored to his rank; and referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great distinction, but accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, says *Tacitus*, meaning probably the christian religion, pursuant to the antient custom, to the inquisition of her husband. She was married to *Aulus Plautius*, the same who, by his conquests in *Britain* in the reign of *Claudius*, had deserved an ovation. *Plautius* assembled his relations, took together with them cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent. *P. Celer* was accused of many crimes by the province of *Asia*; but as he had dispatched by poison the proconsul *Silanus*, as we have related above, that crime covered

Several instances of Nero's generosity, good-nature, &c.

^b TACIT. c. 30.

^c PLIN. l. vii. c. 8.

all his other enormities; so that *Nero*, ashamed to discharge him unwilling to condemn him, lengthened out the process, till he died of old age. *Eprius Marcellus* was accused by the *Lycians* of extortion; but absolved, though evidently guilty; nay, so powerful a faction was formed in his favour, that some of his accusers were punished with exile, as if they had conspired the ruin of an innocent man. The *Cicilians* had better success in the prosecution of *Cossutianus Capito*, who, for his extortions, was condemned to banishment^c.

Relieves
poor sena-
tors.

P. Suilius
accused.

His invectives a-
gainst *Se-
neca*.

THE following year, *Nero* entered upon his third consulship; but held it only four months. His colleague was *Valerius Messala*, to whom, as he was of an illustrious family but by misfortunes reduced to poverty, *Nero* generously presented a yearly pension of five hundred great sesterces. At the same time, he assigned annual appointments to other senators, who did not deserve them, having wasted their paternal wealth in voluptuousness and riotous living. This year *Publius Suilius*, an abandoned accuser, who had made a great figure during the reign of *Claudius*, and with his venal eloquence procured the ruin of many illustrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes. He was charged with the death of *Poppæa Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, of *Valerius Asiaticus*, of *Lucius Saturninus*, of *Cornelius Lupus*, and of whole bands of Roman knights condemned at his instigation; in short, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to *Suilius*. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of these accusations of his own accord, but purely in obedience to the prince. But *Nero* checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of *Claudius* it evidently appeared, that no accusation whatsoever had been undertaken by his orders. The accused then pleaded the commands of *Messalina*: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was said, had no other advocate but *Suilius* been singled out to accomplish the bloody purposes of that prostitute? *Seneca* seems to have been the chief and most sanguine promoter of this prosecution; for against him chiefly *Suilius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princesses, meaning *Julia*, *Germanicus's* daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childless, as it were, in his net; with his exhausting all *Italy* and the provinces by his excessive usury; with amassing, by what precepts of wisdom, by what principles of philosophy, he said, he knew not, a treasure of more than seven millions, in the short space of four years. These reproaches, says *Tacitus*, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagonist *Seneca*. *Suilius*,

^c TACIT. C. 32—34.

however, was condemned, and banished to the *Balearic* islands on the coast of *Spain*. In hatred to him his son *Nerulinus* was also arraigned; but *Nero* interposed, alledging, that public vengeance was sufficiently satiated by the doom of the father^d. This year was first kindled *Nero's* passion for the celebrated *Poppæa Sabina*; a passion which proved the source of heavy calamities to the *Roman* state. She was the daughter of another *Poppæa Sabina*, put to death by *Messalina's* orders, as we have related above, and of *Titus Ollius*, a senator. As *Poppæus Sabinus*, her mother's father, had shone in the republic, borne the consular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, she borrowed his name, and called herself *Poppæa Sabina*; for to her own father the friendship of *Sejanus* had proved fatal, before he had attained to any dignity. She possessed every ornament becoming her sex, except that of virtue; in beauty she excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging address, and sprightly conversation, charmed all who conversed with her. But her lewdness knew no bounds, nor was she controuled in the pursuit of it by the awe of fame. Between husband and adulterer she made no distinction, says *Tacitus*, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any ties, however binding. Hence, though she was married to *Rufus Crispinus*, a *Roman* knight, and by him had a son, she was not ashamed to leave him, and live publicly with *Otho*, a gay youth and the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was soon followed by their marriage, *Crispinus* readily consenting to a divorce. *Otho*, now her husband, was continually extolling to *Nero* the beauty and charms of his wife, being prompted thereunto either by the indiscreet warmth of a lover, or by a desire of kindling in the young prince's breast the like passion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the same woman, an additional support to his present authority. *Nero's* passion was easily inflamed; he desired to see *Poppæa*, an interview was appointed, and the emperor, in his first conversation with her, was so taken with her soft arts, with her address and caresses, that he carried her to the palace and there detained her. But the artful *Poppæa*, after a night or two, when she had worked up the prince's affection to the highest pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtiness, importuning the emperor to let her return to her husband, whom of all men she thought the most deserving, the most worthy of her affection. Hereupon *Otho* was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred of all intercourse, and even access to the emperor, and soon after, to

Poppæa Sabina her character.

She captivates Nero.

^d Idem, c. 42, 43.

Otho sent
into Lusitania.

prevent his having any communication with *Poppæa*, preferred to the government of *Lusitania*; a government which he administered for the space of ten years with eminent uprightness and honour, having acquired no less reputation in authority, by his gravity and regular conduct, than he had deserved infamy in a private station, by a most voluptuous and dissolute life^c (C). Thus *Nero* enjoyed *Poppæa* without a rival, and was for some time intirely governed by her pernicious and destructive counsels, as we shall relate anon. This year *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia* the daughter of *Claudius*, being falsely accused of forming a conspiracy against the emperor, was banished his country, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, and confined within the walls of *Marseilles* (D). The same year,

as

^c TACIT. c. 45, 46. SUET. in Oth. c. 3. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

(C) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, conceiving a passion for *Poppæa*, took her from her husband, and sent her to *Otho*, who, receiving her into his house under colour of marriage, was so taken with her charms, that he pretended to ingross her wholly to himself, and not only refused to admit such as were sent to her from *Nero*, but once shut out the emperor himself, though he earnestly intreated him to deliver her up to him, and added menaces to his intreaties. Upon this *Nero*, to deliver himself from so troublesome a rival, preferred him to the government of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, fearing that a more severe punishment might discover the whole intrigue; yet so far it was known, that the following lampoon was made and dispersed;

*Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ.*

That is, *Why was Otho banished under colour of an honourable preferment? Because he became the adulterer of his own wife.* *Plutarch*, in the life of *Galba*, tells us, that *Nero* would not have been satisfied with so slight a punishment, had not *Seneca*, who had a great friendship for *Otho*, prevailed upon the emperor to condemn him only to an honourable exile, which would put him in full possession of his mistress (39).

(D) *Sylla* was accused by one *Graptus*, *Nero's* freedman, an old, subtle, and wicked courtier, well practised, ever since the reign of *Tiberius*, in the dark devices of the emperors. He, upon this occasion, forged the following plot. The *Milvian* bridge was then the scene of nocturnal revellings; and thither *Nero* frequently resorted, that he might there the more licentiously riot without the city. *Graptus* therefore pretended, that a plot was laid for him, as he should return from thence by the *Flaminian* way; but he had, by the providence of the gods escaped it, in coming home through the

(39) *Plut. in Galb.*

gardens

as the people complained loudly of the arbitrary transactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for intirely suppressing all taxes and duties, thinking that the greatest bounty he could bestow upon mankind; but the senate, after many high encomiums on the greatness of his soul, restrained him, by remonstrating, that the suppression of all taxes must necessarily be attended with the dissolution of the empire. The prince therefore contented himself with ordaining by an edict, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, should be hung up in public, to the end that every one might know the precise sum he was to contribute; that the publicans should exact no claims for above a year backward; that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and in the provinces by the prætors and proconsuls for the time being, with other the like intirely equitable injunctions, which, however, grew soon obsolete, though the suppression of the *quadragesima* or fortieth penny, and of the *quingagesima* or fiftieth, as also of some other impositions, continued in force at least till the reign of *Adrian*. At the same time, to encourage the transportation of grain from the transmarine provinces, it was ordained, that no duty should be paid for the same ^f.

Nero designs to suppress all taxes.

Issues several equitable regulations.

In *Germany*, affairs having continued in a state of tranquillity till this time, the commanders of the *Roman* armies, having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various works. *Paulinus Pompeius*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, perfected a dam, which *Drusus* had begun threescore and three years before, to restrain the overflowing of the *Rhine*. A modern writer places it in the neighbourhood of *Duerstede* or *Wick* above *Utrecht* ^g. *Lucius Vetus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, undertook a work truly great, stupendous, and worthy of the *Roman* grandeur, which was to dig a canal of communication between the *Sône* and the

The state of affairs on the Rhine.

^f TACIT. C. 51. 52. SUET. C. 10: ^g BUCH. de Belg. l. v. c. 5.

gardens of *Sallust*; and that *Sylla* was at the head of this conspiracy. The only foundation of all this was, that certain debauched youths had in sport filled with groundless fears some of the emperor's attendants, as they were repairing back to the palace. But *Sylla* was, by his marriage with *Antonia*, *Claudius*'s daughter, nearly allied to the family of the *Cæsars*; and *Nero* mistook his natural heaviness and indolence, which rendered him unequal to any attempt of treason, for deep artifice and dissimulation; and hence his ruin (40).

(40) Tacit. *ibid.*

Moselle, that the armies from *Italy*, sailing by sea into the *Rhone*, and then into the *Sône*, might fall through this canal into the *Moselle*, thence through the *Rhine* into the ocean; so that a communication might be opened between the *Mediterranean* and the said sea. But *Ælius Gracilis*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, through which the *Moselle* flowed, jealous of the glory which *Vetus* would have acquired by so great and useful an undertaking, warned him not to bring his troops into another man's province, and at the same time threatened him with the displeasure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at such an enterprise, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the *Gauls*. Thus was that glorious project dropped^h. These things seem to have happened in the first year of *Nero's* reign; for our historian relates in this place the transactions of several years. Afterwards, that is, according to *Onuphrius*, in the third year of the same prince's reign, *Paulinus* being succeeded by *Dubius Avitus*, and *Vetus* by *T. Curulius Mancias*, the *Frisians*, under the conduct of *Verritus* and *Malarigis*, possessed themselves of certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the use of the *Roman* soldiers, who were wont to send their horses and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings and sown the fields, when *Avitus* threatened to drive them from thence, unless they first obtained from the emperor a grant of those territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to *Rome*, where, while they waited for access to *Nero*, among the several sights which were usually exhibited to strangers, they were conducted to *Pompey's* theatre, to assist at a public show. There, while they were gazing round them, surveying with astonishment the multitudes of people, and informing themselves which were the *Roman* knights, where sat the senators, &c. they spied certain persons in a foreign dress sitting among the latter, and asked who they were? This is a distinction, answered the interpreter, conferred by the *Roman* people on the ambassadors of such nations, as have signalized their bravery in war and fidelity towards us. If so, replied the two chiefs, we claim a right to sit there too; for amongst men there is not a nation, which in fidelity and feats of arms surpasses the *Germans*; and thus leaving their seats, they placed themselves amongst the senators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous assembly, as the effect of an honest emulation. *Nero* honoured them both with the rights of *Roman* citizens; but commanded them to abandon their new possessions: which their countrymen refusing to do, *Avitus*, by a sudden irruption, put many of them

The Frisians possess themselves of lands belonging to the Romans.

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

^h TACIT. c. 53.

to the sword, and forced the rest to comply with the emperor's orders¹. Some time after, the *Anfibarii*, being driven out of their own country by the *Chauci*, took possession of the same lands, being supported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by a man of great renown and of known fidelity towards the *Romans*, his name *Boiocalus*. He alledged to *Avitus*, in behalf of himself and his people, that, upon the revolt of the *Cherufci*, when *Varus* and his legions were slaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by *Arminius*; that he had afterwards served under *Tiberius*, then under *Germanicus*, and, to the merit of fifty years service, was ready to add that of submitting his people to the empire of *Rome*. He remonstrated, that the territory in dispute was large and lay waste; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, settlements in it, and at the same time retain wide tracts for the horses and cattle of the *Roman* soldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconsistent with humanity to furnish men in order to feed their beasts, and with religion to devote to dismal deserts and solitude any part of the earth, which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that such parts of it as none possessed, were free and common to all. Then lifting up his eyes to the sun and the other celestial luminaries, he asked them, how they could bear to behold a desolate soil? and would they not more justly let loose the sea to swallow up usurpers who thus engrossed the earth? *Avitus*, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakest must submit to the more powerful; and that since the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the sovereign judgment to the *Romans*, other judges than themselves they would suffer none. This answer he gave in public; but to *Boiocalus* in private he offered lands, as an acknowledgement of his long attachment to the *Romans*. But this offer the brave *German* looked upon as a price proposed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, *A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot*. Thus they parted with mutual animosity. The *Anfibarii* invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but *Curtilius Mancias*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, passing the *Rhine* at the head of his legions, threatened them with desolation and slaughter, if they lent any assistance to the enemies of *Rome*. On the other hand, they were awed by *Avitus*, who likewise appeared with his legions on the banks of the *Rhine*; so that the unhappy *Anfibarii*, deserted by all, had recourse to the *Usipites*, the *Tubantes*, the *Catti*, the *Cherufci*,

¹ Idem, c. 54.

But are
utterly ex-
terminat-
ed.

Armenia
reduced by
Corbulo.

begging leave to settle in their territories; but being everywhere driven out as enemies and intruders, in these long and various wanderings the people perished^k. This year, the *Jubones*, a people in alliance with *Rome*, who are supposed to have inhabited the counties of *Nassau* and *Isenberg*, were afflicted with the sudden eruption of a subterraneous fire, which consumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of *Cologne*, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguish it with the throwing of water and other usual expedients, transported with rage, vented their wrath by attacking it at a distance with volleys of stones. This, to their great surprise, allayed its fury; which no sooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a closer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy, and at length, which was still more surprising, they quite got the better of the devouring conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it^l. This year, *Domitius Corbulo*, the greatest general of his age, completed the reduction of *Armenia*, by driving from thence *Tiridates*, brother to *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, and making himself master of *Artaxata*, the most important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given a distinct account in our history of *Armenia*; and therefore, not to trespass upon the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only add here, that for the success which had attended *Corbulo's* arms, *Nero* was proclaimed emperor, and by a decree of the senate days of public thanksgiving were appointed, with statues of victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the consulship. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city of *Artaxata* was taken, the day when the news arrived at *Rome*, and the day which produced that decree, should all be for ever kept as festivals. This motion was opposed by *Caius Cassius*, who argued, that were every instance of public prosperity to be attended with public thanksgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion; a just distribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of business; that the worship of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men^m.

HITHERTO *Nero's* administration was universally applauded, and is generally cried up by historians; nay, *Trajan*, an excellent prince, is said to have proposed to himself the five first years of *Nero's* reign as the most accomplished model of an equitable governmentⁿ. This, if true, must, no doubt, be understood under several restrictions. But however that be,

^k Idem, c. 57. ^l Idem ibid. BURAGH. numif. p. 92. ^m TACIT. c. 34. ⁿ AUR. VICT. in epit.

this year, the sixth of his reign, when *Caius Vipsanius Apronianus* and *Caius Fonteius Capito* were consuls, produced an instance of the blackest and most unnatural iniquity recorded in history, that of a mother murdered by a son, who was indebted to her not only for his life, but for the empire, and that very power, which, by an apostacy from nature, he impiously employed against her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the latest posterity, we shall relate, as it has been transmitted to us by the most unexceptionable historians of antiquity. *Agrippina* had, after the late groundless charge brought against her, in some degree regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no small sway at court, till *Poppæa* was introduced there. That ambitious prostitute aimed at nothing less than solemnly marrying the emperor; but as she could never hope to see *Octavia* divorced, nor herself honoured with imperial wedlock during the life of *Agrippina*, she made it her whole study to inflame *Nero* against her, sometimes jeering him by the sarcastical name of pupil, one blindly subject to the capricious humour of a woman, and so far from being suffered to sway the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty, which every private *Roman* enjoyed as his birth-right. As for herself, she desired to be restored to the conjugal embraces of *Otho*, that she might in any corner of the earth rather hear of the emperor's abasement and reproach, than stay to behold it. She added atrocious calumnies against *Agrippina*, as if she designed to attempt upon his life, and threatened to abandon him, that she might not be with him exposed to the dangers that surrounded him. Her complaints and expostulations, enforced with sighs, tears, and all the soft artifices, which the deceitful adulterers possessed in an eminent degree, pierced the soul of *Nero*, and in behalf of *Agrippina* no one interposed, all at court being overjoyed to see her authority crushed, and no one imagining the son would ever be hardened to such a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to spill the blood of his mother.

In the mean time, *Agrippina*, well apprised of the views and artifices of *Poppæa*, left nothing unattempted, which thirst of power could suggest to retain her wonted dominion. Authors, who lived in those times, and to whose authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the lust of ruling transported her to such extravagant and almost incredible lengths, that while *Nero* was well heated with wine and banqueting, she accosted him gayly attired; and, without any regard to fame or modesty, prompted him, we relate it with horror! to a crime no less repugnant to nature, than that which he soon after com-

Poppæa
inflames
Nero a-
gainst his
mother.

By what
impious
means *A-*
grippina
strove to
retain her
power.

• TACIT. l. xiv. c. 1. DIO. l. lxxviii.

mitted.

Nero re-
solves to
destroy her.

Is in sus-
pense about
the means.

mitted. *Seneca*, who was present, observing the prince, while he was thus drunk, inclined to yield to the solicitations of his mother, for an antidote against the inticements of one woman, had recourse to another, and introduced *Acte*. By this means the unnatural abomination was prevented; but the reputation of *Seneca* somewhat tarnished, who might, by some other expedient more worthy of a philosopher, have diverted the prince from so monstrous an impurity. *Fabius Rusticus*, a writer of those times, ascribes this unheard-of passion, not to *Agrippina*, but to *Nero*, and adds, that he was rescued from so great an infamy by *Acte*. But in the detail we have given, all other authors agree, and it was moreover confirmed in *Tacitus*'s time by the testimony of popular fame. Be that as it will, *Nero* dreading the infamy, which the bare suspicion of such a detestable iniquity would reflect on his character, and being told, that the soldiery would never bear the rule of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; which gave *Poppæa* a favourable opportunity of inflaming him more and more against her, till at length she worked him to a resolution of delivering himself by a parricide from one, who, she said, was his dread and his torment. He was now therefore only in suspense about the means of dispatching her, whether by poison, by the sword, or by any other effectual method. That of poison was preferred at first; but to administer it was thought difficult; for if it were done at the prince's table, her death would never be believed sudden and accidental, since in the like manner *Britannicus* had already perished. To apply to her own domestics appeared dangerous. As she was a woman long acquainted with frauds and blood, she was upon her guard against all snares, and armed by counter-poisons against the operation of poison. How to dispatch her with the sword and cover the execution, no one could contrive. It was feared too, that none could be found sufficiently hardened for the execution of such iniquitous orders. In this perplexity, *Anicetus* proffered his service and his dexterity. He was a franchised slave, and had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy; but was now commander of the fleet which rode at *Misenum*. As he was an implacable enemy to *Agrippina*, and *Agrippina* to him, he undertook to contrive a vessel so, that, by a sudden and artificial bursting in the open sea, it should overwhelm and drown her, without the least warning or apprehension. If she were thus dispatched by shipwreck, no one, he said, could ascribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. *Nero* was pleased with this device the more, because he had a favourable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at *Baie* the solemn festival of *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, which be-
gan

gan on the nineteenth of *March*, and lasted five days. In order to intice his mother thither, he pretended a desire to be reconciled to her, declaring that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that, for himself, it behoved him to forget all past provocations, and be sincerely reconciled to a tender mother, whose gift was the power and empire which he swayed. A general rumour of this pretended disposition was immediately spread abroad, reached *Agrippina*, and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their wishes, and promises matter of joy. At the same time, he wrote a letter to her, filled with the most tender expressions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to pass the festival with him at *Baiæ*. *Agrippina*, not suspecting any treachery, tho' well practised in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but imbarquing at *Antium*, where she then was, sailed to *Bauli* (E), an imperial villa between the cape of *Misenum* and the gulph of *Baiæ*. Thither *Nero* hastened to receive her, met her upon the shore, presented her his hand, embraced her, and conducted her to the castle. Not far from the shore, amongst several other vessels belonging to the emperor and the noble men of his court, rode that which had been contrived by *Anicetus*, more pompous and gaudy than the rest, as if *Nero* by that distinction intended fresh honour to his mother. But she having had some intimation of the plot, tho' doubtful whether she should believe it or not, when invited on board, declared she chose to go to *Baiæ* by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a sedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of *Nero*, obliging beyond expression and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for *Nero*, during her stay there, treated her with the utmost magnificence, yielded

He pretends kindness for her.

His prodigious falsehood and show of filial tenderness.

(E) This villa belonged first to *Hortensius* the celebrated orator, and afterwards to *Antonia*, the wife of *Drusus* (41). At this time it was possessed by the emperor, and long after by *Symmachus*, who describes it, and gives the etymology of its name in the following verses:

*Huc deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coegit
 Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
 Inde recens ætas corrupta Boaulia Baulos
 Nuncupat, occulto nominis indicio.
 Ab Divo ad procures dominos fortuna cucurrit,
 Fama loci obscuros ne pateretur heros.
 Hanc celebravit opum felix Hortensius aulam,
 Contra Arpinatem qui stetit eloquio.*

(41) *Plin. l. ix. c. 55.*

to her at table the most honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diversions, granted her all the favours she asked in behalf of herself or her friends, and, in conversing with her, broke sometimes out into sallies of youthful gaiety, discoursing at other times with a composed and grave air of weighty affairs, as if he reposed in her an intire confidence and sought her counsel. Having, with these insinuating caresses and hollow fondness, removed all her suspicions, he drew out the last banquet till the night was far spent; and in the mean time gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys, to run foul of that which had conveyed *Agrippina* to *Bauli* and disable it, that she might be obliged to imbarque on the fatal vessel. When the banquet was over, *Nero* acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own vessel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himself, *Anicetus*, to attend her to *Antium*. The emperor attended her in person to the shore, and at parting hung upon her neck, kissing her eyes, kissing her bosom with such tenderness, that he left it uncertain, as our historian observes, whether he meant by that passionate behaviour to cloak his horrid design, or whether his spirit, however fierce and savage, could not withstand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the last sight of a mother just going to perish ^p.

THE sea proved smooth and calm, the night clear, and the stars shone in full lustre, as if all this, says our historian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that so black a murder might not remain undiscovered, by being ascribed to the malignity of winds and waves. *Agrippina*, when she imbarqued was attended only by two persons, *Crepercius Gallus*, who stood in the steerage, and a lady named *Aceronia Polla*, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleasing discourse of the remorse of her son and his sincere reconciliation, when all on a sudden, upon a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosened; and being purposely loaded with a great quantity of lead, sunk violently down, and crushed *Crepercius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by the posts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too strong to yield to the weight; neither did the vessel open as had been concerted, such of the mariners as not had been intrusted with the plot, obstructing the measures of those who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, strove to bear the vessel down on one side, and so sink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the design, at the same time struggling to preserve her, by ballancing the contrary way, she was not at once swallowed up, but sunk by

^p TACIT. c. 4. SUET. c. 34. DIO. l. lxi. p. 695.

degrees; so that *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell softly into the sea. *Agrippina* The latter screaming out, for the more speedy relief, that she ^{designedly} was *Agrippina*, and passionately calling upon the mariners to suc- ^{ship-} cour the prince's mother, was by them pursued with their poles ^{wrecked.} and oars, and so slain. *Agrippina* never opened her mouth, and ^{She es-} being therefore less known, escaped, with one wound only on ^{cares.} her shoulder; and, what with swimming, what with the timely assistance of some fisher-boats which rowed out to succour her, reached the lake *Lucrinus*, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There reflecting upon the danger which she had escaped, the fate of *Aceronia*, mistaken for herself and designedly slain, the manner in which the vessel, under the shelter of the shore, not tossed by winds, nor striking upon rocks, had yielded in its upper part and been purposely overset, she concluded, that for this very end she had been inticed by the fraudulent letters of her son, and for this treated by him with such extraordinary marks of honour. However, she thought it adviseable to dis- ^{And dis-} semble the whole, and however well apprised of these black de- ^{sembles her} vices, to act as if she saw them not. With this view she dis- ^{apprehen-} patched *Agerinus* her freedman, to acquaint the emperor with ^{sions.} the danger she had escaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to intreat him, that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would postpone the trouble of visiting her; for what she only stood in need of at present was rest. In the mean time, disguising her fear and counterfeiting perfect security, she caused her wound to be dressed; and calling for the last will of *Aceronia*, ordered all her effects to be registered and sealed up ^a.

As to *Nero*, he had passed the night in great uneasiness and anxiety, attending the success of his design; and while he was hourly expecting expressers to apprise him, that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived, that his mother had escaped only with a slight wound. At this he was struck with terror and dismay, ^{Nero's} not doubting, but her fierce spirit, bent upon hasty revenge, ^{fears upon} would either arm the slaves, stir up the rage of the soldiery ^{the escape} against him, or recur with a tragical representation of the whole ^{of his mo-} plot to the senate and people. Thus terrified and dismayed, he ^{ther.} immediately sent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who perhaps had not before, says *Tacitus*, been acquainted with the conspiracy. To them he notified his disappointment, and told them, that in the present emergency, he had no resource, no protection, no one to advise with, but them. They both kept long silence, either because they thought it was in vain to dissuade him from a design on which they saw him bent, or because they believed matters

^a TACIT. c. 5. DIO. p. 695.

Anicetus
undertakes
to finish
the murder.

already pushed so far, that unless *Agrippina* soon perished, *Nero* certainly must. At length *Seneca*, who used always to speak the first, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he asked him, whether orders for the dispatching of *Agrippina* might not be trusted to the soldiery under his command? *Burrhus* understood him, and answered, that the prætorian guards were so zealously attached to the name of the *Cæsars*, so fond of the family and memory of *Germanicus*, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt against their descendants. He added, that *Anicetus* ought to accomplish what he had begun. *Anicetus* undertook without hesitation to acquit himself of his engagement; and *Nero* crying out, that *Anicetus* presented him that day with the empire, urged him to use dispatch, taking with him whom he pleased to assist him. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, with the news of her disaster and escape, was immediately admitted to the emperor, by whose orders, as he was delivering his message, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been sent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to prison. This fable was forged to support another; for *Nero* intended to give out, that his destruction had been concerted by his mother, and that she, upon the discovery of her treason, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the punishment she deserved ^h.

Zeal of the
populace
upon dis-
covering
her dan-
ger.

In the mean time, the danger which threatened *Agrippina* at sea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the shore to assist her; some crowded into barques and skiffs; others entered the sea, and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, some stretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indistinct clamour of a multitude, solicitous about her safety. When they understood, that she was out of danger, they all hastened to congratulate her upon her escape. But, in the mean time, *Anicetus* arriving with an armed band of mariners, they all dispersed; and the franchised slave, having beset the villa with a guard, burst open the gates, secured such of her slaves as offered to stop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a small number of her friends, who, at the sight of so many armed men, betook themselves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneasy, that no soul had yet arrived from her son; nor had even *Agerinus* returned, when she heard a sudden noise and tumult at the door of her chamber; which so ter-

Her house
beset with
armed
men.

^h TACIT. c. 6. DIO. p. 695. SUET. ibid.

rified her maid, that starting up, she too was about to depart; which *Agrippina* perceiving, *Thou likewise*, said she, art going to abandon me: and that moment *Anicetus*, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy. The princess, tho' well apprised of their design, yet addressing them with great intrepidity, *If you are come*, said she, *from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him, that I am well refreshed and recovered; if upon any bloody design, I will never believe you commissioned by my son; my son cannot command a parricide.* But the assassins, without returning her any answer, placed themselves round her bed; for in her chamber was a small light, and *Herculeus* the first discharged a blow upon her head with a great club. *Oloaritus* the centurion instantly drew his sword to dispatch her; but she, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying with a loud voice, *Strike me here; this carried and brought forth such a monster as Nero.* In uttering these words, she was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired ⁱ. In these particulars all authors agree; some add, that *Nero* afterwards surveyed the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their symmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and seems inconsistent with the concern which he afterwards shewed. That very night her corpse was burnt without any pomp or solemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed than that which she lay upon at her meals. Her bones were interred by her domestics, who, after the death of *Nero*, raised her a vulgar tomb upon the road to cape *Misenum*, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to *Cæsar* the dictator. *Mnestor*, one of her freedmen, as soon as her funeral pile was lighted, run himself thro' with a sword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of some terrible doom, which he apprehended hanging over his head, was never known. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrippa*, and great grand-daughter to *Augustus*, sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom she had deserved by a long train of crying iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told, that she was warned of it many years before by the *Chaldeans*, who being consulted by her concerning the fortune of *Nero*, and answering, that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; *Let him kill me*, said she, *so he do but reign* ^k.

Her murder.

Her end foretold long before.

ⁱ TACIT. c. 7, 8. DIO. p. 695. SUET. c. 24. ^k TACIT. c. 9. DIO. SUET. *ibid.*

Nero's
agonies
upon her
death.

He affects
sorrow.

He charges
her with
many
crimes.

The flat-
tery of the
senate.

THE scene of this horrible iniquity being over, the emperor began to reflect within himself on the enormity of his guilt; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and empire! With this thought he passed the rest of the night in dreadful agonies, now dumb, motionless, with his eyes fixed, then starting up amazed and trembling. Thus wild and ghastly, he waited the return of day, which, he apprehended, would bring upon him some dreadful and final doom. *Burrhus* was the first who afforded him some comfort in the midst of these horrors, by persuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily escaping the enormous treason devised by his mother. Their example was followed first by the emperor's friends, and next by the neighbouring communities of *Campania*, who testified their joy by sacrifices to the gods, and embassies to the prince. *Nero* himself, by a quite opposite dissimulation, pretended to be inconsolably grieved for the death of his mother, answering those who strove to comfort him, that he hated a life, which upon such terms had been saved. However, as the face and aspect of places cannot change like the countenances of men, the sight of that coast and those shores, where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; besides, there were some, who imagined they heard horrid shrieks and wailings from *Agrippina's* tomb, and a mournful sound of trumpets from the neighbouring cliffs and hills. *Nero* therefore flying from such tragical places, which incessantly reproached him with the crying greatness and enormity of his crime, withdrew to *Naples*, whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them, that *Agerinus*, a freedman of *Agrippina*, had been sent by her to assassinate him; but had been timely apprehended, and that she had thereupon laid violent hands upon herself, with the same guilty conscience which had prompted her to attempt upon the life of her son. To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back; he even ascribed to her all the vile measures and black iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public blessing, and ascribed to the auspicious fortune of the *Roman* state. This letter was composed by *Seneca*, who thereupon was severely censured, and indeed not undeservedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conspiracy; but nevertheless the senators, with wonderful heat and competition, strove to surpass one another in decreeing new honours to *Nero* on this occasion. The following solemnities were therefore ordained, that at all the altars public devotions should be observed; that the feast of *Minerva*, during which the conspiracy was detected, should be celebrated with anniversary

fary plays for ever; that the statue of that goddess in gold should be placed in the senate-house, and close by it that of the emperor; and lastly, that the anniversary of *Agrippina* should be inserted in the number of unlucky days. *Thrasea Patus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of this reign, walked out of the senate as soon as the emperor's letter was read, chusing rather to provoke the vengeance of *Nero*, than give his assent to such servile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the senate, who had so much honour and integrity as to follow his example. And now *Nero*, to heighten the public hatred towards his mother and blacken her memory, as if she had checked his natural inclination to mercy, restored to their native country and estates several persons of distinction, who had been formerly by her doomed to exile. He likewise pardoned *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, of whom we have spoken above, and suffered the body of *Lollia Paulina*, who had ended her course at *Tarentum*, to be brought home, and repositied in the tomb of her illustrious ancestors. Notwithstanding these acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himself to return to *Rome*, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the senate and people. But the abandoned profligates of his court, and no court upon earth, says *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more, assured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred; insomuch, that by her death he had secured for ever the affections both of the people and senate. Hereupon he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promised him. The several tribes in distinct bodies came forth to meet him, and likewise the senate in their robes, with mighty crouds of women and children, ranged into separate classes according to their sex and age. Where-ever he passed, plays and shows were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a solemn triumph. Elated with pride upon such a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations¹. But all these tokens of joy and approbation could not smother the reproaches of his own conscience; the horrors of his guilt never forsook him; he owned, that the furies pursued him with stripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was sometimes so great, that every joint of him trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their sacrifices, to call up the ghost of his mother, and intreat her to forgive him; nay, some time after, when he travelled into *Greece*, though he was mighty desirous of assisting at the *Eleusine* ceremonies,

*Endea-
vours to
blacken her
memory.*

*He is re-
ceived at
Rome
with ex-
traordina-
ry flattery.*

¹ TACIT. c. 11—13. DIO. l. lxi. p. 796.

yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as soon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane persons to depart ^m.

He diverts himself with chariot-driving.

He engages several noble Romans to debase themselves upon the stage.

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholesome advice, but, on the contrary, all conspired to deceive him with servile flattery, and to commend even his most enormous excesses, he abandoned himself without controul to all his extravagant passions. He was chiefly fond of two diversions, both highly unbecoming his rank and station, *viz.* of driving a chariot and singing to the harp in a theatrical habit. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* had thought it adviseable to indulge him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more shameful and unmanly employment. Thus a piece of ground in the *Vatican* was inclosed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driving, without being exposed to the view of a promiscuous croud of spectators; but now he was desirous of being publicly seen, and even invited to the sight the populace, who failed not to magnify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined, that by bringing many others under the same infamy he should lessen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the theatre, several noble *Romans*, descended from illustrious families, but decayed and through indigence become venal. He likewise engaged with great rewards several *Roman* knights to undertake the acting of parts in public representations. However, that he might not yet debase himself in the common theatre, he instituted a sort of plays called *juvenales*, which were exhibited in private houses or gardens, persons of the first quality, nay, many who had borne the chief offices of the state, acting in them, and degrading themselves to imitate the port and buffoonry of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics, even in their most obscene gesticulations. The contagion even reached ladies of the greatest distinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their assemblies and representations too in a grove planted by *Augustus*, where booths were built, and in them sold whatever incited to sensuality and wantonness. Thus was even the outward appearance of virtue banished the city, and all manner of avowed lewdness, depravity, and dissoluteness introduced in its room, men and women being engaged in a contention to outvie each other in glaring vices and scenes of impurity. At length *Nero* could forbear no longer, but took the harp, and mounted the public stage, trying the strings with much attention and care, and studying his part. About him stood his companions and a cohort of the guards, with many

tribunes and centurions, and *Burrhus* their commander, sad on this infamous occasion, but praising *Nero* while he grieved for him. At this time, he inrolled a body of *Roman* knights, intituled the *knights of Augustus*, young men distinguished by the bloom of their years and strength of body, but all professed profligates. As the emperor spent whole days and nights in singing and playing upon the harp, the whole business of these knights was to commend his person and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to sing his airs about the streetsⁿ.

THE next year, *Nero* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus* for his colleague, and held that dignity for six months. This year he instituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, contests of eloquence and poetry, with other games to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were styled *quinquennial games*. On this occasion the players and pantomimes, who had often caused great animosities, were recalled and restored to the stage. During these sports a comet appeared, which, according to the persuasion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes; hence, as if *Nero* had been already deposed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who should be chosen to succeed him, and the name of *Rubellius Plautus* was on this occasion in every one's mouth. He was, by his mother *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, descended from the family of the *Cæsars*, and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a strict adherence, notwithstanding the general corruption, to the venerable institutions and severe manners of the primitive *Romans*. At the same time, as *Nero* was sitting at an entertainment at a place called *Sublaqueum*, on the banks of the *Simbruine* lake, a flash of lightning darted upon the repast, scattered the dishes, overturned the table, and, while the emperor was drinking, struck the cup out of his hand. As this happened in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, whence *Plautus* was originally sprung by his father's side, the people believed, that he was appointed and marked out by the gods to succeed *Nero*. All this alarmed *Nero*, who thereupon wrote to *Plautus*, that he would do well to consult the peace and tranquillity of *Rome*, by withdrawing to his possessions in *Asia*, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, *Plautus*, who had long since buried himself in retirement, shunning and dreading power, left *Rome*, and, with *Antistia* his wife and a few friends, hastened

A comet appears.

Nero alarmed.

He advises Rubellius Plautus to retire to Asia.

ⁿ TACIT. C. 15.

to *Asia*. This year, *Nero* appointed *Tigranes* (F) king of *Armenia*, which the brave *Corbulo* had reduced, and bestowed upon him a body of guards, viz. a thousand legionaries, three cohorts of confederates, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new realm. *Corbulo*, having thus completed the reduction of *Armenia*, left that country, and withdrew into *Syria*, a province assigned him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor*. In the close of the year, *Vibius Secundus*, a Roman knight, was, upon the accusation of the *Moors*, condemned for extortion and expelled *Italy*.

The state
of affairs
in Britain.

Suetonius
Paulinus
sent into
Britain.

THE following year, *Cæsonius Pætus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* being consuls, the Romans suffered a dreadful slaughter in Britain. *A. Didius*, who succeeded *Ostorius*, as we have related above, did no more than just maintain what his predecessors had conquered. His successor *Veranius*, having only in some incursions ravaged the territories of the *Silures*, was prevented by death from any further prosecution of the war. He was highly esteemed in his life-time for the severity of his manners; but in his last-will he betrayed a servile ambition and court to power: for after many expressions of flattery bestowed upon *Nero*, he added, that to his obedience he would have subjected all Britain, had he lived but two years longer. He was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Corbulo*'s competitor in the science of war, and universally esteemed in all respects equal to that great commander. *Paulinus* therefore, hoping to reap as much renown from the intire reduction of Britain, as *Corbulo* had done from that of *Armenia*, bent his mind upon that enterprize, though *Nero* had then, as we are told, some thoughts of withdrawing the Roman forces and abandoning the island.

* Idem, c. 26.

(F) *Tigranes* was grandson, or rather great-grandson to *Archelaus*, formerly king of *Cappadocia*; for he was the grandson of *Alexander*, who was put to death by his own father *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and of *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*. His father was likewise named *Alexander*. He was nephew to another *Tigranes*, likewise king of *Armenia*, who was put to death under *Tiberius*, in the twenty-second year of that prince's reign, and thirty-sixth of the christian æra (42). *Tacitus* tells us, that as this prince had passed many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hostage, his spirit was miserably debased, even to a degree of abjectness and servitude (43).

(42) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.*
c. 26.

(43) *Tacit. annal. l. xiv.*

During

During the first two years of his government, the *Roman* general commanded with no less success than he had done formerly in *Africa*, subdued fresh nations, reduced with indefatigable pains several castles, and established garisons to keep in awe the countries which he had brought under subjection. Trusting to these garisons, he left the country behind him exposed to the enemy, and went to attack the island *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, which supplied the revolted with succours, and was a common place of retreat to the fugitives. He built a great number of boats with broad and flat bottoms, the easier to approach a shore full of shallows. Upon these the foot were wafted over, and the horse followed, partly by fording, partly by swimming. On the opposite shore stood numerous bodies of men well armed, and amongst them appeared troops of women, running, like furies, to and fro, dismally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair flying about their shoulders, and torches in their hands. Round them were seen their priests, the *Druids*, uttering, with their hands lifted up to heaven, dreadful imprecations, and invoking vengeance. The amazing novelty of the scene struck the *Roman* soldiers with dismay; they stood motionless with their bodies exposed, like so many marks, to the darts of the enemy, till encouraged by the repeated exhortations of the general to shake off the scandalous terror inspired by a band of raving women and fanatic priests, they advanced the ensigns, put to the rout the disorderly rabble, and drove them into the fires they had kindled. The island being thus easily reduced, a garison was established to bridle the vanquished, and the groves, dedicated to their bloody superstitions, cut down; for in them they sacrificed the captives taken in war, and consulted their intrails, in order to discover the will of the gods ^P.

*He reduces
the island
of Angle-
sey.*

WHILE *Suetonius* was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the sudden revolt of the province, the occasion of which is thus related by *Tacitus*, who lived near those times: *Prasutagus*, the late king of the *Icenians*, a prince renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had by his last will left the emperor join their with his own two daughters, hoping by that signal instance of loyalty to secure his kingdom and family from all injury and violence. But this scheme produced a quite contrary effect; for, under colour of taking possession of the emperor's new inheritance, the kingdom became a prey to the centurions; the deceased prince's house was plundered by rapacious officers; his wife *Boadicia*, or *Boadicea*, ignominiously violated with stripes; his daughters dishonoured; all the principal *Icenians* stripped of their hereditary possessions, and the relations of the late king kept in bonds

*The occasion of the
revolt of
the Britons.*

^P Idem, c. 29. & vit. Agr. c. 14.

Their grievances.

and treated like slaves. Inraged by these indignities and dreadful oppressions still more severe, they took advantage of the absence of *Poulinus*, and began to deliberate about shaking off the yoke, which they could no longer bear. In their private assemblies they strove to inflame one another, by recounting their several grievances, exaggerating the miseries of bondage, and heightening the injuries they must expect, when reduced to a province. “Our patience, said they, avails us nothing, further than to encourage our tyrants to lay heavier burdens upon a people, who thus tamely bear any. To such height is our oppression grown, that nothing whatever is exempt from their avarice, nothing from their lust. They seize our houses, insult our wives, force away our children, and oblige our youth to fight; and to all this we tamely submit, tho’ it be in our power to redeem ourselves from such contemptuous tyranny; for what a small force would all the soldiers arrived in the island appear, would the *Britons* but compute their own numbers? It was from this consideration that *Germanicus* threw off the yoke, tho’ defended only by a river, and not, like this, by the ocean. Our country, our wives, our parents and children, animate us to take arms, and behave like men; whereas our oppressors are only prompted by their sordid avarice and brutal sensuality. Let us but imitate the bravery of our forefathers, and not be dismayed with the issue of an encounter or two, and we shall see these robbers withdraw from the island, as their deified *Julius* did formerly.” With these and the like speeches, they easily prevailed upon the *Trinobantes*, and several other nations, to join their forces, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, as the only means to redeem themselves from the oppressions they groaned under; for the *Britons*, even in those days, cheerfully complied, as *Tacitus* observes, with the imposition of taxes and all duties enjoined by their governors, provided they received no illegal treatment. This they could not brook, nor did the *Romans*, says the same historian, any further subdue them, than to bring them to obey just laws: they abhorred unjust encroachments, and would never submit to be slaves⁹. The *Trinobantes* were moreover animated to take arms by their implacable hatred towards the veterans lately planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, who, encroaching upon the inhabitants, thrust them out of their houses, spoiled them of their hereditary lands, and, adding scorn to oppression, treated them with the vile titles of captives and slaves. Another alarming grievance was a temple built and dedicated to the late emperor *Claudius*,

⁹ *TACIT. annal. c. 31. & vit. Agr. c. 15, 16.*

which

which was a great eye-sore to them, and looked upon by all as a badge and bulwark of eternal slavery. Besides, the priests appointed to minister in the temple, under the cloak of religion, devoured the whole substance of the inhabitants, and reduced the most wealthy amongst them to beggary. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to destroy a colony no-wise secured by fortifications; for the *Romans*, not yet well acquainted with the temper of the *Britons*, had consulted only their accommodation and pleasure. To these grievances *Dion Cassius* adds, that *Catus Decianus*, the imperial procurator, exercised a tyranny no less cruel over their substance and fortunes, than the governor did over their bodies and lives: and that *Seneca*, having with fair promises inveigled the *Britons* to borrow vast sums of him, telling them, that for repayment they should take their own time, all on a sudden demanded both principal and interest, which iniquitous demand reduced the injured *Britons* to despair. Thus provoked by the heaviest sufferings, and invited by the opportunity of the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians* and *Trinobantes*, the former inhabiting the present counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, and the latter those of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and all those who hated servitude, unanimously took arms under the conduct of *Boudicea*, a princess of royal descent. *Tacitus* tells us, that the ensuing troubles were foretold some time before by several signs and prodigies. At *Camalodunum* the statue of *Victory* fell down of itself with her face turned towards the enemy; certain women, transported with prophetic fury, terrified the people with denunciations of impending calamities; in the place, where the colony assembled for the business of the public, was heard a tumultuous noise and the accent of strangers; the theatre echoed with dismal howlings; in the river *Thames* dreadful appearances were seen; the ocean appeared all dyed with blood; and at the departure of the tide shapes of human bodies were left imprinted on the strand. The veterans, in the colony, alarmed at these omens, sent to *Catus Decianus*, procurator of the province, for succours, *Suetonius* being then at a great distance; but he could spare them only two hundred men, and those not completely armed; and in the colony itself was but a handful of soldiers. The veterans indeed were for securing themselves by a ditch and palisade against any sudden assault, and removing out of the colony their women and old men; but were diverted from these and all other measures tending to their safety by some *Britons*, in whose fidelity they reposed too much confidence. So that, while they were utterly unprepared, and as void of cir-

They rise under the conduct of queen Boudicea.

Great
slaughter
of the
Romans.

Suetonius
marches
against
them.

He aban-
dons Lon-
don, which
is taken
and plun-
dered.

cumspection as if full peace had reigned, the *Britons*, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, flew unanimously to arms, assailed on every side the soldiers dispersed in the forts, and having stormed and sacked the several garisons, fell upon the colony itself as the seat and centre of public servitude, took it at the first assault, and after two days siege the temple, whither the *Romans* were retired in a body. The colony, with the temple, they razed, and put every *Roman* to the sword. After this, upon intelligence that *Petilius Cerealis*, commander of the ninth legion, was advancing to relieve his friends, they hastened to meet him, routed his legion, and cut the infantry, all to a man, in pieces; but *Cerealis* escaped with the horse to the camp, and there defended himself in his intrenchments. *Catus Decianus*, the procurator, who had by his rapacious avarice driven the province into despair, and was universally hated, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled, like a coward, over into *Gaul*.*

Suetonius, upon the first notice of the revolt, left the island of *Anglesey*, and with undaunted bravery marched through the heart of the enemy's country quite to *London*, a city not honoured indeed with the title of colony, but full of *Roman* inhabitants, and even then highly famed for the vast conflux of traders, and plenty of all commodities and provisions. Here he designed at first to settle his head quarters, and make this place the seat and centre of the war: but afterwards reflecting on the small number of his men, he resolved to abandon it, and retire to some more advantageous post. This resolution threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation; but *Suetonius*, hoping by the loss of one town to save the whole province, was not, by the tears and wailing of multitudes imploring his protection, diverted from ordering the signal for departure to be given, taking with him all those who were able or willing to accompany him. He was no sooner gone, than the enemy made themselves masters of the place, and massacred, without distinction of sex or age, all who had staid behind. The like slaughter befel the municipal or free city of *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, and several other towns, in which seventy thousand souls perished, all *Romans*, or the confederates of *Rome*. For the provoked *Britons* gave no quarter, and neither took, nor sold, nor exchanged prisoners, nor observed any other law of war, but killed, burnt, or crucified all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being more inflamed with a desire of revenge, than of victory or booty. In short, no kind of cruelty was omitted, with which rage and victory could possibly inspire

* TACIT. C. 32, 33.

the hearts of an injured people. *Suetonius*, having in the mean time drawn together an army of about ten thousand men, *viz.* the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the various garisons, resolved without further delay to put the whole, as he was distressed for want of provisions, to the issue of a battle. With this view he chose a place accessible only by a narrow vale, and defended behind by a wood, being well apprised that the enemy would attack him only in front, and that in the open vale no stratagems or ambushes were to be dreaded. He drew up the legionaries in thick ranks, placing round them the light-armed soldiers, and the cavalry on each wing. The *British* army, which was drawn up in great separate bands, some of foot, some of horse, appeared an immense multitude. They amounted, according to *Dion Cassius*, to 230,000 men, and, according to *Tacitus*, exhibited the greatest multitude, that till then had been seen in arms, and withal, so confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them to be spectators of it from their waggons, which they had placed round the borders of the field. *Boudicea*, who had chiefly stirred up the *Britons* to this war, was carried about in a chariot with her two daughters sitting before her. As she traversed the field from nation to nation, she declared to all, that though it was usual for the *Britons* to war under the conduct of a woman, yet upon this occasion she assumed not the authority of one descended from such illustrious ancestors, but appeared upon the same foot with one of the vulgar, seeking vengeance, not for the loss of her kingdom, but for the extirpation of public liberty, for the stripes inflicted upon her person, and the brutish affronts offered to her virgin daughters, since the *Romans* were arrived at such a pitch of unbridled violence, that no age nor sex could escape their fury and contamination: she enlarged on the evils of tyranny and servitude, and concluded, that in the impending battle the *Britons* must either remain utterly victorious, or utterly perish; that to do one of these was the firm purpose of her, who was a woman; for the men, they might, if they pleased, still live, and be doomed to slavery. *Suetonius* though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he failed not to join to it exhortations mixed with intreaties, that they would despise the savage clamours of the barbarians with all their impotent menaces, keep their ranks, and after having discharged their darts, close in with the enemy, and pursue the slaughter with their spears and swords, without any thought of the spoil, as well knowing, that after victory all must fall to their share. The general's speech was followed by such ardor in his men, long inured to all the arts and events of battles, that *Suetonius*, not doubting of the issue, gave the signal for the onset. The legion

Suetonius
resolves to
give the
Britons
battle.

Boudicea's
speech to
her army.

The Britons defeated with great slaughter.

The Britons though afflicted with famine, continue in arms.

gion kept their ground immoveable, sheltering themselves within the straits of the place, till the enemy, advancing within arrow-shot, had spent all their darts: upon this advantage they rushed out upon them all at once in the form of a wedge, and being supported by the cavalry and auxiliaries, overthrew all who stood next to them: hereupon the rest turned their backs and fled, but found it difficult to escape, the inclosure, made by their own carriages, obstructing their retreat. The Romans gave no quarter, but put all to the sword, not sparing even the lives of women, nay they pierced with their darts the very beasts of burden, which helped to swell the mighty heaps of the dead: for we are told, that of the Britons were slain near eighty thousand; whereas the Romans lost only four hundred men. *Boudicea*, resolved not to outlive that fatal day, is said by some to have ended her life by poison; but others write, that she died a few days after the battle of a natural death. *Poenius Posthumius*, prefect of the camp to the second legion, upon tidings of the exploits and success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions struck with remorse for having defrauded his own of equal honour, and disobeyed, contrary to the laws of military duty, the orders of his general, ran himself through with his sword¹. *Dion Cassius* differs from *Tacitus*, whom we have followed in his account of this battle; for he tells us, that the victory continued long doubtful, that the Britons, though only a disorderly rabble, led on by a woman, stood their ground against the embattled legions with great intrepidity, and would have tried the fortune of a second battle, had they not in the mean time been disheartened by the unexpected death of *Boudicea*². The Roman army, after a general review, kept the field under tents, to put an end to the war. Their forces were moreover increased by *Nero*, who ordered two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse, to pass from Germany over into Britain. By their arrival the ninth legion was recruited, and thereupon the auxiliaries sent into different parts to destroy with fire and sword such nations as continued in arms, or appeared suspicious. But nothing afflicted the unhappy Britons so much as famine; for all their hands being employed in the war, they had utterly neglected to cultivate and sow the ground, reckoning upon the stores and provisions of the Romans as their own. However, they continued still in arms, and became daily more backward in their inclinations to peace from the behaviour of *Julius Classicianus*, who succeeding *Catus Decianus* as procurator of the province, and being at variance with *Suetonius*, obstructed the public good to gratify his private pique, giving out, that a new governor

¹ TACIT. c. 36, 37. DIO. p. 701.

² DIO. *ibid.*

would

would be sent, who, free from the arrogance of a conqueror and unacquainted with the preceding conduct of the enemy, would treat such as submitted with more gentleness and mercy. And truly *Suetonius*, as *Tacitus* observes, though in other respects a signal commander, yet treated such as surrendered themselves in a very imperious manner, as one who likewise avenged his private injuries. At the same time, *Classicianus* wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of war and bloodshed, unless *Suetonius* was removed, ascribing all the disasters to his ill conduct, and the happy success to the auspicious fortune of the republic. Hereupon *Polycletus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, *Polycletus* was dispatched to inspect the state of *Britain*, *Nero* conceiving *sent into* great hopes, that by the authority of his domestic, not only a *Britain.* reconciliation would be brought about between the governor and procurator, but the minds of the discontented *Britons* would be calmed, and inclined to peace. *Polycletus* was not backward to assume the employment, but immediately set out with such an immense train, that he was a burden, as *Tacitus* tells us, even to the wealthy nations of *Italy* and *Gaul*, through which he passed: thence he crossed the channel, and travelled in *Britain* with such awful state and attendance, as struck even the *Roman* soldiers, accustomed to the grandeur of *Rome*, with amazement. But to the *Britons*, among whom reigned popular liberty, he proved an object of derision; as they were utter strangers to the power of the imperial freedmen, they were amazed, that a victorious general and army, who had fought such battles, should obey a manumised slave; his authority was therefore of no weight with men, who, being brought up in the noble principles of liberty, scorned to pay any deference or respect to such sons of earth, however distinguished and exalted by the favours of a court. Hereupon *Polycletus*, finding the *Britons* were not to be dazzled with outward appearances, returned to *Rome*, where he represented to the emperor the transactions and conduct of *Suetonius* in so favourable a light, that he was continued in the government. However, having some time after lost a few galleys on the shore with the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof, that the war still continued, he was ordered to resign the government to *Petro-* *Suetonius* *recalled.* *nus Turpilianus*, who had just ended his consulship. As this new governor neither provoked the *Britons* by any act of hostility, nor was provoked by them, he bestowed on this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. This tranquillity continued till the time of *Vespasian*, the governors, who succeeded *Turpilianus*, following his example, and carefully avoiding to give any just cause of complaint to the *Britons*; nay, they did not even attempt to recover the island of *Anglesey*, which about this

time shook off the yoke^w. We shall resume the detail of the *British* affairs in the history of the above-mentioned emperor's reign, when we shall see the *Britons* enter the lists with noble armies sent against them from *Gaul* and *Italy*, and conducted by generals of great renown.

Several
persons
condemned
at Rome,
for forging
a will.

DURING these transactions in *Britain*, several persons of great distinction at *Rome* were either degraded or banished for forging a will. Among these was *Antonius Primus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Vespasian* and *Asinius Marcellus*, descended of an illustrious family, being the great grandson of the celebrated *Asinius Pollio*, and himself without any other blemish in his conduct and manners, save that he believed poverty to be the greatest of evils. The illustrious memory of his ancestors, and the intreaties of the emperor, procured him an exemption from the punishment due to his crime. With the others privy to these detestable practices was condemned and interdicted *Italy* one *Valerius Ponticus*, a pleader or lawyer, for endeavouring to save the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and it was decreed, that whoever should take a fee for such vile employment, should suffer the same punishment as one publicly condemned for calumny. Not long after the death of *Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, murdered by a slave of his own, occasioned no small disturbances in the city. According to the antient laws of *Rome*, all the slaves, who lived under the same roof, were to be involved in the same penalty with the criminal; but such was on this occasion the uproar of the populace, zealous to save so many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to sedition. The senate too was rent into parties, some rejecting with great warmth such excessive rigor, while others voted against any innovation. After a long and warm debate, it was carried, that, without compassion for the number of slaves, for the age of some, for the sex of others, for the undoubted innocence of most, they should be all condemned to death and executed. As they were no fewer than four hundred, the populace flocked tumultuously together to prevent the execution of so many innocent persons. But *Nero* reprimanded them by an edict, and with lines of soldiers secured the way, thro' which they were led to the place of execution. *Cingonius Varro* moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the same roof, should be for ever expelled *Italy*; but *Nero* opposed that motion, urging, that since the rigor of the antient custom had not been softened by mercy, it ought not to be heightened by cruelty^x.

All his
slaves are
executed.

^w TACIT. c. 38, 39. & vit. Agr. 16, 17. SUET. c. 18. DIO. p. 702. ^x TACIT. c. 42—44.

THE following year, *P. Marius* and *L. Asinius* were consuls; but resigned the fasces, according to *Onuphrius*, *Goltzius*, and others, in the month of *July* to *Trebellius Maximus* and *Seneca*. A decree in the digests, dated the 25th of *August*, seems to favour this opinion. However, some writers, and among the rest *Ausonius*, maintain, that *Seneca* never attained the dignity of consul. During the administration of these consuls, the prætor *Antistius*, having composed a poem full of Antistius writes a satire against Nero. contumelious invectives against the prince, and read it to a numerous assembly at a banquet in the house of *Ostorius Scapula*, was arraigned upon the law of majesty by *Cossutianus Capito*, a law, which after long dispute was upon this occasion first revived. *Ostorius* declared before the senate, when he was called upon to give his evidence, that he knew nothing of the imputed crime; but the contrary testimony of the other witnesses being credited, *Julius Marullus*, consul elect, voted, that the accused should be divested of his prætorship and put to death. But *Thrasea Pætus*, after high encomiums upon *Nero*, and many bitter invectives against *Antistius*, argued, that since under such an excellent prince the senate was in its decisions influenced by no bias or compulsion, and halts and executioners were long since banished, the only punishment they could inflict, without bringing themselves under the imputation of cruelty, and the times under that of infamy, was, to confiscate the estate of the criminal, and confine him to a solitary island. The generous freedom of *Thrasea* animated the other senators, so that they all went readily into his motion, except a small number of abandoned flatterers, among whom was the famous sycophant *Vitellius*. The consuls, however, before they gave the least sanction to the decree, thought it adviseable to acquaint the emperor with their unanimity, who, after having long struggled between shame and repentment, at last answered, that since *Antistius* had, without any provocation, uttered so many black invectives against the prince, it was the duty of the senate to decree a punishment suitable to the crime. However, as he would certainly have opposed any rigorous sentence, so he would now by no means defeat their mercy; they might therefore determine as they thought best, nay, from him they had full leave to discharge the criminal. From this answer it plainly appeared, that the emperor was piqued; but, notwithstanding his displeasure, neither *Thrasea* nor the others departed from the measures which they had approved. At the same time, *Fabricius Veiento* was expelled *Italy* for writing a satire against the senate, and making traffic of the prince's favour by selling the great offices of the state. His writings being doomed to the flames, were, as *Tacitus* observes, universally sought and read, while

The generous freedom of *Thrasea Pætus*.

Antistius is only banished.

*The death
of Burrhus.*

while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; but when every one was free to possess and peruse them, they sunk into contempt and oblivion^y. This year died, to the unspeakable grief of all good men, the celebrated *Burrhus*, one of the chief friends and supports of the public; but whether by poison or a disease, is not certainly known: the latter was imagined, because a swelling in his throat gradually increased, till by a total stoppage of respiration he died suffocated. *Suetonius*^a and *Dion Cassius*^z tell us, that *Nero*, having promised him a remedy against his distemper, sent him a venomous medicine. This, says *Tacitus*, was asserted by many; and it was likewise a common report, that *Burrhus*, being well apprised of it, when the prince came to visit him, turned his face another way, and to his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other answer than this, *I am well*. The loss of so great and worthy a man was long regretted in *Rome*, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint successors; for *Nero* appointed two captains of the prætorian guards, *Fenius Rufus* and *Sofonius Tigellinus*. The former was a man of great integrity, but indolent, and an utter enemy to all trouble; the other infamous for lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all the most flagrant iniquities; but in high favour with *Nero*, and by him assumed into power from a fellowship in all his secret debauches and revels^b.

*The character of
Tigellinus.*

*Several charges
brought
against
Seneca.*

*He begs
leave to
retire.*

AND now, one of the champions of virtue being removed, the many wicked and evil counsellors, who abounded in the emperor's court, attacked the other, viz. *Seneca*, with many criminal imputations; namely, that he had already accumulated wealth far above the condition of a citizen, and was insatiably accumulating more; that such was the magnificence of his gardens, such the splendor of his seats, that in these instances of grandeur he excelled even the emperor; that he was labouring to attach to his own person the veneration of the *Roman* people; that he disparaged his skill in managing horses, turned his voice into mockery whenever he sung, and to himself alone arrogated the praise and perfection of eloquence: they added, that *Nero* was no longer a child, and therefore ought now to begin to reign, to dismiss his pedagogue, and to be governed by more famous tutors, his glorious ancestors. *Seneca* was not unapprised of the efforts of his enemies, and therefore finding the emperor had withdrawn his usual affability, and shewed himself daily more and more reserved towards him, he begged an audience; and having obtained it, he besought the emperor to

^y Idem, c. 48—50.

^a Suet. c. 35.

^z Dio. l. lx. p. 706.

^b Tacit. c. 52.

give him leave to retire, and apply himself wholly to the cultivation of his mind and the study of philosophy, intreating him at the same time to accept of his immense wealth, his stately seats and gardens, his ample possessions, &c. which were too great rewards for the small service he had rendered him, and administered fresh fuel to the raging envy of his enemies. *Nero* replied, that he still stood in great need of the wise rules, wholesome counsels, and useful precepts, with which he had cherished his infancy and youth, and therefore could not by any means grant him his request. “As to your gardens, seats, and wealth, *Nero’s* said he, there are many favourites, no-wise equal to you in *deceitful* worthy accomplishments, distinguished with larger posses- *speech to* sions. I blush to quote freedmen, who are esteemed more *him.* wealthy than you; and am ashamed, that one, who is dear to me above all others, does not yet surpass all others in fortune. If you forsake your prince, and to him surrender your wealth, the treasure returned will be ascribed, not to your moderation, but my rapaciousness, and your retreat to the dread of my cruelty. But suppose this disinterestedness of yours, this contempt of riches, be generally applauded, yet surely it will reflect no honour upon a wise man to seek glory from a proceeding, which must unavoidably bring infamy upon his friend.” To these words he added kisses and embraces, swearing several times in a most solemn manner, that he would rather perish himself a thousand times, than suffer him to be any-ways injured. *Seneca* returned him thanks for *He avoids* his kindness and generosity; but nevertheless altered his former *the court.* conduct, received few visits at home, avoided any train of attendance abroad, and appeared seldom in public, as if he were confined to his house by ill health, or the study of philosophy. The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who diving curiously into the secret fears of the prince, and finding, that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the one removed lately into the east, the other into *Gaul*, persuaded him to put them both to death, hoping to bear a still greater sway with the emperor, by thus seeming to consult his defence and security. *Sylla* was dispatched while he was at table, without any apprehension of danger, by assassins, who in six days arrived express *Sylla put* at *Marseilles*, to which city he had been confined. When his *to death.* head was presented to *Nero*, its untimely hoariness is said to have moved him to unbecoming jests and derision. The sentence awarded against *Plautus* was not so successfully concealed. *Lucius Antistius*, his father-in-law, receiving private notice of it, dispatched to him a freedman of his own, who, outdressing the fatal centurion, brought him from his master the following advice; that he should be sure to shun a cowardly death; that he

Plautus
murdered.

Nero married
Poppæa.

he had yet leisure to escape, and could not fail of finding compassion from all worthy and generous men; that if he had once repulsed the sixty soldiers, for so many were sent to dispatch him, he might then, while the tidings were transmitting to *Nero*, prosecute many schemes, and lay the foundation of a war; at least he had nothing more dreadful to suffer after a brave resistance, than what he must suffer by a cowardly acquiescence. But *Plautus*, not moved by these considerations, chose rather to die, than to preserve his life by kindling a civil war (G); so that the assassins, finding him quite unprepared for any resistance, murdered him in the middle of the day before *Pelago* the eunuch, who was by *Nero* set over the centurion and his band. When the head of the slain was carried to *Rome*, and shewn to the emperor, *I knew not before*, said he, by way of raillery, *that Rubellius had so great a nose*. Then turning to the confidants of his debauches, What can prevent me now, cried he, from instantly solemnizing my nuptials with *Poppæa*, a solemnity hitherto deferred through fear of such men as this? Afterwards he wrote letters to the senate, in which he inveighed with great bitterness against *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but took no notice of their death. However, the senate, well apprised of what had happened, decreed processions, appointed thanks to be publicly returned to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of senators. *Nero*, perceiving from the decree of the senate that his most flagrant iniquities passed for commendable actions, divorced *Octavia* without further delay, alledging that she was barren (H); and married

(G) He was perhaps chiefly influenced, says *Tacitus*, by tenderness for his wife and children, whom he imagined the prince would treat with more mildness, were he not incensed by any insurrection or alarms. Some write, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a quite different nature, importing, that his life was in no danger. Others tell us, that two philosophers, *Ceranus* a Greek and *Musonius* a Tuscan, encouraged him to wait for death with unshaken intrepidity, since it would deliver him from a life subject to eternal anxieties and fears.

(H) *Octavia* was, as *Nero* himself owned, an easy wife, modest in her conduct, of an unblemished character, &c. but still an eye-sore to him from the affection which the people shewed her; hence he would have divorced her soon after the death of her father *Claudius*, had not *Burrhus* opposed his design, telling him freely, that if he parted with *Octavia*, he must likewise part with what she had brought him, the empire (44). He seldom admitted her to his bed, answering his friends, who blamed him for thus neglecting a woman

(44) *Dio. l. lxii. p. 706.*

ried *Poppæa*, who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, suborned one of *Octavia's* domestics to accuse her, of a criminal amour with a slave, named *Eucerus*, a native of *Alexandria*, and one who was famous for playing upon the flute. The maids of *Octavia* were all examined upon the rack, and, though some, overcome by the exquisite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet most of them maintained, and with great firmness vindicated, the unspotted character of their lady (1). However, she was first removed from the palace, and afterwards banished into *Campania*, where a guard of soldiers was placed over her. But as the populace openly complained of this cruel treatment, *Nero* dreading the resentment of the provoked multitude, recalled her soon after to the infinite satisfaction of the *Roman* people, who in transports of joy crowded to the temples with thanksgiving, overthrew the statues of *Poppæa*, crowned with flowers those of *Octavia*, and carrying her images, as it were, in triumph, placed them in the great forum and in the several temples. Hereupon *Poppæa*, fearing *Nero* might change his mind, and, to gratify the populace, recal *Octavia* to his bed, prevailed upon him, by a speech artfully framed to produce both terror and wrath, to resolve upon the ruin of the innocent *Octavia*. As the fiction of the unhappy princess's intrigue with *Eucerus* had been quite defeated by the testimony of her maids upon the rack, it was agreed to procure some one, who should own himself guilty with her, and against whom might be also feigned a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state. *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this vile purpose. To him therefore *Nero* addressed himself, and what by promises, what by menaces, induced him to acknowledge that he had maintained a criminal conversation with *Octavia*; which he had no sooner done, than *Nero* issued an edict, declaring, that *Octavia*, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conspiracy, had corrupted *Anicetus* the admiral: and forgetting that he had just before accused her of barrenness, he added, that she had concealed her secret lusts, and always defeated her pregnancy by abortion, and that these her crimes

The affection of the people to Octavia.

of her merit, that the jewels, ornaments, and title of empress were sufficient for her. *Suetonius* tells us, that he often attempted to strangle her (45).

(1) While *Tigellinus* was earnestly pressing *Octavia's* maids upon the rack to deliver themselves from their torments, by owning their lady's guilt, one of them, by name *Pythias*, returned him this answer; *Castiora sunt muliebria Octaviæ, quam os tuum.*

(45) *Suet. c. 35.*

She is banished, and afterwards murdered.

were by him fully detected. Hereupon the unfortunate princess was banished to the island of *Pandataria*, and after a few days doomed to die. Those who were charged with the execution of this cruel and unjust sentence, having tied her down with bonds, opened all the veins of her body; but as her blood was chilled through fear and issued slowly, they hastened her doom, by stifling her in the steam of a boiling bath. After her death her head was cut off by a centurion, and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppæa* might have the satisfaction of seeing it, and diverting herself with so tragical a spectacle. *Tacitus* observes, that nothing ever filled the hearts of the people with more affecting compassion, than the cruel sufferings and untimely end of this innocent princess, inhumanly massacred in the twenty-second year of her age, under the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than death itself, without having ever tasted any share of happiness or delight. But the senate, at this time under the emperors, an assembly of mean-spirited wretches, intirely devoted to corruption and servitude, for this execution, as for some notable deliverance, pompously decreed gifts and oblations to the gods. Such was the debasement of the once great and venerable *Roman* senate. Fear had stopped their mouths, or opened them only to the most scandalous strains of flattery. Our historian observes, here to their eternal infamy, that as often as any cruel sentence was pronounced by the prince, as often as murders or banishments were by him commanded, so often were acknowledgments and thanksgivings, by the authority of the senate, paid to the deities^c. *Octavia* had been honoured, as appears from some medals^d, with the title of *Augusta*. *Nero* killed himself six years after on the same day, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, on which *Octavia* was by his orders assassinated^e, that is, on the eleventh of *June*. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confession, was banished into *Sardinia*, where he lived in great plenty, and died at length by course of nature. This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poisoned by *Nero*'s orders; *Doryphorus*, because he endeavoured to thwart the marriage with *Poppæa*; *Pallas*, because he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immense wealth; and *Romanus*, because he brought a charge of treason against *Seneca*, which the accused retorted upon him^f.

Pallas dies.

THE following year, when *L. Virginius Rufus* and *C. Memmius Regulus* were consuls, the city of *Pompeii*, which took

^c TACIT. c. 60—63.

^d SPANH. p. 619.

^e SUET. c. 57.

^f TACIT. c. 65. DIO. l. lxii. p. 707. SUET. c. 35

its name from *Pompey the Great*, was in a great measure overturned by an earthquake, which highly damaged many other cities of *Campania*. That province had been alarmed before by frequent shocks; but this, which happened on the fifth of *February*, was so dreadful, that great numbers of the inhabitants abandoned their native country, and settled elsewhere, through fear of being one day swallowed up by the earth, a misfortune, which fifteen years after, that is, in the first year of the reign of *Titus* and seventy-ninth of the christian æra, befel those who remained, and likewise the inhabitants of *Herculanum* or *Herculaneum*, as we shall relate in its proper place. This year *Poppæa* was delivered of a daughter, which filled *Nero* with unspeakable joy: she was honoured with the name of *Augusta*, and upon *Poppæa* was conferred the same title. The senate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled, days for solemn processions were appointed, a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*, golden images of the *Fortunes* at *Antium*, where the child was born, were ordered to be made and placed in the throne of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, &c. But short-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, which gave occasion to new sallies of flattery, since she was placed among the gods, and divine worship with a priest, altars, and sacrifices were voted to her. As for the emperor, as he had rejoiced, so he grieved beyond all measure. To allay his grief, he exhibited various shows, among the rest a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred senators, six hundred knights, and, what was a sight altogether new, many ladies of great distinction entered the lists, and infamously contaminated themselves and families, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, by appearing among the common gladiators. In one of these shows a knight, of illustrious quality, rid full speed down a steep descent upon an elephant; another personated *Icarus*, but in attempting to fly, fell down so near the emperor, that he was besprinkled with his blood. A comedy was also acted, composed by *Afranius*, and intitled *incendium*, or the *burning*, in which a house richly furnished was set on fire, and permission granted to the actors to rife it. During these shows, he did not, like other emperors, scatter money among the populace, but tickets for vast sums, for fine houses, gardens, and estates, which he faithfully assigned to those who produced the said tickets. For he believed, as *Suetonius* observes, that all the pleasure and advantage of riches consisted in profusion and prodigality, reckoned those sordid and mean-spirited, who kept any account of their ex-

Poppæa is delivered of a daughter.

Senators, knights, and ladies enter the lists among the gladiators.

Nero's prodigality.

2 TACIT. annal. l. xv. c. 13. SUET. c. 35.

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pences, and cried up such as squandered away and consumed their fortunes. Hence he never mentioned his uncle *Caligula*, but with the highest eulogiums, because in less than a year's time he had consumed, besides his ordinary revenues, the vast sums, (eighteen millions of our money), which *Tiberius* had left him ^h.

*He sings
upon the
stage of
Naples.*

IN the next consulship of *Caius Lecanius Bassus* and *M. Licinius Crassus Frugi*, *Nero* becoming every day more transported with a passion for singing and playing on the public stage, for he had hitherto exerted his skill only in the assemblies called *Juvenalia*, which were restrained to particular houses and gardens, and not daring to begin at *Rome*, resolved to repair to *Naples* to make his first essay and appearance there, and from thence pass over into *Greece*, and contend for the prize in music at the *Olympic* games. Accordingly, he set out from *Rome* with his usual attendance and equipage, that is, with a thousand chariots, his horses and mules all shod with silver, his grooms and muletiars clad in the richest cloth of *Canusium*, and attended by a band of prætorian guards and a body of *African* horse, most pompously attired. Soon after his arrival at *Naples*, he mounted the stage, and sang for several days together to an immense multitude, all the rabble of *Naples*, and incredible numbers flocking from the neighbouring cities and colonies, to such an extraordinary spectacle, an emperor singing on the public stage. In this exercise he passed his whole time at *Naples*, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himself now and then a small respite to take breath and refresh himself, which he did publicly in the presence of the multitude, telling them, that when he had washed his throat, he would entertain them with a finer air than any they had yet heard. We are told, that though the theatre was one day, while he was singing, shaken all on a sudden with a violent earthquake and in great danger of falling, yet he would not give over till he had ended his song. When he had done, he gave the numerous audience leave to retire; and the theatre, as soon as it was empty, fell to the ground. This accident *Nero* looked upon as a providential event, betokening the immediate protection of his guardian deities, and celebrated the benignity of the gods in songs of thanksgiving composed by himself. Being much delighted with the praises which some *Alexandrians*, lately arrived at *Naples*, bestowed on his heavenly and august voice, he sent for more of them over in great haste, and was ever after attended by some of them on the stage, richly attired with a ring of great value on their left hand; as they were for

the most part youths, he appointed them governors to take care of their education, and allowed them an annual pension of four hundred thousand sesterces¹. The emperor left *Naples* with a design to pass over into *Greece*, and display his abilities there. In his rout to the *Adriatic*, he rested a while at *Beneventum*, where by *Vatinius* was exhibited a pompous show of gladiators. *Vatinius* was one of the most baneful monsters that haunted the court, originally bred in a cobbler's stall, hideous and distorted in his person, at first taken to court as a buffoon, and afterwards by calumny, by lying accusations against every worthy man, and a sarcastical turn, raised to such a height, that in wealth, and favour, and in power to do mischief, he surpassed all the other ministers of iniquity in *Nero's* court^k (K). During the solemnity of these sports, *Nero* forbore not acts of tyranny and blood, but forced *Torquatus Silanus*, the great-grandson of *Augustus*, to die, for no other crime, but because he lived with greater splendor and magnificence than became a private person, and therefore was supposed to aspire at the sovereign power. *Torquatus* opened the veins of both his arms and bled to death. After this *Nero*, for reasons that were not known, put off his voyage to *Greece* and returned to *Rome*, with a design to shew himself to the provinces of the east, especially to *Egypt*, which project he declared by a public edict, and then went to pay his oblations for the success of that journey to the several deities in the city. But as he entered the temple of *Vesta*, he was seized with a sudden dread, which shook him in every joint, and is ascribed by some writers to the awful aspect of the goddesses, by others to the remembrance of his enormous crimes, with which he was so eternally haunted, that he was never a moment free from pangs and agonies. Be that as it will, he dropped his project, giving out, that he could not prevail upon himself to deprive the *Roman* citizens for so long a time of the joyful sight of their prince. This declaration was pleasing to the populace, from their inclination to diversions, which by his residence at

He is entertained at Beneventum by Vatinius with a show of gladiators.

Why he dropt his design of going into Egypt.

¹ Suet. c. 20. Tacit. c. 34. ^k Idem ibid.

(K) *Vatinius* is mentioned by *Martial* and *Juvenal* as the contriver of certain cups with four long spouts, called by the *Latins* noses:

*Vilia futoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, sed nasus longior ille fuit:*

Says *Martial* and *Juvenal*;

*Tu Beneventani futoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor, &c.*

Rome they enjoyed, and from the apprehension of scarcity of provisions in his absence¹.

His banquets.

One prepared for him by Tigellinus.

His abominations.

Nero banquetted frequently in the public places and great squares, using the whole city as his own house. These banquets were expensive and magnificent almost beyond belief, and no less infamous for the monstrous scenes of lewdness practised at them; for he was generally attended at such entertainments, whether given by himself or his friends, by the most debauched and abandoned women of the whole city. Tacitus describes here the feast prepared for him this year by Tigellinus, as a pattern of all the rest. In the lake of Agrippa he built a large vessel, which contained the banquet, and was towed by other vessels embellished with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by professed catamites, ranged according to their different age and skill in their abominable profession. The banquet consisted of great variety of wild fowl and wild beasts from remote countries, and fish from the ocean. On the banks of the lake on one side stood brothels filled with ladies of great rank, and on the other common harlots, quite naked. When night came, the neighbouring groves and houses resounded with the joyful symphony of musical instruments and songs, and appeared illuminated with a huge blaze of lights, which turned night into day. It was a few days after this memorable banquet, that Nero, who had already surpassed all men, as Tacitus observes, in every kind of abomination, was prompted by his extravagant lewdness and folly to such excesses, as would seem altogether incredible, were they not attested by historians, who lived near those times, and whose veracity cannot be questioned. He attired himself in the habit of a woman, and as such was publicly with the usual forms and solemnity married to a pathic of his contaminated crew, named Pythagoras. Not satisfied with such monstrous and unheard-of impiety and pollutions, as he was the wife of one pathic, so he became the husband of another, named Sparus, whom he married with the same solemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over Italy and Greece in the same litter, and in the attire of an empress; on which occasion it was said, that the world would have been happy, had Nero's father had such a wife^m. His other abominable pollutions, unknown before to the most abandoned debauchees, we shall pass over in silence, being well apprised, that a detail of such monstrous obscenities would prove no less shocking to our readers, than that which we read in Suetonius has proved shocking to us. We shall only observe out of that writer, that Nero was firmly

¹ Idem, c. 37.

^m TACIT. c. 37. SUET. c. 28.

persuaded

persuaded all men were as wicked as himself; and therefore freely forgave those, who made an open profession of obscenity, all other crimes; but punished with the utmost severity, as hypocrites and impostors, such as seemed to be offended with the most unnatural impurities ⁿ.

THIS year, the eleventh of *Nero's* reign and sixty-fourth of *The burn-* the christian æra, happened the famous burning of *Rome*; but *ing of* whether by chance, or the contrivance of the prince, is not *Rome*. determined, both being asserted by authors. The fire began amongst certain shops, in which were kept such goods as were proper to feed it, and spread every way with such amazing rapidity, that its havoc was felt in distant streets before any measures to stop it could be tried. Besides an infinite number of common houses, all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the stately palaces, temples, portico's, with goods, riches, furniture, and merchandise to an immense value, were devoured by the flame, which raged first in the low regions of the city, and then mounted to the higher, with such terrible violence and impetuosity, as to frustrate all relief. The shrieks of the women, the various efforts of some endeavouring to save the young and tender, of others attempting to assist the aged and infirm, and the hurry of such as strove only to provide for themselves, occasioned a mutual interruption and universal confusion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that pursued them behind, found themselves suddenly involved in the flame before and on every side: if they escaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At last, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to seek sanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some out of despair for the loss of their whole substance, others through tenderness for their children and relations, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames, suffered themselves to perish in them, though they had easy means to escape. No man durst offer to stop the progress of the fire, there being many, who had no other business, but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay, some were in the face of the public seen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houses, loudly declaring, that they were authorized so to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had such orders, was never certainly known. *Nero*, who was then at *Antium*, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard, that the flame was advancing to his palace, which after his arrival was, in spite of all opposition, burnt down to the ground, with all the

*The despair
and miser-
able condi-
tion of the
inhabit-
ants.*

ⁿ Idem, c. 29.

The fire
extinguish-
ed, but
breaks out
anew.

houses adjoining to it. However, *Nero*, affecting compassion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, laid open the field of *Mars*, and all the great edifices erected there by *Agrippa*, and even his own gardens. He likewise caused tabernacles to be reared in haste for the reception of the forlorn populace; from *Ostia* too and the neighbouring cities were brought by his order all sorts of furniture and necessaries, and the price of corn considerably lessened. But these bounties, however generous and popular, were bestowed in vain, because a report was spread abroad, that, during the time of this general conflagration, he mounted his domestic stage, and sang the destruction of *Troy*, comparing the present desolation to the celebrated calamities of antiquity. At length, on the sixth day (M), the fury of the flames was stopt at the foot of mount *Esquiline*, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, so that it found nothing to encounter but the open fields and empty air. But scarce had the late alarm ceased, when the fire broke out anew with fresh rage; but in places more wide and spacious; whence fewer persons were destroyed, but more temples overthrown and portico's appropriated to public diversion. As this second conflagration broke out in certain buildings belonging to *Tigellinus*, they were both generally ascribed to *Nero*; and it was conjectured, that by destroying the old city, he aimed at the glory of building a new one, and calling it by his name. Of the fourteen quarters, into which *Rome* was divided, four remained intire, three were laid in ashes, and in the seven others there remained only here and there a few houses, miserably shattered and half consumed. Such is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of this dreadful calamity. But *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius* are positive in their relations, that it was occasioned by *Nero*. The former author writes, that one happening in a private conversation with the

P TACIT. C. 38—40.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that it lasted six days and seven nights; wherein he disagrees with an antient inscription, still to be seen near *St. Peter's* church in *Rome*, according to which it continued nine days. The words of the inscription are; Ex. Voto. Suscepto. Quod. Diu. Erat. Neglectum. Nec. Redditum. Incendior. Arcendorum. Causa. Quando. Urbs. Per. Novem. Dies. Arsit. Neronianis. Temporibus. Et. Hac. Lege. Dedicata. Est. Ne. Cui. Liceat. Intra. Hos. Terminos. Ædificium. Extruere. *Suetonius's* account cannot be reconciled with this inscription; but that of *Tacitus* may; for he tells us, that the fire, which was stopt on the sixth day, broke out anew; so that the first conflagration may be said to have lasted six days, and the second three.

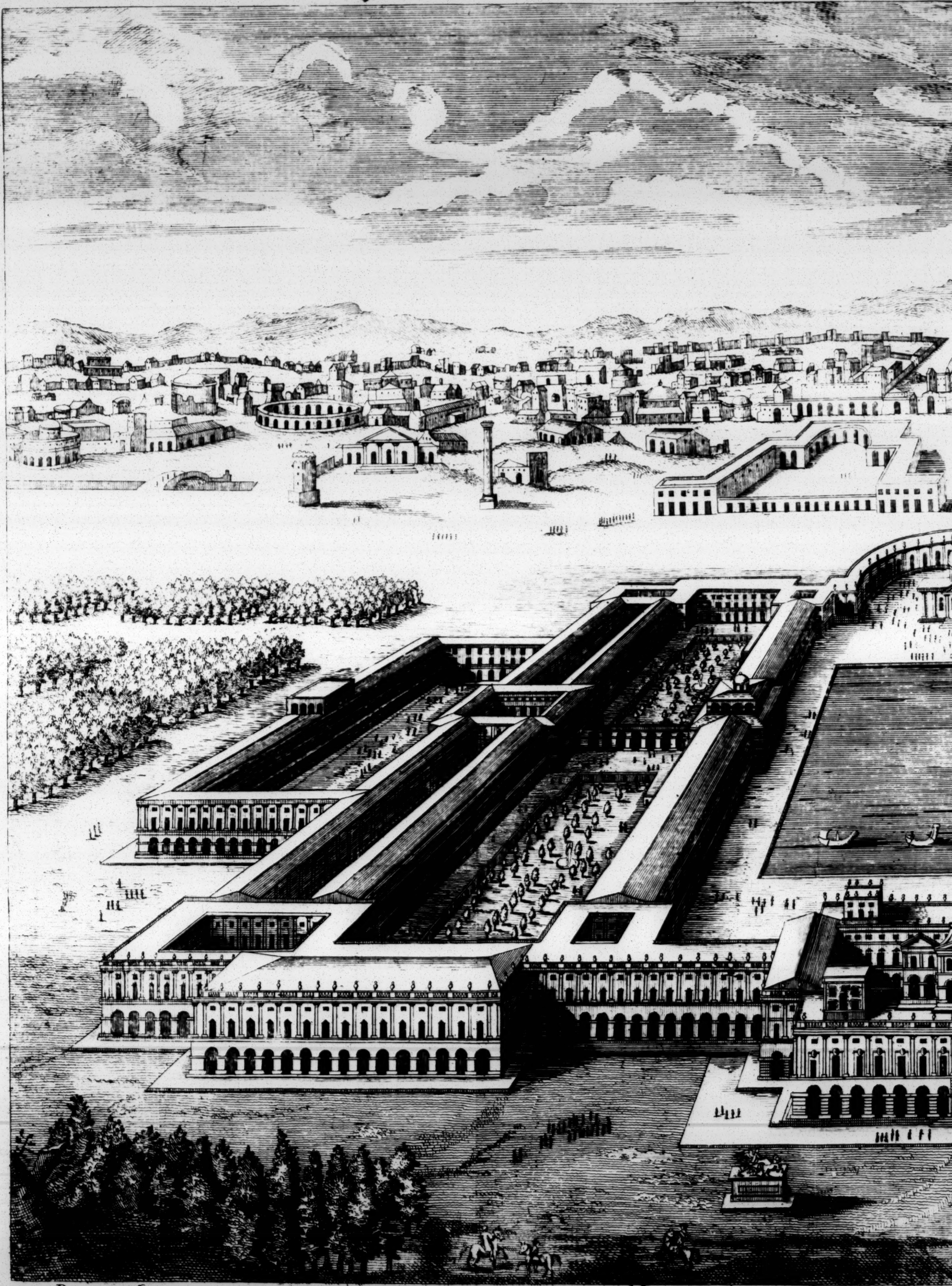
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GOLDEN PALACE.



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emperor, to say in Greek, *When I am dead, let the world be burnt*; Nay, replied he, *let it be burnt while I am alive*; and not long after, being displeased with the old buildings of the city, with its narrow alleys and irregular streets, he caused it to be set on fire so publicly, that several of his officers were found in the houses of the great men with fire and flax in their hands, and nevertheless dismissed, because they openly declared, that they had one to authorize them. There being certain store-houses near his palace, which ground he desired to have, that with their walls of stone withstood the violence of the flames, he caused them to be battered down with engines of war. Tho' in this barbarous conflagration, continues the same writer, the palaces of our antient commanders, adorned with hostile spoils, the temples formerly consecrated by our kings, those which the piety of our ancestors raised in the *Punic* and *Gaulish* wars, and in short all the noble and stately monuments of antiquity, were consumed by the devouring flames, yet *Nero* was so far from being touched with sorrow or compassion, that he beheld the fire the whole time from the tower of *Mæcenas*, and being highly pleased with the sight, he chanted a poem on the destruction of *Troy*, in the same habit which he used when he sung on the stage. He would not allow any one to attempt the stopping or extinguishing of the fire, promising to remove at his own charge the rubbish and dead bodies¹. Among the many antient and stately edifices which the rage of the flames utterly consumed, *Tacitus* reckons the temple dedicated by *Servius Tullius* to the moon; the temple and great altar consecrated by *Evander* to *Hercules*, the chapel vowed by *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator*, the court of *Numa* with the temple of *Vesta*, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the *Romans*. In the same fate were involved the inestimable treasures acquired by so many victories, the wonderful works of the best painters and sculptors of *Greece*, and what is still more to be lamented, the antient writings of celebrated authors, till then preserved perfectly intire. It was observed, that the fire began the same day on which the *Gauls*, having formerly taken the city, burnt it to the ground². Upon the ruins of the demolished city *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden house*, though it was not so much admired on account of an immense profusion of gold, precious stones, and other inestimable ornaments, as for its immense extent, containing spacious fields, vast wildernesses, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vineyards, hills, groves, &c. The entrance of this stately edifice was spacious enough to receive a colossus, representing *Nero*, a hundred and twenty

Many noble buildings utterly consumed.

Nero's golden palace.

¹ SUEt. C. 38.

² TACIT. C. 41.

foot high; the galleries consisted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length; the lakes were encompassed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods stocked with all sorts of wild beasts. The house itself was tiled with gold, and the walls covered with the same metal, and richly adorned with precious stones and mother of pearl, which in those days was valued above gold; the timber-work and cielings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory; the roof of one of the banquetting rooms resembled the firmament both in its figure and motion, turning incessantly about night and day, and showering all sorts of sweet waters. When this magnificent structure was finished, *Nero* approved of it only so far as to say, that at length he began to lodge like a man (N). *Pliny* tells us, that this palace extended quite round the city*. *Nero*, it seems, did not quite finish it; for the first order *Otho* signed was, as we read in *Suetonius*, for fifty millions of sesterces to be employed in perfecting the golden palace, which *Nero* had begun†. The projectors of this plan were *Severus* and *Celer*, two bold and enterprising men, who soon after put the emperor upon a still more expensive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting a canal through hard rocks and steep mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, a hundred and sixty miles in length, and of such breadth, that two galleys of five ranks of oars might easily pass abreast. His view in this was to open a communication between *Rome* and *Campania*, free from the troubles and dangers of the sea; for this very year a great number of vessels laden with corn were

Undertakes
things im-
possible.

* PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. iii.

† SUET. c. 31. & in Oth. c. 7.

(N) *Martial* describes the immense tract of ground on which this palace stood (46). Several lampoons were handed about upon the same subject; among the rest the following, which likewise reflected on the murder of his mother and his shameful passion for playing upon the harp:

Quis neget Ænæ natum de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit cytharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebelites.
Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non Et Veios occupat ista domus.

But *Nero*, whether he really despised such reflections, or wisely smothered his resentment, never so much as inquired after the author of these satires; nay, some of them being discovered, he would not suffer the senate to punish them with any severity.

(46) Mart. lib. de spect. epig. 2.

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c. 42.
Vor

shipwrecked at cape *Misenum*, the pilots chusing rather to venture out in a violent storm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by *Nero* ^u. For the perfecting of this great undertaking, the emperor ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into *Italy*, and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to his works. We are told, that to this bold and extravagant attempt he was likewise encouraged by a *Roman* knight, who assured him, that he could help him to the immense treasures, which queen *Dido* had carried along with her from *Tyre*, and buried in vast caves under-ground in *Africa*, whence they might without much trouble be recovered ^w. *Nero*, who undertook nothing with more ardour and readiness, than what was deemed impossible, expended incredible sums in this rash undertaking, and exerted all his might to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake *Avernus*; but not being able to remove by art the obstacles of nature, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprize ^x.

THE ground, which was not taken up by the foundations of *Rome* *re-*
Nero's own palace, he assigned for houses, which were not placed, *built*.

as after the burning of the city by the *Gauls*, at random and without order; but the streets were laid out regularly, spacious and strait; the edifices restrained to a certain height, perhaps of seventy foot, according to the plan of *Augustus*; the courts were widened, and to all the great houses, which stood by themselves and were called *isles*, large porticoes were added, which *Nero* engaged to raise at his own expence, and to deliver to each proprietor the squares about them clear from all rubbish.

He likewise promised rewards according to every man's rank and substance, and fixed a day for the discharge of his promise, on condition that against that day their several houses and palaces were finished. He moreover made the following wise regulations to obviate such a dreadful calamity for the future, *viz.* that the new buildings should be raised to a certain height without timber; that they should be arched with stone from the quarries of *Gabii* and *Alba*, which were proof against fire; that over the common springs, which were diverted by private men for their own uses, overseers should be placed to prevent that abuse; that every citizen should have ready in his house, some machine proper to extinguish fire; that no wall should be common to two houses, but every house be inclosed within its own peculiar walls, &c. Thus the city in a short time rose out of its ashes with new lustre, and more beautiful than ever. However, some believed that the antient form was more conducing to health,

Precautions to prevent the like disaster.

^u Suet. *ibid.* Tacit. c. 46. ^w Suet. *ibid.* ^x Tacit. c. 42.

Nero
transfers
upon the
Christians
the guilt
of burning
the city.

Tacitus's
account of
them.

the rays of the sun being hardly felt, on account of the narrowness of the streets and the height of the buildings, whereas now there was no shelter against the scorching heat ¹. We are told that *Nero* designed to extend the walls to *Ostia*, and to bring from thence, by a canal, the sea into the city ². As *Nero*, notwithstanding all his bounties, was still universally believed to have been the author of the conflagration, in order to wipe off this aspersions, he transferred the guilt upon the *Christians*, who were already very numerous in the city, and raised the first general persecution. We shall deliver, in our historian's own words, what he writes upon this subject, misled, no doubt, by the accounts that were current among the *Romans*, and crediting, as he wanted an opportunity of being better informed, the calumnies, with which the enemies of truth laboured to discredit such as professed it. *Nero*, says he, to suppress the prevailing rumour, that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon supposed criminals, subjecting to most exquisite torments those people, who for their enormous crimes were already universally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Christians* (O). The author of this name was *Christ*,

¹ Idem. c. 43. ² Suet. c. 16.

(O) *Tacitus* seems in this particular to confound the *Christians* with the *Jews*; for speaking of the latter in his history (28), They are immoveable, says he, in their adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compassion; but towards the whole human race besides, they maintain a mortal and implacable hatred. With all others they refuse to eat; with all others they refuse to lodge; nay, though they are a people abandoned to sensuality, they avoid the embraces of all foreign women. This censure they deserved in the time of *Tacitus*, as they still do in ours, saving the last particular mentioned by our historian; for now they condescend to the embraces of foreign harlots. They had not common mercy towards the *Gentiles* and uncircumcised; and being persuaded, that the Almighty loved only their nation, they fancied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race besides; so that it was said of them by *Tacitus* too truly, *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. But surely the *Christians* did not, at least in *Tacitus*'s time, deserve this censure: an universal and unbounded charity is the main basis and characteristic of our religion; and it is not probable, that the *Christians* were then so degenerated as to disgrace their profession, by neglecting the most essential duty of it. They avoided indeed the profane meetings of the *Gentiles*, their lewd revels, their shows and spectacles; and thence were thought, as *Arnobius* observes, by men not acquainted with their principles, to hate the *Gentiles* themselves.

(28) *Tacit. hist. l. v.*

who

who in the reign of *Tiberius*, was executed under *Pontius Pilate*, procurator of *Judæa*. The pestilent superstition was for a while suppressed; but it revived again, and spread, not only over *Judæa*, where this evil was first broached, but reached *Rome*, whither from every quarter of the earth is constantly flowing whatever is hideous and abominable amongst men, and is there readily embraced and practised. First therefore were apprehended such as openly owned themselves to be of that sect; then by them was discovered an immense multitude; and all were convicted, not of the crime of burning *Rome*, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture was aggravated with cruel derision and sport; for they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or fastened to crosses, or wrapt up in combustible garments, that when the daylight failed, they might, like torches, serve to dispel the darkness of the night. For this tragical spectacle *Nero* lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the same time the public diversion of the circus, sometimes driving a chariot in person, and sometimes standing as a spectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miserable sufferers, however guilty and deserving the most exemplary punishment, compassion arose, seeing they were doomed to perish, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one manⁱ. Thus far *Tacitus*, who, 'tis manifest, was quite unacquainted with the sacred mysteries and sound morals of our religion. He was himself a man of strict morality, and displays, throughout all his writings, a spirit truly virtuous and humane; no wonder therefore, if considering the *Christians* as enemies to mankind, according to the prevailing notion, and their religion as a new sect inconsistent with the laws of *Rome*, and threatening civil tumults, he painted them in such ugly colours. But, after all, he does them the justice to vindicate them from the aspersions of *Nero*, and exposes the barbarous treatment they met with from that tyrant.

In the mean time, *Nero* having, with the immense sums, he had expended in building his *golden house*, and embellishing the city, quite drained his exchequer, to supply his prodigality betook himself to all manner of rapine and extortion. Not *Italy* alone, but the provinces, the several confederate nations, and all those cities, that had the title of *free*, were pillaged and laid waste. In this general spoil were involved the temples of the gods, being stripped of all their rich ornaments, of all the treasures, which the *Roman* people in every age of their state had consecrated, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or vows fulfilled,

Nero betakes himself to all manner of rapine.

ⁱ TACIT. c. 44.

Plunders
Italy and
the pro-
vinces.

Seneca is
refused
leave to
retire.

Through *Greece* and *Asia* the same ravages were committed, *Acratus* an imperial freedman, and *Secundus Carinas*, two prompt instruments, as *Tacitus* styles them, to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant, being sent into those provinces with a commission to strip every-where the temples of all their ornaments, gifts, oblations, &c. and convey them together with the statues and images of the gods themselves to *Rome*^k, where they were melted down, and turned into money^l. *Suetonius* assures us, that from this time forward he never raised any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want; let us make it our business, that no one may have any thing, which he can call his own*^m. *Seneca*, fearing these sacrileges and iniquitous extortions might be imputed to him, begged leave to retire to a seat of his own remote from *Rome*; but that being refused him, he confined himself to his chamber, pretending an indisposition in his nerves. Some writers tell us, that one of his freedmen, named *Cleonikus*, had, by the command of *Nero*, prepared poison for him; but that he escaped it, either by the discovery made by the freedman, or by his own caution; for being apprised of the danger he was in, he led a most abstemious life, satisfying his hunger with wild fruit from the woods, and quenching his thirst with a draught from the common fountainⁿ. Of this wonderful temperance and sobriety, he speaks himself in one of his letters^o: I banquet, says he, upon dry bread, and dine without a table, my dinner is such that after it I have no occasion to wash my hands: and elsewhere^p; I sleep little, and watch much; I abstain from all wine, avoid batheing, and use no ointments, being persuaded, that with respect to our bodies, of all smells, no smell is the best. In the close of the year, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies (P), said to have happened, and always looked upon as the fore-runners of some dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared, an omen ever supposed to portend misfortunes threatening some sovereign power. *Nero* was

^k Idem, c. 45. ^l Suet. c. 32. ^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Tacit. c. 45. ^o Senec. ep. 84. ^p Idem, ep. 109.

(P) In the streets and roads were found exposed several monsters with double heads, some brutes, and some of the human species: some were also taken from the bellies of victims: in the territory of *Placentia* was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg; a prodigy, which, according to the interpretation of the soothsayers, foreboded, that for human kind another head was preparing, that would not remain long concealed (29).

(29) Idem, c. 42.

therefore

therefore under no small apprehension; but an astrologer, by name *Babilus*, having acquainted him, that among monarchs it was usual upon such occasions to avert these omens from themselves by some extraordinary massacre, he resolved utterly to exterminate the whole senatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freedmen.

THIS bloody design he began to put in execution the following year, when *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus* and *M. Vestinus At-*
ticus were consuls, a conspiracy, which was then discovered, affording him a plausible pretence for the mighty carnage. In this memorable conspiracy were engaged, we may say, the whole nobility of *Rome*; senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, entering into it with great eagerness and competition, partly from their detestation of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piso*, who was at the head of it. He was allied to most of the illustrious families in *Rome*, and for his own virtues, or qualities, as *Tacitus* observes, that resembled virtues, highly favoured by the populace; for he was a great orator, and employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; was generous to his friends and acquaintance, and even to such as were unknown to him, affable and complaisant: he was of a tall stature, of a graceful countenance, and extremely popular in his language and address; but so far from being strict and austere in his life and manners, that he observed no restraint in his pleasures, abandoning himself to all manner of debauchery and luxury, a conduct, says our historian, not disapproved of by those who designed to raise him to the empire; for they did not care that the supreme head of the empire should be in his morals over severe. However, he was not the first author of the conspiracy; nay, our historian tells us, that it was never known by whom the design was first concerted, though *Subrius Flavius*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and *Sulpitius Asper*, a centurion, seem to have been the most forward champions in it. Among the first who entered into it, our historian names *Lu-*
can the celebrated poet, *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, *Flavius Scevius*, and *Afranius Quinctilianus*. *Lucan* was instigated by personal provocations, *Nero*, who was possessed with an ardent ambition of excelling in poetry, having from a ridiculous emulation forbid the publication of his poems: *Lateranus*, from whom the famous basilic at *Rome* took its name, was piqued by no injury done to himself, but engaged in a plot from a sincere affection to the republic. The other two had souls drowned in sensuality, and had till that time lived in sloth and debauchery: what prompted *Scevius* to conspire, we are not told; but *Quinctilianus* became an accomplice in order to

Piso's con-
spiracy.

His cha-
rafter.

Many per-
sons of di-
stinction
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in it.

be

be revenged on *Nero*, for having in a virulent satire published his scandalous and unnatural lewdness. *Rome* was surpris'd, that two men of such characters should engage in an enterprise so great and daring. These we have mentioned drew soon into the combination *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatius Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, and *Martius Festus*, all Roman knights. Out of the troops, besides the two officers already mentioned, were assumed as accomplices, *Granius Silvanus*, *Stattius Proximus*, both tribunes of the prætorian bands, *Maximus Scaurus*, *Ventus Paulus*, two centurions, and, as their main strength and dependence, *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the imperial guards, a man greatly esteemed by the people, and on that account hated both by his colleague *Tigellinus* and the emperor. The conspirators were no sooner assured, that *Rufus* had embraced their party, than they began more resolutely to debate about the time and place of the intended assassination. *Subrius Flavius* undertook to assail *Nero*, while he was singing on the stage, or scouring the streets in his drunken revels by night, unattended by his guards; but a too great anxiety to escape with impunity, ever unseasonable in great enterprises, restrained him⁹.

Epicharis,
a freed-
woman,
animates
the con-
spirators.

IN the mean time, the conspirators putting off from day to day the execution of their design, a woman, named *Epicharis*, took upon her to rouse them. It was utterly unknown by what means she came at all to be apprised of the plot; for till that time she had never shewn the least regard to honour, virtue, or honesty. When she found that all her reproaches and exhortations were to no effect, impatient of their slowness, she left *Rome*, and hastened into *Campania*, where she employed all her industry and skill to estrange from *Nero* the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet riding at *Misenum*, and to engage them in the design, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in sailing often along the coasts of *Misenum* and *Puteoli*. In that fleet, *Volusius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to dispatch his mother, had the command of a thousand marines. But as he did not think himself thereby sufficiently rewarded for so meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with *Epicharis*, or a friendship newly contracted, he related to her his signal services to *Nero*, adding bitter complaints, that he had not been distinguished with promotion equal to his deserts. In answer to him, *Epicharis* urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the same time acquainted him with the conspiracy; but had the precau-

⁹ Idem, c. 48—50.

tion to conceal from him the names of the conspirators. The traitor was no sooner let into the secret, than he flew to *Rome*, and betrayed the whole to *Nero*. But his discovery availed nothing; for when *Epicharis* was summoned and confronted with the informer, as his charge against her was supported by no witnesses, she denied it, pretending to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldness of the accuser. However, she was detained in prison, *Nero* suspecting that the charge was not false, though not proved to be true^r. The conspirators being, notwithstanding the silence of *Epicharis*, apprehensive of a discovery, came to a resolution to hasten the intended murder, and chose, as the most convenient place for the execution of their design, a villa at *Baia* belonging to *Piso*, whither the emperor frequently resorted to bathe and banquet, with a small number of attendants. But in this *Piso* would by no means concur, alledging the general abhorrence, which must ensue, were the sacred rights of hospitality violated, with the murder of a prince, however wicked. He thought it more adviseable to dispatch him at *Rome*, either in the detested house, which he had reared with the spoils of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, since for the benefit of the public the design had been undertaken. Thus he reasoned openly among the conspirators; but in his heart he was influenced by secret jealousy, fearing lest *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accomplishments, might, as he was then at *Rome*, upon the first news of *Nero*'s death, seize the vacant sovereignty for himself. He was likewise jealous of the consul *Vestinus*, not knowing but he might, as he was a man of great intrepidity, attempt the restoring of the ancient government, or bestow the empire upon some other, as a gift of his own. The conspirators, moved by the reasonings of *Piso*, unanimously agreed to execute their design, not at *Baia*, but at *Rome*, on the anniversary sacred to *Ceres*, and always solemnised with *Circensian* games, at which *Nero* never failed to assist, giving free access to all, during the gaiety of the sports. The design was to be executed in the following manner: *Lateranus*, who was but in slender circumstances, under pretence of imploring relief, was to fall at the prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no such attempt, throw him down, and keep him fixed to the ground. Then the tribunes, centurions, and the other conspirators, were, each according to his boldness, to rush in and dispatch him. *Scevinus* earnestly claimed the honour and satisfaction of giving the first blow; for having formerly taken a dagger out of a temple, he carried it constantly about him, as consecrated to the execution of some

She is accused to Nero, but baffles her accuser.

Piso is jealous of Silanus and the consul Vestinus.

Scevinus claims the honour of giving the first blow.

^r Idem, c. 51, 52.

mighty design. It was moreover agreed, that *Piso* should wait the event in the temple of *Ceres*, and be thence brought forth by *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and conducted to the camp (Q).

The conspiracy how discovered.

THE day before that which was appointed for the execution of the design, *Scevinus*, upon his returning home from a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, sealed his will; then unsheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and rusty, charging *Milichus*, one of his freedmen, to have it ground and sharpened at the point: next he ordered a repast, more sumptuous and profuse than ordinary, to be got ready; after which he presented his favourite slaves with their liberty, and others with sums of money: his countenance, in the midst of an affected cheerfulness, appeared clouded: in his discourse he was continually running from one subject to another, without attending to any; whence all who were present concluded, that his mind was fraught with some great design: at last he ordered the same *Milichus* to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for stopping blood. The freedman, reflecting on these orders, and concluding with himself, that a conspiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, hastened next morning by break of day to the gardens of *Servilius*, where *Nero* then was; and being refused admittance, declared that he came to discover matters of the utmost importance. Hereupon he was by the porters conducted to *Epaphroditus*, one of *Nero's* freedmen, and by him forthwith to the emperor himself, to whom he related all the circumstances he had observed, shewed the dagger, and desired the criminal to be immediately sent for. Accordingly, *Scevinus* was by a band of soldiers hastily seized and dragged before the emperor; but defended himself with a spirit so undaunted, and inveighed against the informer as a treacherous wretch, still actuated by the base spirit of a slave, with such firmness and intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife put him in mind, that *Antonius Natalis* had held a long conference with *Scevinus*, and that both lived in close confidence with *Caius Piso*. *Natalis* was therefore immediately sent for, and both he

(Q) *Pliny* tells us, that in order to attract the affections of the people, *Antonia*, daughter of the late emperor *Claudius*, was to accompany *Piso* to the camp. But our historian thinks it incredible, that either *Antonia* should contribute her name, and risque her life, to promote a scheme, from which she could reap no advantage, or that *Piso*, who was universally known to be passionately fond of his wife, should engage to marry another (30).

and *Scevinus* examined apart concerning the particulars of that conference. As their answers varied, they were thrown into irons, and threatened with the rack, the sight of which neither of them being able to bear, they discovered the whole order and progress of the conspiracy. *Natalis* confessed the first, and declared how far *Piso* was concerned in the plot, and named also *Seneca*; but whether he had acted as an inter-agent between him and *Piso*, or whether *Natalis* impeached him only to purchase the favour of *Nero*, who was daily hunting after some specious pretence to destroy him, is uncertain. *Scevinus*, understanding that by *Natalis* a confession was made, and that no advantage could be reaped from his silence, yielded at length, and declared all the other accomplices. Of these *Lucan*, *Quintilianus*, and *Senecio*, persisted long in denying the charge; but at length were decoyed by a promise of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardness, they informed against their dearest friends, *Lucan* against *Attilia*, his own mother, *Quintilianus* against *Glicius Gallus*, and *Senecio* against *Annius Pollio*. In the mean time, *Nero*, recollecting that *Epicharis* was detained in prison, and supposing, that the tender body of a woman could never endure the violence of the rack, commanded her to be rent and mangled with all sorts of torments. But her firmness and magnanimity was proof against the fury of stripes, of fire, and of all the torments the executioners could invent, though they exerted their utmost efforts in cruelty, lest they should be at last scorned and baffled by a woman. She still utterly denied every particular; and such was the issue of the first day's torture. The next day, as she was reconducted in a chair to suffer anew the same torments, for all her members were so rent and disjointed, that she could not support herself, with the girdle, that bound her breasts, she framed a noose for her neck, and tying it to the top of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and put an end to the poor remains of life. Thus a woman, who was once a slave, cheerfully suffered the most exquisite torments cruelty could invent, and death itself, to protect persons, whom she scarce knew, when men born free, when Roman knights and senators, without once feeling the torture, betrayed their dearest friends, their nearest relations. For *Lucan*, *Senecio*, and *Quintilianus* were daily making new discoveries, and still naming more accomplices; which so terrified *Nero*, that he not only doubled his guards, but posted bands of soldiers upon the walls and all round the city, lined the sea-coast and the banks of the *Tiber* with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horse to scour the fields night and day, to range in the public squares, in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houses, &c.

Several of the conspirators seized.

The firmness and intrepidity of Epicharis.

She hangs herself with her girdle.

Nero's great consternation.

With the prætorian guards *Germans* were intermixt; for in them, as they were foreigners, the prince chiefly confided*.

AND now the accused were dragged in whole droves, numbers after numbers, to *Nero's* tribunal, which was erected in his gardens, and lay together at the gates, expecting to be successively admitted and examined. If upon their tryal it appeared, that they had ever been seen smiling with any of the conspirators; that they had ever spoke with them, met them, however fortuitously, been common guests at the same table, or sat together at some public show; all this, or any part of it, was imputed as an unpardonable crime. The judges were *Nero* himself, *Tigellinus*, and his colleague *Fenius Rufus*, who, as he was not yet detected, proved more severe than the other two in examining his own associates, in order to persuade the prince, that he was an utter stranger to the plot. Nay, to him it was owing, that the design was not put in execution, even during the examination of the conspirators: for the brave tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended and was not impeached or suspected, having demanded by signs, whether he should draw his sword, and dispatch the tyrant, was by contrary signs checked and forbid, when he had already grasped the hilt. When the conspiracy was first discovered, there were some, who exhorted *Piso* to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the rostrum, and try the affections of the people and soldiery, since nothing worse could befall him, though both the soldiery and people failed him, than he must already expect; nay, by losing his life in so glorious an attempt, he would approve himself worthy of his ancestors, and leave a glorious example to his posterity; whereas, if he neglected the present opportunity, he would be soon seized, committed to bonds, and condemned to an ignominious death. But *Piso*, rejecting the advice of his friends and associates, the best that could be given him at the present juncture, retired, without making the least attempt, to his own house, where, upon the arrival of a band of soldiers to seize him, he opened the veins in both his arms, and bled to death. He left a will full of fulsome flattery towards *Nero*; and this out of tenderness to his wife *Arria Galla*, whom he had taken from *Domitius Silius*, a friend of his own, tho' she was a woman of most vicious inclinations, and, save the beauty of her person, destitute of every recommendation. Next followed the death of *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, inflicted with such precipitation, that he was not allowed even to embrace his children; but instantly dragged to the place allotted for the execution of slaves, and there slaughtered by the hand of *Statius* the tribune. He died

Subrius
Flavius
offers to
kill Nero,
but is
checked by
the cowardly
Fenius Ru-
fus.

Piso puts
himself to
death.

Plautius
Lateranus
dies with
great in-
trigidity.

* Idem, c. 52 - 58.

with exemplary firmness and intrepidity, uttered not a syllable relating to the conspiracy; but with an undaunted spirit answered *Epaphroditus*, the emperor's freedman and secretary, who asked him some questions, *If I were mean enough to make any discoveries, it would be to your master, not to you.* He did not even upraid the tribune appointed to cut off his head, tho' he too was concerned with him in the conspiracy¹. *Arrian* tells us, that the first blow having only wounded him, he shook his head a little, and then presented his neck again to the executioner².

THE next illustrious person sacrificed on this occasion was *Seneca*, to the infinite joy of *Nero*, who had been long seeking his destruction. *Natalis* alone had named him, and concerning him could only discover thus much, that he had been sent by *Piso* to visit *Seneca*, then indisposed, to complain in his name, that he was debarred access to him, and to represent, that it would be better if they maintained their friendship by familiar conversation; that to this *Seneca* replied, that frequent interviews and conversations by themselves were conducing to the service of neither; but that upon the safety of *Piso* his own welfare depended. *Granius Silvanus*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was sent to *Seneca*, with orders to ask him, Whether he owned the words of *Natalis* and his own answers? *Seneca* was returned that very day from *Campania*, and had stopped at a villa of his, four miles from *Rome*. Thither arrived the tribune in the evening; and having beset the villa with his men, he entered the house, and acquainted *Seneca* with his commission, while he sat at table with *Paulina* his wife, and two friends. *Seneca* answered, That *Natalis* had in truth been sent to him, and had complained in *Piso's* name, that he was refused admittance; a complaint which he had answered by excusing himself, on account of his bodily disorder and his love of quiet. He denied to have ever declared, that his safety depended upon that of any private man, adding, that he was not at all addicted to flattery, as no man better knew than *Nero*. When this answer was by the tribune reported to the emperor, he asked, whether *Seneca* seemed determined upon a voluntary death? I have not discovered, replied the tribune, either in his words or looks, the least symptom of fear. Hereupon *Nero* commanded him to return directly, and acquaint him, that he must die. The tribune who was himself one of the conspirators, took not the same way he came; but turning aside, went first to *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and disclosing to him the emperor's orders, asked, Whether he should obey them? The

¹ TACIT. c. 60.² ARRIAN. ex. Epict. l. i. c. i.

The constancy of his wife.

cowardly commander advised him to execute his commission, and act in every respect as if he were an utter stranger to the plot. Thus *Fenius* and *Silvanus*, through a meanness and timidity hardly to be believed, contributed to multiply those very cruelties, which they had conspired to avenge. However, the tribune avoided seeing *Seneca*, and delivering in person the said message; but sent in a centurion to apprise him of his doom. *Seneca* heard the sentence without betraying the least dismay or concern, and calmly called for his will; but that being denied him by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, That since he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life. He repressed their tears, sometimes with gentle reasoning, sometimes with sharp rebukes, asking them, Where were now all the documents of philosophy? where the precepts of wisdom so many years premeditated against impending calamities? for to whom, said he, is unknown the bloody nature of *Nero*? After the butchering of his mother and brother, what remained, but to add to theirs the slaughter of his preceptor and instructor? After he had discoursed some time to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object! which somewhat abated his firmness, and seemed to soften his philosophical spirit. He besought her to moderate her sorrow, and to fortify herself against the grief arising from the loss of her husband, by the contemplation of his life spent in a steady course of virtue. *Paulina*, on the contrary, resolutely declared, that she was determined to die with him. This declaration surprised *Seneca*, who, unwilling to bereave her of so much glory, and loth to leave one, whom he tenderly loved, exposed to insults and injuries, after a short pause, *Since to the delights of a short life, you prefer, said he, the everlasting fame of a glorious death, I shall not envy you this honour. Let us share the glory of so brave an end, tho' your share will be by far the greater.* After this conversation, both had the veins of their arms opened at the same instant. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body extenuated with a slender diet, his blood issued but slowly; whereupon he caused the veins of his legs and those about the joints of his knees to be likewise cut. As he suffered cruel agonies, he persuaded his wife to retire into another chamber, lest his torments should shake her resolution, or he himself, affected with her pangs, betray weakness and impatience. As his eloquence did not fail him to the last moment of his life, he called for his scribes, and dictated to them many things, which were published after his death. As *Nero* bore no personal enmity to *Paulina*, and was well apprised, that her death would double the hatred of the public towards him, he

sent

sent orders to the soldiers to prevent her from dying; who thereupon commanded her domestic slaves and freedmen to bind up her arms and stop the blood; but whether this was done without her knowledge, or with her concurrence, is uncertain; for as men are commonly prone to believe the worst, there were some who asserted, that while she despaired of her pardon, she aspired at the glory of dying with her husband; but yielded to the allurements of life, as soon as she found the prince inclined to mercy. However that be, she outlived her husband but a few years, ever pale and in a languishing condition, and retained to the last a reverence for his memory worthy of all praise. *Seneca*, in the mean time, to hasten his death which advanced but slowly, besought *Statius Annæus*, an intimate friend of his, and well skilled in medicine, to bring him a draught of poison, which he had prepared long before, and kept by him. This he swallowed; but in vain, his limbs being chilled with cold, and his juices stagnated. He had therefore recourse to a hot bath, to hasten by that means the operation of the poison, or to make his blood flow more freely. With the water of the bath he sprinkled such of his slaves as stood near him, saying, *With this liquor I make a libation to Jupiter the deliverer.* This he did in imitation of the *Greeks*, who, in departing after a banquet, used to make libations to *Jupiter the preserver.* As the bath had not the desired effect, and the soldiers were very pressing, he was at last conveyed into a stove, and there suffocated with the steam. His corpse was burnt without any funeral solemnity, pursuant to a will which he had made, even while he was in high favour with the prince^w. Thus died the celebrated *L. Annæus Seneca*, on the twelfth, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *April*. *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he was privy to the conspiracy^x, from which charge *Tacitus* does not attempt to clear him. He tells us indeed, that *Nero* had no proof of his being engaged in the plot; but adds, that a rumour prevailed, that *Subrius Flavius*, in a secret consultation with the centurions, not without the privy of *Seneca*, had determined, as soon as *Nero* was cut off by the aid of *Piso*, to dispatch *Piso* too, and transfer the empire to *Seneca*; nay, the very words, said to have been uttered by *Flavius* in that conference, became current, viz. That it availed nothing to depose a minstrel, if he were to be succeeded by a tragedian; for as *Nero* used to play upon the harp, so *Piso's* chief delight was to sing attired like an actor in a tragedy. Of *Seneca's* writings we shall speak hereafter. As to his manners, we shall only say, that many things were imputed to him, perhaps not

She is prevented from dying by Nero's orders.

Seneca takes poison in vain.

His last words.

Is suffocated in a hot bath.

^w TACIT. c. 62, 64.

^x DIO. l. lxii. p. 713.

undeservedly,

undeservedly, altogether inconsistent with the philosophy which he professed. He entertained a mighty opinion of his own virtue; but few have hitherto concurred with him in the same sentiments.

Fenius
Rufus is
accused
and apprehended.

HITHERTO *Fenius Rufus* had proceeded with more severity, than either *Tigellinus* or *Nero* himself, against the conspirators his accomplices; but was in the end detected: for while in the examination of *Flavius Scevius* the senator, he urged him with many menaces to a full confession, *Scevius* smiled, and told him, That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himself. *Fenius* attempted to refute the charge; but, faltering and perplexed in his speech, he gave manifest tokens of his guilt and dismay: whereupon he was by the emperor's orders immediately seized and dragged to prison. At the same time the brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* was impeached. He at first defended himself; but being pressed by the informers, he not only owned the charge, but gloried in it; and in answer to *Nero*, who asked him, Upon what provocation he had slighted the obligation of his oath? for the soldiery, especially the officers, bound themselves by a solemn oath to protect the prince against all foreign and domestic enemies; *Because I abhorred thee*, said he, *though there was not in the whole army one more zealously attached to thee than I, so long as thou didst merit affection; but I began to hate thee, when thou becamest the murderer of thy mother, the murderer of thy brother and wife, a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary.* *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole conspiracy afforded nothing which proved so bitter and pungent to *Nero* as this reproach. He ordered *Flavius* to be immediately put to death, committing the execution to *Vesianus Niger*, a tribune, who led him into the next field, and there ordered in the first place a funeral trench to be dug, such as served for a grave to the soldiers, who died in the camp. *Flavius* found fault with it, as too streight and shallow; and turning to the guard of soldiers, *This*, said he, without betraying the least concern, *is not even done according to the laws of discipline.* When the tribune desired him to stretch out his neck valiantly, *I wish*, replied he, *thou mayest strike as valiantly*; and truly the tribune was seized with such a violent trembling, that he with difficulty cut off his head at two blows. However, he afterwards bragged to *Nero*, that he had designedly employed more blows than one. The next example of firmness and constancy was administered by *Sulpitius Asper*, the centurion; who being asked by *Nero*, Why he had conspired against him? answered in a few words, *Because there was no other relief against thy abominable enormities.* The other centurions faced death with equal bravery. But *Fenius Rufus* betrayed a meanness quite unbecoming

Subrius
Flavius
reviles
Nero to
his face.

His last
brave
words, and
contempt of
death.

becoming a man of his rank and profession; nay, he even filled his last will with unmanly lamentations. *Nero* hoped to find the consul *Vestinus* likewise concerned in the conspiracy; but, as he was a man of a violent spirit and altogether untractable, the conspirators had not thought fit to impart their design to him. He had once lived in close confidence with *Nero*; but afterwards abusing the freedom which the emperor allowed him, and utterly despising him, he used frequently to insult the prince with poignant sarcasms, which left behind them a bitter remembrance, as they were for the most part founded on truth. Besides, *Nero* dreaded the haughty and violent temper of *Vestinus*; and therefore wished for a plausible pretence to get rid of him; but as no accuser appeared to charge him, since he could not satiate his rancour under the title of a judge, he had recourse to the violence of a tyrant, and dispatched *Gerellanus* the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to obviate the attempts of the consul. He had that day discharged all the functions of a consul, and was celebrating a banquet at home with great gaiety, when the soldiers entering, told him, That the tribune waited for him. *Vestinus*, without delay, rose from table, and in a trice the tragedy was begun and finished; he was shut up in a chamber; the physician attended; his veins were cut, and he, while he was still in full vigor, conveyed into a hot bath, and suffocated with the steam, without uttering a syllable that argued either grief or compassion for himself. In the mean time, the whole company that supped with him were beset by a guard, and not released, till the night was far spent, *Nero* making himself sport with the fears of men, who had passed at once, from the mirth and joy of a feast, to the deadly apprehension of their last doom. At length he ordered the guards to withdraw, saying, that the consul's guests had paid dear enough for their good cheer. *Lucan* the poet was next sentenced to die. His veins being opened, and his blood issuing in streams, he soon perceived his feet and hands to grow cold and stiff: but before his faculties were impaired, recollecting some lines of his own, in which he described a wounded soldier expiring after the same manner, he rehearsed them, and they were the last words he uttered.

(N). *Suetonius*, or whoever else is the author of his life, tells

*Fenius
Rufus dies
meanly.*

*The quick
and brave
death of
the consul
Vestinus.*

*Lucan dies
with great
intrepidity.*

Y TACIT. c. 63—69. Z Idem, c. 70.

(N) The verses mentioned here, were, without all doubt, the following:

*Scinditur avulsus, nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emicuit lentus, ruptis cadit undique venis;
Disrumpitque animæ diversa in membra meatibus
Interceptus aquis.*

us,

us, that his behaviour towards *Nero*, who loved him, was such as would have provoked the best of princes. His informing, and indeed falsely, if the author of his life is to be credited, against his own mother, will reflect eternal ignominy on his memory. The emperor had promised him his pardon; but the only favour he granted him, was the choice of his death, which happened on the thirtieth of *April* in the twenty-seventh year of his age ^a. We shall speak of his writings anon. *Senecio*, *Quintilianus*, and *Scevinus*, suffered death with a spirit far different from the former effeminacy of their lives. The other conspirators were put to death, without speaking or doing any thing worthy of notice. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, not satisfied with the punishment of the conspirators themselves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome*, and caused them, together with their tutors, governors, and domestics, to be either poisoned, or starved to death ^b. Whole families, as that writer assures us, were cut off at one meal. During this mighty carnage, which filled *Rome* with deaths, corpses, and funerals, no one durst shew the least symptom of sorrow for their murdered relations; nay, they must testify joy, unless they had a mind to be treated like traitors and enemies to the state and emperor. Hence, as the city was filled with carcases, so was the capitol with victims: one had lost a son; one a brother; this man a friend; that a near relation: but whatever was the loss, every one paid his public thanksgiving to the gods; adorned, in token of joy, his house with laurel; fell prostrate at the emperor's feet; kissed his hand, &c. *Antonius Natalis* and *Cervarius Proculus* were pardoned, in consideration of their early confession and discovery. *Milichus* the freedman was amply rewarded, and honoured with a *Greek* name signifying protector. *Granius Silvanus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, obtained his pardon; but soon after, scorning to owe his life to the tyrant, fell by his own hand. All the friends of *Seneca*, tho' rather calumniated than convicted, were condemned to banishment. *Cæsonius Maximus* and *Cadicia*, the wife of *Scevinus*, were driven out of *Italy*, and only by their punishment knew that they had been charged as criminals (O). The accusation against *Attilia*, *Lucian's* mother

Nero's
cruelty to
the chil-
dren of the
conspira-
tors.

Rewards
the instru-
ments of
his cruelty.

^a Suet. in vit. Lucan.

^b Suet. c. 36.

(O) The following beautiful epigram in *Martial*, inscribed to one *Ovidius*, an intimate friend of *Cæsonius Maximus*, may give us some light into this matter:

*Maximus ille tuus, Ovidi, Cæsonius hic est,
Cujus adhuc æulum virida cera tenet.
Hanc Nero damnavit; sed tu damnare Nerone
Ausus es, & profugi, non tua fato, sequi:*

Æguera



mother was dropt; so that, without being cleared, she escaped unpunished ^c.

AND now the conspiracy being utterly suppressed, and the conspirators either sentenced to death or banishment, *Nero* assembled the soldiery, distributed amongst them a largess of two thousand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth supplied with corn at the public expence. Upon *Petronius Turpilianus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, and *Tigellinus*, he bestowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in prosecuting the conspirators; nay, he caused triumphal statues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace; a distinction seldom granted, and only to persons of the greatest merit. *Nymphidius* was distinguished with the consular ornaments. He was the son of a freed-woman, who, as she was very beautiful, had long prostituted herself to the domestics of the emperors, bond and free, without distinction. *Nymphidius* boasted himself the son of *Caligula*, whom he resembled both in his countenance and the tallness of his stature; and it is not improbable, says our historian, that the emperor, addicted as he was to all manner of lewdness, had descended to gallantries with his mother. But of him we shall have occasion to speak more at length hereafter; for he too had his share in the calamities and vicissitudes of *Rome*. The emperor, having thus rewarded the

^c TACIT. c. 73.

*Æquora per Scyllæ magnus comes exulis isti,
Qui modo nolueras consulis ire comes.
Si victura meis mandantur nomina chartis,
Et fas est cineri me superesse mee;
Audiet hæc præsens, venturaque turba, fuisse
Illi te, Senecæ quod fuit ille suc (31).*

From these verses it is plain, that *Cæsonius* had been a consul, and was one of *Seneca*'s most intimate friends; which was, without doubt, the motive that prompted *Nero* to banish him. As *Ovidius* accompanied him into banishment, so had *Cæsonius* in all likelihood accompanied formerly *Seneca*, when he was by *Claudius* banished into the island of *Corfica*. The subject of the present epigram is the effigies of *Cæsonius* in wax, sent either by *Martial* to his friend *Ovidius*, or by *Ovidius* to the poet. *Cæsonius* himself died, it seems, before this time in exile. After his consulship, he was sent into *Africa*, to govern that province, whither *Ovidius* refused to follow him; but, like a true friend, he attended him, when disgraced and condemned to banishment; a signal instance of fidelity and friendship, and worthy of being by so great a poet transmitted to the latest posterity.

(31) *Martial*. l. vii.

*The mean
flattery of
the senate.*

instruments of his tyranny, assembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late transactions. To the people likewise he addressed an edict upon the same subject, and published the several evidences against the conspirators, with their own confessions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged, and that *Nero*, merely to satiate his cruelty and out of base fear, had sacrificed so many illustrious citizens. In the senate, where the most abject flattery prevailed, every particular, the more sensibly he was affected with inward grief for the loss of his friends or relations, the more outward joy and congratulations he expressed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thanksgivings and oblations should be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the sun, who having a chapel in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conspirators; that the circensian games should be solemnised with extraordinary pomp; that the month of *April*, in which the conspiracy was detected, should thenceforth bear the name of *Nero*; that a temple should be erected to the goddess *Salus* or *Safety*, in the place whence *Scevinus* had taken the dagger, &c. The dagger itself was by *Nero* dedicated in the capitol, with this inscription, *To Jupiter the avenger* (P). Such was the issue of this conspiracy, which to the same moment owed, as *Tacitus* observes, its beginning, progress, and perfection, and was with faithful silence and secrecy concealed in a combination so numerous, so variously framed, amongst those of every condition, sex, and age, till it was accidentally discovered in the manner we have related.

*Nero be-
takes him-
self again
to his harp.*

Nero, now delivered from all fear, betook himself again to his harp. As the time approached for disputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the senate, to prevent *Nero* from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of music, and also the crown of eloquence. But the emperor answered,

(P) The dagger was inscribed to *Jupiter the avenger*, *Jovi vindici*; words, says our historian, which, at that time, were not minded. But, upon the revolt of *Julius Vindex*, which afterwards happened, an augury and presage of approaching vengeance was drawn from them. *Tacitus* tells us, that he found, in the journals of the senate, that *Cerealis Avicius*, consul elect, when it came to his vote, moved, that a temple should in all speed be raised at the public charge, and consecrated to the deified *Nero*; a motion which he really meant as a compliment, to one who was intitled to divine worship; but from thence too was inferred an omen of his approaching fate; since to princes divine honours were not paid, till they finished their mortal course (32).

(32) *Tacit. c. 74.*

That

That he needed not their partiality; since he himself was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the just determination of the judges, purchase the praise and recompence of his skill. He appeared therefore publicly upon the stage, and there rehearsed a poem of his own composing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would display all his studies, for these were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongst the common harpers and minstrels, contended with them for the prize, with such eagerness and anxiety, that he never ventured to sit down, however fatigued, that being contrary to the established laws of the harp, nor to spit, nor to wipe the sweat from his face, save only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent and his hands lifted up, according to the custom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of *Rome* applauded him with loud shouts and clapping of hands, from an utter insensibility, says our historian, of the crying reproach, which disgraced the *Roman* empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of *Italy*, who still retained the severe manners of the antients, and such as came from remote provinces, and attended then at *Rome* upon embassies, or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the sovereign of *Rome* thus debasing himself upon the stage, and much less join those, who applauded this his shameful debasement. They were therefore frequently beaten by the soldiers, who stood in several clusters among the croud to observe the faces of the spectators^d.

He appears on the public stage as a competitor for the prizes.

Nero, encouraged with the applause of the multitude, appeared thenceforth almost every day on the stage, inviting, not only the senators and knights, but likewise the populace and the whole rabble of *Rome*, to hear him, though he performed for the most part in the theatre, which he had built in the palace. He often kept the audience, not only the whole day, but the night too; for till he was tired and gave over, no one was allowed to depart upon any occasion, however necessary and urging: insomuch, that women are said to have been delivered in the theatre, and several persons so tired, that, finding the gates of the palace shut, they either leaped privately over the wall, or, in order to be carried out, pretended to be in a swoon^e; some, by never stirring night nor day from their seats, were seized with mortal distempers, which, however, they dreaded less than the prince's resentment, which they unavoidably incurred by their absence: besides the several concealed and private observers, employed to mark the carriage of the audience,

Appears frequently on the stage, and tires the audience.

^d TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 5.

^e Suet. c. 23.

Vespasian
in danger
for his
disatten-
tion.

The death
of Pop-
pæa.

Junius Si-
lanus con-
demned.

there were numbers of open spies, who publicly set down the names of such as were present, observed their faces, and watched all the symptoms of pleasure or dissatisfaction in every one present: the vulgar were immediately punished by the soldiery for the least disattention; towards persons of rank the emperor's resentment was for the present smothered, but vented at last in a more dreadful manner. We are told, that *Vespasian*, afterwards emperor, was not only bitterly reproached by *Phæbus*, *Nero's* freedman, but charged as a criminal, for having nodded while the emperor was singing: this disattention would have cost him his life, had not his friends, men of great rank and merit, employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf. This year the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero's* wife, filled *Rome* in appearance with grief and mourning, but in reality with much joy; for she was no less abhorred, than her husband, on account of her lewdness and cruelty. She was killed by *Nero* himself with a kick on the belly, while she was big with child, for finding fault with him, as *Suetonius* tells us, upon his coming home late^f; or because she ventured to rally him, as we read in *Dion Cassius*^g, upon his skill and address in chariot-driving. Her body was not burnt according to the *Roman* custom; but, after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed and reposed in the sepulchre of the *Julian* family. Her obsequies were celebrated with the utmost pomp, and her panegyric pronounced from the public rostrum by the emperor himself^h. *Pliny* assures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral, than *Arabia Felix* produced in a yearⁱ. She constantly kept and carried about with her, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited^k, five hundred asses, and daily bathed in their milk for the preservation of her beauty. Upon the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* designed to marry *Antonia*, the daughter of *Claudius* and his own sister by adoption; but she declined the match, and was on that account by his orders put to death, as if she had been concerned in a conspiracy, probably that of *Piso*^l. Soon after he married *Statilia Messalina*, the widow of the late consul *Atticus Vestinus*, and descended from *Statilius Taurus*, who had been twice consul in the reign of *Augustus*. She too, as appears from some ancient medals^m, was honoured with the title of *Augusta*.

NOT long after the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* doomed to destruction two of the greatest men in *Rome*, *Caius Cassius Longinus*, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*, the former for his great wealth and the exemplary gravity of his

^f Suet. c. 35.

^g Dio. l. lxii. p. 71.

^h Tacit. c. 6.

Suet. c. 35. Dio. p. 71.

ⁱ Plin. l. xii. c. 18.

^k Dio. l.

lxi. p. 72.

^l Suet. c. 35.

^m Goltz. p. 46.

manners; the latter, because he was related to the *Cæsars*, and, for his modesty and other eminent qualities, judged by the Roman people worthy of the empire. *Cassius* was blind, very aged, and led a retired life, as did likewise *Silanus*, though in the prime of his youth, having from the late bloody doom of his uncle *Torquatus*, who had assumed the port of a prince, learnt to shun all outward appearance of grandeur. However, the very same imputations, which had been formerly objected to his uncle, were urged against him; viz. that he aspired at the sovereign power, affected more majesty and state than became a private citizen, kept about him men with the title of principal secretaries, procurators, auditors of the revenues, treasurers, &c. names and offices of imperial grandeur, which he already personated: imputations utterly false and groundless. To *Cassius Nero* objected, that amongst the images of his ancestors he preserved in high reverence that of *Gaius Cassius*, thus inscribed, *And Cassius Longinus.* *The leader of the party.* At the same time, he suborned certain persons to forge an accusation against *Lepida*, the wife of *Cassius* and aunt to *Silanus*, as if she had been guilty of incest with her nephew, and had practised magical rites of a mischievous tendency. Against *Cassius* and *Silanus* the senate pronounced sentence of perpetual banishment, but referred the punishment of *Lepida* to the judgment of the emperor. *Cassius* was transported into *Sardinia*, and, in regard of his great age, the short remains of his life were spared. *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the island of *Naxos*, was conveyed to *Ostia*, and afterwards confined in *Barium*, a city of *Apulia*, where a centurion, commissioned to put him to death, laying hold of him, advised him to cut his veins. *Silanus* answered, that he was not fond of life; but that no executioner should have the glory of putting him to death. Hereupon the centurion ordered his men to secure him; but *Silanus*, who was a young man of great strength, resolute and daring, though destitute of arms, made a vigorous resistance, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, under a multitude of wounds, all received before, like a brave man, who falls facing the enemy in the day of battleⁿ. With no less intrepidity died *Lucius Vetus*, and his mother-in-law *Setia*, with *Pollutia* his daughter. *Nero* had long hated them, as standing reproaches upon him for the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, the husband of *Pollutia* and son-in-law to *Vettienus*. He therefore suborned a freedman of *Vetus* to accuse him, *Several other persons of distinction condemned.* and then sent a guard of soldiers to seize him at one of his seats in the neighbourhood of *Formia*. Hereupon his daughter *Pollutia* flew to *Naples*, where the emperor then was; and being

ⁿ TACIT. c. 7, 8.

denied access to him, watched at the gates of his house, till she had an opportunity of beseeching him to hear the defence of an innocent man, and not to sacrifice, upon the deposition of a treacherous slave, one who had formerly been his colleague in the consulship. But in the end, being convinced, that the implacable tyrant was not to be softened with supplications, she returned to her father, and acquainted him, that he must banish all hope, and with intrepidity meet a fate, which he could not avoid. At the same time, tidings arrived, that the senate was hastening his trial, and proceeding to a terrible and merciless sentence. Hereupon he distributed amongst his domestics whatever sums of money were then in his possession, and at the same time ordered them to remove and appropriate to themselves the rich furniture of his villa. Then retiring, with his mother-in-law *Sextia* and his daughter *Pollutia*, into a private apartment, they all three opened their veins in one and the same chamber, with one and the same instrument; and being covered for decency with a single garment, they were conveyed into a warm bath, where they all three bled to death, the father's eyes being the whole time fixed upon his daughter, those of *Sextia* on her grand-daughter, and hers upon both: they all prayed with emulation for a speedy end; each wished to expire first, and leave behind such dear relations still alive, though hastening to die: and fortune observed the order of seniority and nature, the oldest expiring first, and the youngest last. After their death the servile senate was for pronouncing them guilty of high treason, and having their bodies dragged through the public streets, and thrown into the *Tiber*; but *Nero* interposed, declaring himself satisfied with the punishment, which they had voluntarily undergone°. *P. Gallus*, a Roman knight, formerly intimate with *Senius Rufus* and a friend to *Vetus*, was banished. To the freedman the accuser, a place was assigned in the theatre among the officers of the tribunes of the people. As the name of *April* had been already changed into that of *Nero*, the name of *May* into that of *Claudius*, so was the name of *June* now changed into that of *Germanicus*, *Cornelius Orfitus* moving, that the name of *June* should be abolished, since two of the *Junii Torquati*, already executed for treason, had rendered it abominable^p. This year the country of *Campania* was ravaged with dreadful tempests and violent whirl-winds; whole villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth scattered, &c. At the same time, a terrible pestilence raged at *Rome*, and swept away in a short space above thirty thousand persons of all ranks and conditions. The senators and

Campania
ravaged
with
dreadful
tempests.

° Idem, c. 10, 11.

^p Idem, c. 12.

knights were less bewailed, as our historian observes, since by a contagion common to all, they escaped falling by the cruelty of the prince. *Nero*, after so many accumulated acts of tyranny, shewed this year some compassion upon the inhabitants of *Lions*, whom he presented with a large sum to repair the damage their city had suffered by accidental fire (R).

IN the following consulship of *C. Suetonius Paulinus* and *C. Lucius Telestinus*, *Sofianus*, who had been condemned, as we have related above, to perpetual banishment, for certain virulent verses by him composed against *Nero*, having insinuated himself into the friendship of one *Pammenes*, who was an exile in the same place, and celebrated for his knowledge in the mysteries of astrology, observed that messengers were daily arriving to consult him, and at the same time learnt, that from *P. Anteius* a yearly stipend was allowed him. Upon this intelligence he intercepted letters from *Anteius*, and even stole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and a scheme drawn concerning the birth and fortune of *Ostorius Scapula*; which he no sooner had in his possession, than he wrote to the emperor, that he had mighty discoveries to communicate; for *Anteius* and *Ostorius* were meditating some sudden attempt upon the state, and diving into their own destiny, and that of *Cesar*. Light vessels were immediately dispatched away, and *Sofianus* with all possible expedition transported to *Rome*; where, upon the first divulging of his discovery, *Anteius* sealed his last testament, being warned by *Tigellinus* to lose no time, and then swallowed a draught of poison; but growing impatient of its slow operation, he hastened his death by opening his veins. *Ostorius* was then at an estate of his own on the borders of *Liguria*, whither a centurion was sent with orders to kill him with all dispatch. For *Ostorius* was a man of extraordinary

*The death
of Anteius.*

(R) The burning of *Lions* happened, according to *Seneca* (33), a hundred years after it was founded. Hence *Lipfius* concludes, that this misfortune befel that flourishing colony in the fifty-eighth year of the *Christian* æra; orders for founding it having been given in the consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, forty-three years before the said æra. But either these orders were not immediately put in execution, or the burning did not happen so early, since all the letters, in which *Seneca* speaks of this calamity, are by the best chronologers thought to have been written in the sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth of the *Christian* æra. That *Nero* should defer relieving the inhabitants for the space of seven years, as *Lipfius* pretends, is altogether improbable. This city shewed its gratitude to *Nero*, by steadily adhering to his party, after all the other cities of *Gaul* had declared for the revolvers (34).

(33) *Senec. ep. 91.* (34) *Dio. l. xlv. p. 323. Noris Gall. p. 292.*

Of Ostorius,
Mella,
Anicius,
&c.

The character of
Petronius.

valour, of prodigious strength, great experience in war, eminently qualified for the command of an army, and had been distinguished in *Britain*, while he served there under his father, with a civic crown: hence *Nero*, who ever since the discovery of the late conspiracy, lived under continual dread, fearing that brave officer should take arms against him, was glad of any pretence to get rid of him. The centurion, having beset all the avenues to the villa, acquainted *Ostorius* with his orders from the emperor, which were no sooner signified to him, than turning against himself that bravery, which he had so often exerted against the enemy, he opened all his veins without betraying the least concern or dismay; but as the blood flowed slowly, he dispatched himself with a poinard, ordering one of his slaves to hold up the weapon steadily; then grasping and strengthening the slave's hand with his own, he ran his throat upon the fatal steel. Within the compass of a few days, *Annæus Mella*, *Cerealis Anicius*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *Caius Petronius*, underwent the same bloody doom. *Crispinus* had been captain of the prætorian guards under *Claudius*, and distinguished, though only a knight, with the ornaments of the consulship; but lately banished, as privy to the conspiracy, into *Sardinia*, where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he slew himself. *Mella* was brother to *Gallio* and *Seneca*, and the father of *Lucan*. He was accused by one of *Lucan's* intimate friends, named *Fabius Romanus*, who feigned, that the father and son were equally concerned in the conspiracy; and having counterfeited letters to this purpose in the hand of *Lucan*, shewed them to *Nero*, who ordered them to be carried to the accused, whose immense riches were his only crime. *Mella* no sooner saw them, than he opened his veins, and by a voluntary death anticipated his sentence: in his will he bequeathed immense sums to *Tigellinus* and his son-in-law *Cossutianus Capita*, in order to secure the remainder. *Cerealis* likewise became his own executioner, but fell unpitied, because he had formerly discovered a plot against *Caligula*. *Caius Petronius*, to whom some learned critics ascribe the fragments, equally elegant and obscene, which have reached our times, was a man intirely abandoned to all manner of voluptuousness. He wasted the day in sleep and the night in revels: as others had by industry acquired a name and character, *Petronius* was by his signal sloth and indolence raised to notice and fame: he indulged himself in all the gaieties and delights of life; but at the same time had the prudence to keep within bounds, and not squander away, like many others, his estate. Neither was he a slave to his grosser appetites; but exceeding curious and refined in his luxury: his behaviour was extremely obliging and polite; his wit,

wit, in which he excelled all men of his time, natural and artless; and all his actions accompanied with a certain air of negligence. However, he discharged the proconsular government of *Bitthynia*, and soon after the consulship itself, with great reputation, shewing himself in both these employments equal to the management of the greatest affairs. Then returning to his former vices, he was by *Nero* admitted to a great intimacy, nothing appearing to the emperor elegant and polite, but what was recommended to him by the taste and approbation of *Petronius*. This *Tigellinus* could not bear, and therefore to get rid of one, who in credit was his rival, and in the science of pleasures his superior, had recourse to the cruelty and jealousy of the prince, two passions, to which all others gave room; accused *Petronius* of having lived in great intimacy with the conspirator *Scevinus*; suborned one of his slaves to confirm the charge, and precluded him from all means of defence. *Nero* happened at that time to be upon the road to *Campania*, and *Petronius*, having accompanied him as far as *Cumæ*, was there by his orders put under arrest: whereupon without flattering himself with vain hopes, or condescending to intreaties, he resolved to prevent his sentence by a voluntary death, which he underwent in a manner altogether new, but well suited to the life he had led; for having ordered his veins to be cut, he did not shew any eagerness to put an end to his agonies, but directed them to be closed again, and then opened by intervals, just as his fancy moved him, discoursing the whole time with his friends, not upon serious subjects, as if he aimed at the glory of constancy in braving death, but upon indifferent matters, hearkening with attention to gay epigrams, love-verses, and entertaining stories: some of his slaves he rewarded with bounties, others he punished with stripes; he even diverted himself with walking out, even refreshed himself with sleep, that his death, though in reality violent, might appear altogether natural. In his last will he flattered neither *Nero* nor *Tigellinus*, nor any of the great men in power, as most others had done; but, under feigned names of harlots and catamites, described the secret abominations of the emperor, transmitted to him this picture of himself carefully sealed, and then broke his signet, that it might not after his death become a snare to the innocent. *Nero*, greatly amazed to find all his nocturnal and most private impurities thus brought to light, after having long considered with himself by what means *Petronius* had come to the knowledge of them, fixed at length his suspicion upon *Silia*, the wife of a senator, one privy to all his debaucheries, and very intimate with *Petronius*. She was therefore doomed to banishment, for not concealing what she had seen

His calm and uncommon manner of dying.

and undergone in the prince's nocturnal revels. At the same time, *Numicius Thermus* was put to death, for no other crime, but because a freedman belonging to him accused *Tigellinus* of treason; which offence the informer expiated under the most exquisite torments ^P.

Thrasea
and Sora-
nus accus-
ed.

AFTER the slaughter of so many illustrious men, *Nero* at length attempted, says our historian, to extirpate virtue itself, in the persons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thrasea Pætus*, long since the objects of his hatred. *Thrasea* had withdrawn from the senate, as we have related above, when the affair of *Agrippina* came under debate there; at the sports, called *Juvenales*, he could not approve of the emperor's acting and singing upon the stage; when the senate was about to condemn to death *Antistius* the prætor, for a virulent satire by him composed against *Nero*, he proposed a mitigation of the sentence, and carried it; when divine honours were decreed to *Poppæa*, he absented himself, and declined attending her funeral; he had not now in three years once set his foot in the senate, and, tho' invested with the quindecemviral priesthood, had never made oblations for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of his heavenly voice, &c. These were the crimes urged against *Thrasea* by *Capito Cossutianus* and *Marcellus Epirus*, two informers of great acrimony and vehemence. *Ostorius Sabinus*, a Roman knight, took upon him the task of accusing *Bareas Soranus*: the crimes imputed to him were his friendship with *Plautus*, murdered by *Nero's* orders in *Asia*, and his intrigues with the *Asiatics*, while he governed them in quality of proconsul, in order to engage them in a revolt. But his real crimes were, as *Tacitus* informs us, his having governed *Asia* with signal vigilance and justice, his opening the port of *Ephesus*, a work mightily applauded by the *Asiatics*, and his leaving the inhabitants of *Pergamus* unpunished for opposing *Acratus*, one of *Nero's* freedmen, when he would have stripped their city of all its pictures and statues. The juncture *Nero* chose for destroying these two great men was, that of the arrival of *Tiridates* to receive the crown of *Armenia*, either because the public attention was then wholly engaged in that new sight, or because *Nero* meant on that occasion to display his greatness and power by the slaughter of the two most illustrious men in the whole empire. While the whole city flocked out to see a foreign king, *Thrasea* received orders not to attend his entry. Hereupon he composed a memorial to *Nero*, beseeching the emperor to acquaint him with the allegations against him, and offering to vindicate himself, were he but apprised of the charge.

Nero received the memorial greedily, hoping that *Thrasea*, under the apprehension of his impending doom, might have writ something tending to the glory of the prince and his own discredit; but finding himself disappointed, and dreading the countenance, the great spirit, and free speech of a man so generally esteemed and revered, he ordered the senate to be summoned. In the mean time, *Thrasea*, having assembled his friends and relations to consult with them, whether he should attempt a defence or be silent, *Rusticus Arulanus*, a young man of great spirit and one of the tribunes of the people, who assisted at the consultation, offered to thwart the decree of the senate, by interposing against it. But *Thrasea* would by no means allow him to pursue such methods, as would in the end prove fatal to him. The next day, two cohorts of the prætorian guards surrounded the temple of *Venus*, where the senate was to meet; all the avenues to it were beset with men in their gowns, the common dress of the city, but armed with swords, which they took no care to conceal; the great squares and several temples were filled with bands of soldiers under arms. Through these the senators passed to their assembly, where, after a speech sent to them by *Nero*, and read by his quæstor, in which he sufficiently declared what he required of them, they condemned *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, but granted them the choice of their own deaths. The charge brought against *Servilia* was, that she had consulted the magicians, which she owned; but declared at the same time, that her consultation had been confined to the conservation of her own family, whether the wrath of *Nero* might not be appeased, and whether no tragical judgment would follow the cognizance of the senate. Farther than this she had not inquired; but nevertheless she was brought into the senate, and there arraigned by *Ostorius Sabinus*, who questioned her, whether she had not turned into money all her ornaments, and even stripped from her neck her jewels, to defray the expence of magic rites and sacrifices? To this question young *Servilia*, for she was under twenty, embracing the altars with a flood of tears, answered, that the whole of her consultation had been to know, whether the emperor, and the fathers of the senate, would to her dear and indulgent parent, beset with terrors, graciously afford protection and safety. With this view, said she, I presented the diviners, men till now utterly unknown to me, with my jewels, apparel, and the other ornaments peculiar to my quality, as I would have presented my blood and life, had my blood and life been required. But whatever this my proceeding was, my unfortunate father was an utter stranger to it; and, if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent. These words

The firm-
ness of
Thrasea.

They are
both con-
demned by
the senate.

The affect-
ing speech
of *Servilia*
in the se-
nate.

alarmed *Soranus*, who interrupted her while she was yet uttering them, crying out, that as she was not supposed to be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, her cause ought to be disjointed from his; that his own fate, whatever it should prove, he was ready to undergo, but hoped, that in the danger of the father they would not involve the innocent daughter. Having thus spoken, he was hastening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him; but the consul's lictors stepped between and prevented them⁹.

Thrasea's
magnani-
mity in
death.

SENTENCE was no sooner pronounced against the pretended criminals, than the quæstor was dispatched to acquaint *Thrasea* with it, who was then in his gardens, reasoning there with *Demetrius*, a *Cynic* philosopher, about the nature of the soul, and its departure from the body. While he was intent upon this discourse, *Domitius Cecilianus*, one of his most intimate friends, arrived, and related to him what the senate had decreed. *Thrasea* heard him without betraying, either in his voice or countenance, the least concern; only turning to his friends, who came with *Cecilianus*, he embraced them, took his last leave of them, and pressed them forthwith to retire, lest they should for their unseasonable compassion be involved in the same fate. His wife *Arria* was very earnest to follow the example of her mother, who bore the same name, and was wife to *Cecina Pætus*, with whom she died, as we have related elsewhere. But *Thrasea* would not by any means allow her to share in his lot, beseeching her to preserve her life, and not deprive her daughter of her only remaining refuge. He then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæstor found him, and delivered to him in form the sentence of the senate, which he immediately put in execution, retiring into his chamber with *Helvidius* his son-in-law, *Demetrius*, and the quæstor, in whose presence he ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood sprung, he called the quæstor nearer, and sprinkling the floor with it, *Let us*, said he to him, *make this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer. Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in such times as require you to fortify your mind with examples of constancy.* After this, falling into grievous torments, occasioned by the slow approaches of death, he turned towards *Demetrius*; but of the last words and particulars of this great man's death we are bereft, by a lamentable chasm in this last annal of our historian, and by the same misfortune robbed of the detail, which that inimitable writer left of the other remarkable incidents that happened during the remainder of this, and the whole two last years of *Nero's* reign.

⁹ Idem, c. 20—33.

This loss we shall supply in the best manner we can with the accounts which have been transmitted to us by other writers, especially *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius*; but as neither of them has described the particulars of the death of *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, we cannot therein satisfy the curiosity of our readers.

SOON after the death of *Thrasea*, *Nero*, to divert the attention of the public from their domestic calamities, received *Tiridates* with all the pomp of majesty and grandeur imaginable, and crowned him in one of the great squares king of *Armenia*. This was the most magnificent and pompous ceremony that had ever been seen in *Rome*; but as we have already described it in our history of the *Greater Armenia*, we shall only add here, that *Nero* allowed him, during his stay at *Rome*, eighty thousand nummi a day, and loaded him, upon his departure, with presents of immense value. The *Armenian*, who was a good courtier, had flattered the vain prince, and pretended to be ravished with his harmonious voice, and the skill he displayed in chariot-driving. After the coronation of *Tiridates*, *Nero* shut up the temple of *Janus*, in token of an universal peace, as appears from a medal dated the thirteenth year of his reign, which did not begin till the month of *October*, before which time, that is, in the month of *May*, the *Jews*, grievously oppressed by their governor, especially *Florus*, had taken arms^r. *Nero* solicited *Vologeses*, brother to *Tiridates*, and king of the *Parthians*, to come likewise to *Rome*; but in vain, *Vologeses* returning no other answer, than that *Nero* might, with less trouble, cross the *Mediterranean* and come into *Asia*, where he would endeavour to meet him. The emperor, piqued with this answer, resolved to make war upon the *Parthian*; and with this view made mighty preparations; ordered the flower of the armies in *Illyricum*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, to begin their march towards the kingdom of *Albania*; and raised a new legion of *Italians*, each man six foot tall, which he called the legion of *Alexander the Great*^s. Thus was size first required in a soldier by a prince brought up amongst minstrels, songsters, and charioteers, who, it seems, had no real design of employing his chosen legion, or any others, in military feats: for upon intelligence, that the *Parthian* king was inflexible, and prepared on his side for a vigorous defence, he thought it advisable to leave the glory of conquests and warlike exploits to others, and confine his ambition to the unprincely honour of playing, singing, and acting upon the stage. As the time therefore of the *Olympic* games approached, he left *Italy*, and

Tiridates
crowned
king of *Ar-*
menia by
Nero.

^r Vide P. PAGI, an. 71. ^s DIO. l. lxiii. p. 719. SUE. c. 19.

passed

This

Nero
passes over
into
Greece.

Sings on
the public
stage, and
drives a
chariot
at the
Olympic
games.

passed over into *Greece*, with no other design, but to gain the reputation of the best harper, singer, actor, and charioteer, in the whole *Roman* empire. The *Greeks*, who surpassed all other nations in flattery, understanding that the emperor piqued himself upon his skill in playing upon the harp, had dispatched ambassadors to him with all the crowns designed by their several cities for such players; which was so acceptable to *Nero*, that he not only gave their ambassadors audience before any others, but admitted them to an entertainment, which he had prepared for his most intimate friends. On this occasion one of them having begged him to sing them a song, he immediately complied with his request, and was so taken with their extravagant flattery, that he cried out, *The Greeks alone have a good ear; none but they understand music!* and a few days after set out for *Greece*, leading with him, says *Dion Cassius*, such multitudes, as might have easily reduced the *Parthians* and all the nations of the east, had they not, like their general, been destitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, masques, buskins, and such-like theatrical implements. With this army he imbarqued, and landing, at *Cassiope*, he immediately began to sing before the altar of *Jupiter Cassius*. Thence he advanced into the heart of *Greece*, playing, singing, and acting in all the cities, through which he passed. But he chiefly exerted his skill at the *Olympic* games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the head of the empire was not ashamed to appear, as a competitor, among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of music, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large presents, either the judges, or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horses, he was thrown off, and so hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was constrained to give over before he had finished the career. However, as he insisted with the judges upon their excluding all casual events and misfortunes, the prize was to his unexpressible satisfaction decreed him. When the games were over, *Nero* not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens and rich presents, but restored the whole province of *Achaia* to its antient liberty, taking upon himself the office of crier, and solemnly proclaiming the freedom of the *Achaëans* at *Corinth* on the day of the *Isthmian* games: so that from this time the *Greeks* continued free from all manner of taxes, impositions, and tributes, governing themselves by their own laws, till the reign of *Vespasian*, who revoked all the privileges and exemptions granted them by *Nero*, as *Galba* obliged the judges to refund the vast sums, with which the chanting emperor had presented them. As the province of *Achaia* belonged to the senate and people,

people, *Nero*, when he declared it free, bestowed upon them in its room the island of *Sardinia*¹. After this he travelled all over *Greece*, not prompted by the commendable curiosity of visiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the unprincipally ambition of displaying his skill and art in singing and playing upon the harp. He challenged every-where the best performers, and never failed, as we may well imagine, being declared victor; insomuch, that he is said to have gained in this progress above eighteen hundred prizes. He transmitted a particular account of each victory to the senate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public processions, and to take care, that the same devotions were practised throughout the whole empire². That there might remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their statues to be pulled down, to be dragged through the streets, and to be either dashed to pieces, or thrown into the common sewers³.

*Sings in
most of the
cities of
Greece.*

The *Greeks*, notwithstanding the favours he bestowed upon them, longed for his departure, his numerous train occasioning a great dearth of provisions, and almost a general famine. *Philostratus* assures us, that *Xerxes*, who entered *Greece* in a hostile manner, putting all to fire and sword, did not so grievously afflict that unhappy country, as *Nero*, who came as a friend, and with no other view, but to divert the inhabitants. He every-where stripped the cities and temples of the few pictures, statues, and other ornaments, which his officers had left them. The unfortunate province felt the effects, not only of his avarice, but likewise of his cruelty, of which *Philostratus* gives us the following instance: An actor in a tragedy at the *Isthmian* games having sung, so as to deserve the chief applause, and refusing, as he was better skilled in music than in the courtly art of flattery, to lower his voice, which quite drowned *Nero's*, the emperor, transported with rage, caused him to be strangled on the stage in the sight of all *Greece*⁴. No wonder that his art every-where triumphed, when it was backed by so much cruelty. Loaded with the crowns and prizes he had won, he went to consult the oracle at *Delphos*, and was warned by the pretended deity of the place, *To beware of seventy-three*, which, not reflecting on *Galba's* age, he imagined to be the term of his life, and conceived so great assurance of his living and enjoying an uninterrupted happiness till that age, that having soon after lost many things of great value by shipwreck, he confidently told

*Consults
the oracle
of Del-
phos.*

¹ Suet. l. vi. c. 22. Dio. l. lxiii. p. 719. PAUSAN. in Cor.

² APOLL. THY. l. v. c. 3. Dio. l. vi. p. 323. PAUSAN. ibid.

³ Suet. c. 24 ⁴ PHILOS. strat. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Boeot.

his friends, that the very fish would bring them again; nay, he was so possessed with this notion, that two years after, when the first tidings were brought him of the insurrections in several provinces, he was so far from being alarmed, that he seemed rather to rejoice at those disturbances, since they furnished him with a plausible pretence of seizing the estates of the inhabitants. The pythoness he presented with a large sum, which *Galba* not long after obliged her to pay back ^y. Thus *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*; but *Lucianus Samosatensis* ^z, *Themistius* ^a, and the emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate* ^b, assure us, that the pythoness reviled him as an *Orestes*, an *Alcmæon*, two parricides who had murdered their mothers, without deigning to return him any further answer; which so provoked him, that he caused all the issues from the oracle to be stopt up; commanded several persons to be murdered in the temple, in order to profane it; stripped *Apollo*, or rather his priests, of the lands he possessed at *Cyrrha*, in the neighbourhood of *Delphos*; and carried away with him five hundred statues of brass, which no tyrant before him had offered to remove. We are told, that, as he departed, *Apollo* snatched the crown from off his head, signifying thereby, as was afterwards interpreted, that he was not to wear it long ^c. He declined visiting *Athens*, which city was said to be haunted by the furies, and likewise *Lacedæmon*, abhorring the very name of *Lycurgus* and his laws ^d. This year, *Cestius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, being defeated on the eighth of *November* by the *Jews*, after he had raised the siege of *Jerusalem*, acquainted *Nero* with his overthrow; who thereupon appointed *Mucianus* governor of *Syria* in his room, and named *Flavius Vespasianus* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbid him his presence, and threatened him with destruction, for having nodded while the emperor was singing on the stage ^e.

Vespasian
sent
against the
Jews.

Nero un-
dertakes to
cut through
the isthmus
of Corinth.

BEFORE he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut the *Isthmus*, in order to open a communication between the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, and by that means prevent the frequent wrecks that happened on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. As the isthmus, or neck of land which parts the two seas, is scarce six miles over, *Julius Cæsar*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, had formed the same design; but dropt it, as we are told, upon their being assured, that by their undertaking, if it succeeded, whole countries would be drowned, by reason that the *Ionian* sea was much higher than

^y Suet. c. 40. Dio. p. 634. ^z Lucian Sam. Nero. dialog. ^a Themist. orat. quinque. p. 226. ^b Julian. p. 492. ^c Pausan. in Phoc. ^d Dio. l. lxiii. p. 721. ^e Joseph. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 40. Tacit. annal. xvi. c. 31.

the *Aegean*. Besides, at the first breaking of the earth, blood was said to have issued, groans to have been heard, and frightful spectres seen^f. But *Nero*, not crediting such reports, and always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impossible, assembled his prætorian guards, encouraged them with large promises to undertake the work chearfully, and having solemnly prayed that the design might turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, without so much as mentioning the senate, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and advanced at the head of his guards, singing and dancing, to the place where the work was to begin. There, with a golden pick-ax, which the governor of the province presented to him, he pretended to set an example to others; but being tired after three strokes, he carried away in a basket the handful of earth he had moved, and posted away to *Corinth*, as proud as if he had undergone the labours of *Hercules*. He ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into *Greece*, and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to this work^g. *Vespasian* sent him six thousand *Jews*, whom he had already taken prisoners. These were, according to *Josephus*, employed in the laborious work of hewing the rocks, while the prætorian guards only removed the rubbish^h. But Drops that either the insurmountable difficulties that occurred, or the troubles, which began to break out, or were apprehended, about this time, obliged *Nero* to drop the enterprize, though he was with such ardor and eagerness bent upon the execution of it, that he had rather have renounced the harp for ever, than seen his favourite project thus defeatedⁱ.

THE following year, *L. Capito* and *C. Rufus* being consuls, *Nero*, continuing still in *Greece*, and wanting money to supply his prodigality and defray his exorbitant expences, plundered first the province of *Achaia*, putting, under various pretences, such of the *Greeks* to death as were thought wealthy, and seizing their estates. From *Achaia* he extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, where all the riches of the known world centred, injoining *Helius*, a freedman of the emperor *Claudius*, whom he had left governor of the city, to seize, under some pretence or other, the estates of all the wealthy citizens, to confiscate their effects, and turn them into money. *Nero* had taken with him into *Achaia*, such of the senatorial and equestrian order as were any ways considerable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a design to dispatch them at a distance from *Rome*, and con-

^f PLIN. l. vi. c. 4. DIO. p. 722. ^g SUET. c. 31. LUCIAN. *Nero*, p. 143. ^h JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 36. ⁱ LUCIAN. *Nero dial. seu de Fossione Isthmi*, p. 143.

The character of
Corbulo.

sequently with more safety and less noise; so that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of some of her most illustrious citizens, and orders to *Helius* to seize their estates. For this year *Nero* issued an edict, declaring, contrary to the custom which had hitherto obtained, the estates confiscated even of those who anticipated their sentence by a voluntary death. Of the many great men who suffered this year, none was more generally lamented than the brave *Domitius Corbulo*. He was equal, says *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, and experience, to the most renowned commanders of antient *Rome*, and at the same time a true pattern of the modesty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*. He was adored on account of his unbounded generosity, beneficence, and good-nature, even by the most inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name, who would readily have submitted to *Rome*, had *Rome* been governed by a *Corbulo*. *Nero*, well acquainted with his commendable qualities, honour, and integrity, reposed in him an intire confidence, and invested him with an unlimited power in the east, where he performed those feats, which we have described at length in our history of *Armenia*. Though he commanded a powerful army, intirely at his devotion, was by all judged the most worthy of the sovereign power in the whole *Roman* empire, and might have easily seized it, as he was equally adored by *Romans* and foreigners of every rank and condition; yet he never entertained the least thought of assuming it. This inviolable fidelity to so cruel a tyrant, so worthless a prince, was the only thing, which either *Romans* or foreigners ever blamed in him. To this *Tiridates* alluded, when speaking of him to *Nero*, he told the emperor, that in *Corbulo* he had an excellent slave. But this year, *Nero*, having resolved to extirpate virtue from off the face of the earth, wrote a letter to *Corbulo*, filled with the most tender expressions of friendship imaginable, styling him his father, his benefactor, his only refuge, &c. In the letter he invited him into *Greece*, pretending an eager desire to see one, to whom he was so highly indebted. *Corbulo*, judging of the emperor's sincerity from the uprightness of his own heart, immediately set out for *Greece*. But *Nero*, the instant he was informed of his arrival at *Cenchreae*, the port of *Corinth* on the side of the *Ægean* sea, dispatched orders for his immediate execution; which were no sooner communicated to the brave general, than, drawing his sword, he plunged it into his breast, saying, that he well deserved to die, no doubt, on account of his credulity and inviolable attachment to so vile a monster¹. Such was the end of the greatest commander and

His death.

¹ Dio. p. 690.

the best man in the whole *Roman* empire. He was beloved by the emperor, says *Dion Cassius*, for his unshaken fidelity; but hated for his virtue, of all crimes the greatest. He left behind him an account of his wars and other transactions in the east, which are frequently quoted by *Pliny*, but have not reached our times ^m. The same year, *Annæus Cornutus*, one of the most learned men in *Rome*, was banished and confined to a desert island, for no other crime, but the study of philosophy and profession of virtue. The famous poets *Lucan* and *Persius* had been his disciples; for he took great pleasure in instructing the *Roman* youth in the principles of the philosophy of the *Stoics*, of which sect he was himself. *Persius* had a great veneration and esteem for him; whence he left him by his last will, for he died in the ninth year of *Nero's* reign, seven hundred volumes, and a considerable sum of money, which he restored to the heirs of the deceased, being satisfied with the books. He is said to have advised *Persius's* mother to suppress some poetical compositions, which her son had wrote in his youth ⁿ (S). *Nero*,
upon

^m Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 25. & NORRIS. de Cænotaph. Pisana. p. 334. Ven. 1681. ⁿ Dio. p. 715. Pers. vit. p. 495.

(S) *Dion Cassius* tell us, (35), that *Nero* having a mind to write the *Roman* history in verse from the foundation of the city to his own time, for he had some genius for poetry, and being told, that he could not comprise it in fewer than four hundred books, consulted *Cornutus* upon that subject, who answered, that the number of books was too great, and that no one would read them. This *Nero* did not resent, believing *Cornutus* only meant, that no one would read them on account of their number. But one urging, that the books of *Chrysippus* were more numerous, and yet generally read, *The books of Chrysippus*, replied *Cornutus*, contain many useful precepts, which serve to improve both our manners and understanding. This answer provoked *Nero* to such a degree, that he was for having him immediately put to death; but, several of *Cornutus's* friends and disciples interposing in his behalf, he was only banished. *Aulus Gellius* quotes certain comments upon *Virgil* done by *Annæus Cornutus*, whom he styles an illustrious and learned grammarian (36), and likewise his second book upon the figures of rhetoric (37). *Macrobius* too speaks of *Annæus Cornutus* as a man well skilled in the Greek tongue. *The treatise of the theology of the Greeks*, which has reached our times, and passes under the name of *Phornutus*, is by *Theodoret* and others ascribed to *Cornutus*. From this work *Porphyrus* pretends, that *Origen* learnt to explain the scripture by allegories (38). It is certain, that *Origen* often makes use of the

(35) Dio. l. lxii. p. 715. (36) Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 6. (37) Idem, l. ix. c. 10. (38) Euseb. l. vi. c. 19.

*Cruelties
exercised
in Rome
by Helius
the freed-
man.*

upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the government of the city, as we have hinted above, to *Helius*, a freedman of the late emperor, investing him with an absolute power over all persons, senators not excepted, whom he was allowed to banish, condemn, and execute, without so much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his consent. And truly *Helius*, assisted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no less dreadful havock of the *Roman* nobility at *Rome*, than his master did in *Achaia*. Virtue, quality, or wealth were unpardonable crimes, and punished with death. Few noble families escaped the cruelty of the emperor, or the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if possible, than *Nero* himself, cut off the nearest relations, and even the children of those he condemned; which alarmed the city to such a degree, that a general insurrection was apprehended. Hereupon *Helius* dispatched messengers after messengers to the emperor, representing to him the state of affairs, and pressing him to return to the capital with all possible expedition. As *Nero* put off his departure from day to day, and returned no other answer to *Helius*, than that if he truly loved him, he could not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in *Greece*; but would rather wish, that *Nero* might return worthy of himself; the freedman left *Rome* unexpectedly, and arriving in seven days in *Greece*, so terrified the emperor with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general discontent that reigned in the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had stayed at least a year, and imbarqued for *Italy*. In his passage his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, the ships, laden with all the wealth of *Greece*, cast away, and he himself in imminent danger of being lost with them. But with much ado he escaped, and upon his landing caused many of his numerous retinue to be inhumanly massacred, for having imprudently betrayed joy while he was in danger of perishing^o. He entered *Naples* through a breach in the wall, according to the custom of the victors in the *Olympic*

*Nero re-
turns to
Italy.*

*His entry
into Na-
ples,
Rome, &c.*

^o DIO. p. 723. SUEt. c. 23.

writings of *Cornutus* to prove the tenets of the *Christian* religion (39). But whether this be the *Annaeus Cornutus*, who was banished by *Nero*, is much questioned by the critics (40). *Suidas* likewise mentions a philosopher, named *Cornutus*, and born at *Leptis* in *Libya*, who, according to him, came to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, and wrote several philosophical tracts. This we take to be the *Annaeus Cornutus* mentioned by *Dion Cassius*; but *Suidas* is mistaken in supposing him to have been put to death by *Nero*.

(39) *Vide Hier. ep. 84.* (40) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 26.*
games.

games, and in the same manner *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of *Augustus*, pompously attired, having with him in the same chariot another player upon the harp, by name *Diodorus*, wearing an *Olympic* crown on his head, and carrying a *Pythic* crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp and richly dressed, eighteen hundred persons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inscription, signifying where it had been won, the name of the person whom the emperor had overcome, the subject and title of the song, and such-like important circumstances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out by way of derision, that they were the soldiers of *Augustus*, and claimed a share in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the *via sacra* the procession turned to the circus, which *Nero* entered through a breach, having caused one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the *Velabrum* and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of *Apollo*, where he displayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden house, and there hung up round his bed, upon the many statues which he had erected to himself in the habit and attire of a harper. The remaining part of this year he spent in playing upon the harp, singing, and acting upon the stage, no one of the nobility daring to absent themselves, upon any pretence whatsoever, from his theatrical representations, though they often lasted, not only the whole day, but the night too. We are told, that he personated with great art *Canace* in labour, *Orestes* murdering his mother, *Oedipus* pulling out his own eyes, and *Hercules* phrenetic; in which last representation a raw soldier, then upon guard, seeing the emperor bound in chains, as the argument required, and supposing it real violence, ran in, sword in hand, to his relief, and cleared the stage, which did not a little divert the weary and tired out multitude. While he was acting in a tragedy, the battoon happening to fall out of his hand, he betrayed such concern, and fear of forfeiting the reputation of an able actor, that he could not pursue his part, till one of his fellow actors assured him upon his oath, that not one of the audience had taken the least notice of so small a fault, and merely casual. To preserve his voice, he used to lie constantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his stomach, took frequently vomitory and purging potions, and abstained from all sorts of fruit, and meats reputed prejudicial to his voice: nay, he gave over at length, through fear of hurting his voice, making speeches to the soldiery or senate, contenting himself to signify his pleasure to them in writing, or by the mouth of some of his friends or freedmen. After his return from *Greece*, he established

Spends the remaining part of the year in acting upon the stage.

He takes particular care of his voice.

A conspi-
racy dis-
covered.

established a new employment, charging one, whom he called, with a name borrowed from the *Greek* tongue, his *phonascus*, to take care of his voice. He would never speak but in the presence of this new officer, who was first to admonish him, when he talked too loud, or strained his voice, and afterwards, if the emperor, transported with any sudden emotion, did not hearken to his admonitions, to stop his mouth with a napkin. The most effectual means of courting his favour was to commend his voice, to pretend raptures while he sung, to appear dejected, and be very importunate, if he took a fancy, as he sometimes did, like other singers, not to do what he was most ardently desirous of doing^p. Thus he trifled away his time, not forbearing, however, in the midst of diversion and pleasures, to pursue feats of cruelty and blood, till the next year, the fourteenth of his reign, when a bloody doom overtook at length this man of blood. Either this, or the preceding year, a conspiracy was formed against him by *Vinicius*, and discovered at *Beneventum*; and this is all we find concerning it in the histories of those times, which have reached ours. Of this conspiracy, *Plutarch*, we conjecture, speaks in his treatise of *talkativeness*, where he tells, that a plot formed against *Nero* was discovered in the following manner, when it was ripe for execution: One of the conspirators, seeing a prisoner dragged to *Nero's* tribunal, accosted him, as he was bewailing his misfortunes, and whispered him in the ear, If by the favour of the gods you escape to-day, you will be to-morrow indebted to me for your safety. The prisoner understood him, and as he was chiefly solicitous about averting his own doom, he immediately acquainted *Nero* with what had been told him. Hereupon the conspirator was forthwith seized, and being put upon the rack, owned the conspiracy, and discovered his associates^q. Of this conspiracy we find no further account in the antients, which makes us the more sensible of the irreparable loss we have suffered by the chasm in this part of *Tacitus's* annals.

THE next consuls were *Silius Italicus*, the celebrated poet, and *Galerius Trachalus*^r. These were the last consuls named by *Nero*. *Pliny*, in one of his letters^s, gives us a succinct account of the life and death of *Silius*, for he died in the reign of *Trajan*; and tells us, that under *Nero* he accused, not by constraint, but choice, several persons of great distinction, and procured their destruction; but adds, that under the succeeding emperors he led a life free from all blemish. We shall have occasion to speak of him in the reign of *Domitian*, when he wrote

^p Suet. c. 25. ^q Plut. de garrulitate.
Front. Aquæduc. p. 119. Idacius, &c.

^r Plin. l. iii. ep. 7.
^s Plin. ibid.

his poem on the *Punic* war. *Trachalus* was an orator and civilian of great note¹, and nearly related to *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*, who saved his life, as we shall relate hereafter. This year, *Nero*, after having long wallowed in the blood of human race, and made spoil, we may say, of the creation, was at length overtaken by the bloody doom, which his enormous and crying iniquities well deserved. His raging fury had quite tired out and exhausted the patience both of *Romans* and foreigners, who were equally disposed to a general revolution, and only wanted a person of credit and experience to head them. The first, who had courage enough openly to declare his generous resolution of redeeming the world, from the no less ignominious than tyrannical yoke, under which it had now groaned for thirteen years and upwards, was *Julius Vindex*, descended from the ancient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had on several occasions signalised his courage, prudence, and experience in the military art, bore an utter aversion to slavery, and was possessed with an ardent ambition of transmitting his name to posterity by some commendable action². We are told, that before he openly declared his design, he communicated it to *Galba*, then governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, who neither countenanced nor discovered it to *Nero*, as did several of the governors of other provinces, to whom *Vindex* had imparted it by letters, which they immediately sent to *Nero*³. *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, writes, that the governor of *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*, coming to *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, to visit *Apollonius*, conferred with him in private for three days together; and that it was afterwards believed, that *Apollonius* had encouraged the governor to revolt from *Nero*, and join *Vindex*, whose design was not yet publicly known⁴. Whether *Philostratus* speaks here of *Galba*, or of some other, we know not. *Galba* indeed was not governor of *Bætica*; but in *Philostratus* such mistakes frequently occur. Though *Galba* did not at first shew himself inclined to favour the revolt, yet the brave *Vindex*, having about the beginning of *March*, assembled the *Gauls*, harrassed and reduced to beggary, by heavy tributes and impositions, openly declared to them his design, encouraged them to concur chearfully in his measures, and in a long speech displayed their many grievances, from which he said there were no hopes of relief, so long as their tyrannical and cruel oppressor lived or reigned. His design was universally applauded by

Julius
Vindex
revolts in
Gaul.

¹ TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 90. ² DIO l. lxiii. p. 724. Suet. c. 40.
TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 15. ³ PLUT. vit. Galbæ. ⁴ PHILOSTRAT.
vita Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 13.

And raises
a powerful
army.

the *Gauls*, who immediately flocked to him from all parts ; in-
somuch, that though he had no *Roman* troops under his com-
mand, yet he found himself in a short time at the head of
a hundred thousand armed men. Hereupon he wrote once
more to *Galba*, exhorting him to espouse the common cause of
mankind, and put himself at the head of the *Gauls*, who were
already a body of a hundred thousand armed men, and could,
upon occasion, raise a greater force. At the same time arrived
an express from the governor of *Aquitain*, demanding succours
against *Vindex*. Upon the receipt of these important dispatches,
Galba called a council of his friends to advise with them before
he returned an answer to either of the messengers. In the
council they were almost all of opinion, that he ought to wait,
and see how *Rome* stood inclined before he declared. But *Ti-
tus Vinus*, tribune of the only legion in the province, standing
up, “ What room, said he, is there here for deliberation ? It
“ is a crime even to question, whether or no we shall continue
“ faithful to *Nero*, and as such it will be punished by him.
“ There is no medium ; you must either hearken to the over-
“ ture of *Vindex*, and look on *Nero* as your declared enemy,
“ or march this instant against a person, who had rather have
“ *Galba* for emperor than *Nero*.” This speech made a deep
impression upon the mind of *Galba*, who was likewise animated
by several favourable omens, and above all by a prediction,
which was uttered about this time by a young virgin of great
distinction in *Spain*, and answered exactly another, which had
been delivered two hundred years before, *viz.* that *Spain* should
one day give a prince to *Rome*, and to the world a sovereign.
He therefore hesitated no longer ; but by an edict appointed a
certain day for the *Spaniards* to meet at *New Carthage*, now
Carthagera. The *Spaniards*, who had heard of the revolt in
Gaul, and suspected his design, obeyed the summons with great
alacrity ; for they abhorred the very name of *Nero*, and flock-
ed from all quarters to *Carthagera*, where *Galba*, ascending the
tribunal, round which were placed the images of several illus-
trious persons, whom *Nero* had caused to be inhumanly massa-
cred, openly declared his design in the following speech : “ Fel-
“ low-soldiers and friends, we are assembled to bestow on man-
“ kind the great benefit of liberty and freedom, a benefit,
“ which indeed is our birth-right, though we have not these
“ many years been allowed to taste the sweets of it. For what
“ slave has endured greater hardships, has suffered a more cruel
“ servitude, than we under the inhuman tyrant, whom the
“ evil fortune of the *Roman* empire had placed over us ? What
“ kind of extortions has he not used to supply, with rapine
“ and injustice, what he has spent with ignominy and shame ?
“ What

Galba re-
volts in
Spain.

His speech
against
Nero.

" What kind of cruelty has he not practised? Has he not
 " wallowed in the blood of his father, his brother, his mother,
 " his wife, his instructor, and of all, who, in the senate,
 " city, or provinces, were any-ways considerable for their
 " birth, wealth, courage, or virtue, without distinction of
 " sex or age? The blood of so many innocent victims cries
 " aloud for vengeance. Let us therefore appease the manes of
 " our deceased friends and relations with the blood of the ty-
 " rant, by whom they have been thus inhumanly butchered.
 " Let us rouse our courage, and so long as we have arms, and
 " ability to manage them, be ashamed tamely to obey, like so
 " many slaves, not a prince, but an incendiary, a parricide, a
 " singer, a minstrel, a player, a charioteer; nay, one who is not
 " even a man, but a monster of mankind, having a man to his
 " husband, and a man to his wife. The *Gauls* have already
 " shaken off the ignominious yoke, and the whole empire is
 " ready to follow their example and join us and them. For
 " myself, I have never entertained any ambitious or aspiring
 " designs, and heartily wish I were allowed to spend the small
 " remainder of my days in privacy and retirement; but since
 " some have imposed upon me a part, which I never designed
 " to act, and least of all at this age, I will not decline, with
 " your approbation, the heavy task, but cheerfully sacrifice
 " my own inclinations to the good of my country, not with
 " the awful title of *emperor* or *Augustus*, which sacred names
 " I adore."----Here he was interrupted by the loud shouts,
 and joyful acclamations of the numerous assembly, saluting
 him with one voice, *emperor* and *Augustus*. But *Galba*, de-
 clining these specious titles, declared, that he devoted himself to
 the service of his country only as lieutenant to the senate and
 people^y. This happened nine months and thirteen days, as
 we read in *Dion Cassius*, before *Galba's* death, and consequently
 on the third of *April*; for he was assassinated on the fifteenth
 of *January* of the following year. After this *Galba* ordered
 levies to be made throughout the whole province; selected a
 certain number of persons of known prudence and experience,
 and with them formed a kind of senate; appointed a band of
 young knights, whom he called *evocati*, to be as a guard at the
 door of his chamber; and caused edicts to be fixed up in every
 city of the province, inviting all to join him, and lend what
 assistance they could towards the recovery of their liberty, and
 the success of an enterprise, which so nearly concerned them.
 We are told, that as he was fortifying a town, which he de-
 signed for a place of arms, a ring was found of great antiquity,

He declines
 the title of
 emperor.

^y Suet. in *Galba*, c. 10. Dio. l. lxxiv p 730. Plut. in *Galb.*
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on the stone whereof was engraved a *Victory*; and that about the same time a ship from *Alexandria* came into the port of *Detofa* or *Tortofa*, laden with arms,² without either pilot, mariners, or passengers². *Otho*, who still governed *Lusitania*, was the first of all the governors of provinces who declared for *Galba*, sending him all his gold and silver plate to turn it into money, and likewise his domestics, who were more accustomed to a court, and knew better than *Galba's* how to serve an emperor².

Nero is not
affected
with the
tidings of
the revolt
of *Vindex*

What he
chiefly
resented.

THE first tidings of the revolt of *Vindex* and the *Gauls* came to *Nero* at *Naples*, on the same day, on which he had caused his mother to be murdered, that is, on the 19th of *March*. But he was so far from being affected with it, that he seemed rather to rejoice at the news, as having a plausible pretence to plunder those wealthy provinces; so that he continued to sing, play, and act upon the stage, as usual, for eight days together, without issuing any orders for suppressing the revolt, or even writing or speaking to any one about it: he was only once heard to say, upon receiving letters of a fresher date, exaggerating the impending danger, that he would make *Vindex* and the *Gauls* pay dear for disturbing his pleasures. At length the edicts of *Vindex*, filled with most bitter invectives, roused him so far as to prompt him to write to the senate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to him, and in him to them and the whole republic, and excusing his absence with the pretence of an inflammation in his throat. But he resented nothing so much as *Vindex's* calling him in one of his edicts an *unskilful harper*, and *Ahenobarbus* instead of *Nero*. He declared, that he would quit his adopted name, and resume that of his family, since they reproached him with it, as if it were a name to be ashamed of. The other imputation affected him still more; he could not bear it: but in the transports of his passion broke out into bitter invectives against *Vindex*, abusing him as one intirely ignorant of an art, which he had, with his own industry and indefatigable pains, refined and brought to the greatest perfection: to refute this calumny, he played more frequently than ever, observing with great attention the countenances of the spectators, and asking them whether they had ever heard or known a more skilful player upon the harp than himself? But, the alarm increasing, and messenger after messenger arriving with dismal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and repaired to *Rome*. However, his fear was greatly abated by his observing on the road a tomb, on which was engraved a *Gaul* overcome by a *Roman* knight, who dragged him on the ground by the hair. This frivolous presage so revived him,

² SULT. in Galb. c. 10.

² Idem ibid. & PLUT. in vit. Oth.

that he returned thanks to the gods for such an auspicious omen. Upon his arrival in the city, instead of assembling the senate or people, he only summoned some of the principal men to his palace, and after a short consultation, in which no resolution was taken, he spent the rest of the day in shewing his counsellors certain musical instruments lately invented by himself, and so contrived as to play by water. Here, intirely forgetful of the danger that threatened him, he discoursed of the nature and workmanship of each of them, promising to produce them, ere it was long, upon the stage, *provided Vindex would give him leave.* The following night he sent in haste for the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who immediately flew to the palace, not doubting, but the emperor designed to advise with them in the present most urging juncture, and come to some speedy resolution. But they were greatly surpris'd to find, that they had been summoned in the dead of the night to be entertained with a farther account of the instruments, which had been shewn them the day before, and some new improvements, which had since occurred to Nero^b. However, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of *Vindex*, set a price upon his head, called back the troops that were on their march towards *Albania*, and ordered the legions in *Illyricum* to be forthwith transported into *Italy*. We are told, that when news was brought to *Vindex*, that *Nero* had promised ten millions of sesterces to any one who should bring him his head, he answered with great calmness, *Whoever shall bring Nero's head to me, shall, if he pleases, have mine in exchange.* *Nero* seem'd to despise *Vindex*, and to be under no apprehension of the *Gauls*; but intelligence being brought him of the revolt of *Galba*, just as he was sitting down to supper, he was so struck with it, that he remained a long time motionless, without being able to utter a single word; and when he came to himself again, he overturned in a violent rage the table, tore his garments, broke in pieces two cups of great value, and dashing his head against the wall, cried out, he was undone; his misfortunes were without example; his empire was seized, while he was still alive, and become the prey of an usurper. However, he could not, even in the height of his consternation and fear, refrain from his usual debaucheries; but pursued his former course of life, feasting, revelling, and, upon his receiving news out of the provinces that seem'd any-ways favourable to his affairs, jesting and ridiculing the heads of the rebellion. He even appear'd in the theatre, and because one of the actors perform'd his part so as to deserve an extraordinary applause, he sent him word, that he invaded the rights of the

His unconcern.

Complains of Vindex to the senate.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of Galba.

^b Suet. c. 40, 41. Dio. p. 694—697.

His desperate resolution.

Deposeth both the consuls.

His meanness.

emperor^c. In the mean time, the senate, out of fear and flattery, declared *Galba* a traytor and an enemy to the state; whereupon *Nero* immediately seized his estate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which *Galba* no sooner understood, than he in his turn exposed to sale *Nero's* estate in *Spain*, and found a great number of purchasers^d. This enraged *Nero* to such a degree, that, in the first transports of his fury, he resolved to send persons into all the provinces to murder the governors and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conspiracy, to order all the exiles to be massacred, lest they should join the revolters, to cut the throats of all the *Gauls* in *Rome*, as accomplices and favourers of their countrymen, to poison the whole senate at an entertainment, to set fire to the city, and at the same time let loose the wild beasts kept for the public spectacles, that the people being thus diverted from extinguishing the flames, their destruction, and the destruction of the city, might be the more inevitable. But dropping, upon farther thoughts, these barbarous designs, not out of remorse, but despair of effecting them, he resolved to march in person against the rebels; and deposing the two consuls, *Silius* and *Trachalus*, entered alone upon the consulship, pretending an antient prediction, importing, that when *Rome* had but one consul, by him the *Gauls* should be overcome. Having therefore assumed the fasces and other marks of the consular dignity, he ordered levies to be made throughout *Italy*, named the officers who were to command under him, and caused an immense number of waggons to be got ready for conveying with safety, not the engines of war, but his musical instruments and the decorations of the stage; for he was so mean-spirited as to declare to his intimate friends, that he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but upon his arrival in the province, to present himself without arms before the armies, to weep, and with sighs and tears beg forgiveness of his former conduct; which, if touched with compassion, they should grant him, as he hoped they would, he designed to engage and fix their affections, by diverting them with plays and songs of triumph, which, he said, it was high time for him to begin to compose. That he had no design of facing the enemy in the field was manifest from his other preparations; for he ordered all the players upon instruments, singers, and actors to attend him; and arming his concubines, like *Amazons*, with battle-axes and shields, appointed them to guard his person^e.

In the mean time, *Galba's* party gained daily new strength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except

^c Suet. c. 42.

^d Plut. vit. Galb.

^e Suet. c. 44.

Clodius Macer, who commanded in *Africa*, and *L. Rufus Verginius*, or *Virginus*, governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had under his command some of the best legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched against *Vindex* with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitants of *Treves*, capital of *Belgic Gaul*, and powerfully assisted in *Celtic Gaul* itself by the cities of *Langres* and *Lyons*, he advanced as far as the city of *Besançon*, which he besieged. Upon this intelligence, *Vindex* hastened to the relief of the place; but upon his arrival, *Verginius* desiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act against *Nero*; but *Verginius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for *Galba*. After they had long conferred together, *Vindex* returned to his troops, and with them advanced to *Besançon*, in order to take possession of the place, pursuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But *Verginius's* men, believing that *Vindex* designed to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the *Gauls*, who expected nothing less and were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great slaughter put them to flight. Thus *Dion Cassius*^f; but *Plutarch* tells us, that the two armies engaged in defiance of the orders of their commanders, who did all that lay in their power to divert them from that wild resolution^g. Be that as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that the two armies engaged, that twenty thousand *Gauls* were killed upon the spot, and that *Vindex* after the battle laid violent hands on himself. After the death of *Vindex*, the victorious legions tore the images of *Nero*, and importuned *Verginius* to accept the empire, saluting him *Cæsar*, emperor, *Augustus*, &c. *Verginius* was descended of an equestrian family; but had on many occasions signalised his prudence, valour, equity, and such virtues and endowments as are requisite in a brave commander and an excellent citizen^h. *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he might have easily seized on the empire, had he but seconded the ardent wishes of the troops under his command. But, either out of a greatness of soul truly heroic, or a lively apprehension of the evil consequences, which would inevitably accrue from allowing the soldiery to chuse the emperor, he not only rejected their offer, but resolutely declared, that he would neither take upon himself the sovereign power, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not named to it by the senate, to whom alone the disposal of the empire belonged. The same answer he returned to the soldiery, when, upon the news of

Rufus
Virginus
marches
against
Vindex.

Vindex
defeated.

Lays vio-
lent hands
on himself.

Verginius
refuses the
empire.

Nero's

^f DIO. l. lxiii. p. 725. ^g PLUT. vit. Galb.

^h TACIT.

hist. l. i. c. 52. DIO. p. 726. PLIN l. ii. ep. 1.

His conduct and unblemished character. Nero's death, they importuned him anew to accept of the empire ^k. This refusal says *Dion*, gained him higher renown than the empire itself could have done, and filled the world with the fame of his name ^l. He lived thirty years after this glorious and generous action, revered by all men; and having escaped the fury of so many princes, by whom he was both suspected and hated on account of his virtue, he died at length under *Nerva*, being then consul for the third time, in the eighty-third year of his age and ninety-seventh of the christian æra. *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the following troubles and seditions, no one was exposed to greater dangers, no one so often threatened and assaulted by the soldiery as he; for though they admired his magnanimity, till then without example, yet they hated him, as having despised them by refusing the empire. In how great esteem he was held by the good princes, we may judge from the opinion which *Vitellius* entertained of him, a prince suspicious, distrustful, and open to every alarm. For though a slave of *Verginius* was charged as one employed to assassinate the emperor, though the soldiers had, upon the death of *Otho*, declared for him the third time, yet *Vitellius* never seemed to question in the least his fidelity ^m. Before he died, he ordered an epitaph, composed by himself, to be engraved on his tomb, importing, *that he had overcome Vindex, and thereby acquired the empire to his country, not to himself*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the history of those times, begging him one day to excuse him, if the laws of history obliged him to relate something that he might not like, As to my actions and conduct, replied *Verginius*, I desire you would relate them, such as they are; for I am not conscious to myself of having ever done any thing but with a view to the applauses and approbation of posterity ⁿ. This was the only time he was ever heard to speak of his own actions, however great and glorious. *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, was consul, when he died, and pronounced his funeral oration. *Pliny* the younger, who had received innumerable favours at his hands, bestows on him the following eulogium; *No tongue can sufficiently commend Rufus Verginius, or answer the opinion I entertain of his virtue* ^o. To resume the thread of our history.

The bad situation of Galba's affairs.

THE death of *Vindex* and declaration of *Verginius* not to suffer any one to assume the sovereignty, without the consent of the senate, exceedingly perplexed *Galba*. Besides, it was reported, that the legions commanded by *Verginius*, finding they

^k DIO. p. 727. PLUT. *ibid.* ^l DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 69.
^m TACIT. *ibid.* ⁿ PLIN. l. vi. ep. 10, & l. ix. ep. 19. ^o PLIN. l. ix. ep. 9.

could not persuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; nay some of *Galba's* own troops, repenting the new oath they had taken, attempted to abandon him; and certain slaves, whom one of *Nero's* freedmen had presented him with, formed a conspiracy against him, and would in all likelihood have dispatched him, had they not discovered themselves, by exhorting one another, as *Galba* was passing through a narrow street to his baths, not to let slip so favourable an opportunity. The new emperor therefore, in the utmost consternation, wrote to *Verginius*, earnestly soliciting him to act in concert with himself against *Nero*, the common enemy of mankind, and to lend a helping hand to the great work of restoring *Rome* to her antient liberty. What answer *Verginius* returned him, we are no-where told; but it seems to have been no-ways favourable to his design, since he retired a few days after with his friends to a city in *Spain* called *Clunia*, quite disheartened, repenting what he had done, and ready to lay violent hands on himself. In the mean time, at *Rome* the levies commanded by *Nero* went on but slowly; for though he summoned all the tribes to take the military oath, yet no one appeared who was fit to bear arms; insomuch, that he was obliged to issue an edict, ordering all masters to send him a certain number of slaves, whom he enfranchised and listed among his troops. He likewise obliged persons of every rank and profession to contribute the greatest part of their yearly income towards the intended expedition, according as they were rated in the books of the censors. These heavy impositions, together with his foolish and unseasonable niceness, for he would receive no money but what was new coined, incensed the people to such a degree, that they openly opposed the collectors, telling them, that the best and most ready means of supplying the prince with money, was to oblige the informers to refund the immense sums they had earned with their infamous practices^d. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the populace was heightened by the arrival of a ship from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden not with corn, as was expected, but with sand for the gladiators and wrestlers. Upon this the people rose in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night most of the emperor's statues, tore his images, plundered the houses of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable disorders, no one offering to appease or restrain them. At the same time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which so affected *Nero*, that calling for poison, he inclined it in a golden box, and went immediately into the *Servi-*

Nero provokes the people at Rome.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of the German legions.

^c Suet. c. 44. ^d Suet. c. 10. Dio. p. 693. Plut. in Galb.

lian gardens, whence he dispatched the freedmen, in whom he chiefly confided, to *Ostia* to prepare his fleet, being resolved to sail to *Egypt*, whither he had already sent some *German* troops. He was prompted to this resolution by the predictions of some astrologers, who had foretold him long before, that he would one day be abandoned by all; but at the same time assured him, that in the end he would obtain the empire of the east, or the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. However, before he left the palace, he founded the tribunes and centurions of his guards, asking them whether they were disposed to accompany him in his flight? But some of them shifing, others positively refusing to attend him, and one of them crying out, *Usque adeone mori miserum est? Is it so sad a thing to die?* he was quite distracted and confounded in his thoughts; resolving at one time to fly to the *Parthians*, at another to address *Galba* as a suppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and, with all possible humility and dejection, implore the forgiveness of the people for his former conduct; and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of *Egypt*. To this purpose an oration was found after his death among the rest of his papers; but he was deterred from delivering it, by an apprehension of his being torn in pieces by the outrageous multitude, before he could reach the rostra. He therefore put off the taking of any resolution till the next day; and in the mean time his ruin was completed by one, whom he least of all suspected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, who, though of a mean descent, had been by *Nero* upon the death of *Fenius Rufus* appointed colleague of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and now entertained thoughts of seizing the sovereignty for himself. However, he did not immediately declare his ambitious views; but, pretending to espouse the cause of *Galba*, assured the guards, that *Nero* was fled, and promised them in *Galba's* name such sums, as neither *Galba* nor any other was able to discharge. This promise secured for the present the empire to *Galba*, occasioned afterwards the loss of it, and in the end produced the destruction of *Nymphidius* and the guards themselves. For the soldiery, thus deceived and tempted with the mighty promises of *Nymphidius*, abandoned *Nero*, notwithstanding their long and sworn fealty to the house of the *Cæsars*, and proclaimed *Galba* emperor: even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of the crimes that rendered *Nero's* name so odious and detestable, forsook and betrayed him in this extremity. The emperor, altogether unacquainted with the treasonable practices of *Tigellinus*, awaked about midnight; and understanding, to his unspeakable surprise, that his guards were retired,

Nero betrayed by Nymphidius, and abandoned by his guards.

His fright and consternation.

he leapt out of his bed, sent in great haste for his friends, and none of them obeying the summons, went at last in person, attended by a few domestics, to their several houses; but finding the doors every-where shut, and no one deigning even to return an answer to his prayers and intreaties, he hastened back to his chamber, which he found rifled and stript even to the coverings of his bed.

*His fright
and con-
sternation.*

The golden box, in which he kept the poison prepared by the famous *Locusta*, being likewise carried off, he sent for *Spicillus*, a celebrated gladiator, to dispatch him; but neither he, nor any other being found who would undertake that task, he cried out in a fit of despair, *What! have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies?* Which words he had scarce uttered, when he left his room in a great hurry with a design to throw himself into the *Tiber*; but changing his mind, he stopt all on a sudden, and desired some private place to recollect himself and resume his courage.

Hereupon *Phaon*, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, which stood between the *Salarian* and *Numentan* roads, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended by four persons, of whom *Sporus* was one, left Rome

*Flies from
Rome.*

meanly apparelled and worse mounted, hiding his face, through fear of being discovered, with a handkerchief. Upon his setting out, he was terrified and dismayed by dreadful flashes of lightning, and a violent earthquake, as if the ghosts of the many persons he had murdered were rising up, says *Dion*, against the unmerciful tyrant. As he passed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them cursing him, and wishing prosperity and success to *Galba*. A passenger, whom he met on the road, in seeing him and his attendants, *These*, said he, *are no doubt in pursuit of Nero*; another asked him, *What news of Nero in the city?* His horse starting at the sight of a carcase that lay in the way, the covering of his face was shaken off, and he known by a foldier of the prætorian guards, named *Missicius*, who saluted him with the title of emperor; which so alarmed *Nero* and his attendants, that at the first turning they quitted their horses, and, betaking themselves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through bushes and briars to the wall, which inclosed *Phaon's* grounds, who intreated the emperor to conceal himself in a sand-pit, till he found means of conveying him in with more secrecy: but *Nero* answered, that *he would not be buried till he was dead*; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon*, examining the wall, was considering how he might introduce him undiscovered. In the mean time, *Nero*, being pressed with drought, took up water out of a ditch with his hands, saying, *To this liquor is Nero reduced*: He likewise cleared with his own hands his garments of the briars that had stuck to them. In order to

*His forlorn
condition.*

procure a more private access for him to the house, a hole was opened in the wall, through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furnished, where he passed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in such agonies as can hardly be expressed, alarmed at the least noise he heard, as if assassins were come to murder him, and not daring to speak through fear of being discovered. He now repented the many crimes he had committed, wished he had pursued a quite different conduct, was sensible, that those, who had put him upon the measures he had followed, were his greatest enemies; and had constantly in his mouth the following words, taken out of a tragedy, intitled, *OEdipus banished*, the last in which he had acted; *My father, mother, and wife, doom me to destruction* ^c. As those who attended him were constantly soliciting and importuning him to prevent with a voluntary death the dangers that threatened him, he at last ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be provided for the washing and burning of his body, bemoaning himself, while he gave these orders, in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating with many sighs and tears, *What an artist will the world lose* ^f.

*Is declared
by the se-
nate an
enemy to
the state,
and con-
demned to
die.*

*Betrays
great
meanness.*

THE news of *Nero's* flight filled the city with joy; the senate assembled early in the morning and proclaimed *Galba* emperor; and, having taken the usual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the state, and doomed him to be punished *more majorum*. One of *Phaon's* friends immediately dispatched a messenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the transactions of the senate. As soon as the messenger appeared, *Nero* snatched the letter out of his hand; and finding by it, that he was declared an enemy to the state, and doomed to be punished *more majorum*, he asked, what kind of punishment that was? *Phaon* told him, that, pursuant to the sentence of the senate, he was to be stript naked, his head was to be fastened in a pillory, and he in that posture to be whipt to death; which so terrified him, that he snatched up two daggers, which he always carried about with him, as if he were determined to anticipate in that instant the execution of so cruel a sentence by a voluntary death; but, after trying their points with a trembling hand, he put them up again, saying, that *his fatal hour was not yet come*; then turning to *Sporus*, he desired him to begin his complaints and lamentations, since the fatal moment approached. He betrayed such meanness as to desire with many tears, that some of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with resolution and intrepidity. But none of them shewing the least incli-

^c Suet. c. 48. Dio p. 627.

^f Suet. c. 49.

nation to animate him at the expence of their own lives, he strove to raise his drooping spirits with the following words; *Courage, Nero, courage; such pusillanimity in an emperor is base and dishonourable; the pains of death are but short and momentary; strike boldly, &c.* Thus he continued animating himself, but to no effect; till hearing the noise of some horsemen, sent by the senate to seize him and bring him alive to Rome, he cried out in a Greek verse, *A dismal noise of horses sounds in my ears*; and, drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaphroditus*, his freedman and secretary, to lend him his assistance; which he did with great reluctance, and paid dear for it, being afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, for imbruing his hands in the blood of the *Cæsars*. Before he was quite dead, the centurion, sent by the senate to apprehend him, entered the room, and, pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood; *Nero* gave him no other answer, but, *'Tis too late: Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With which words he expired, his eyes staring in a frightful manner, and ready to start out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were present^g. Upon the first rumour of his death, one of *Galba's* freedmen, not trusting to common report, flew to the place where his body lay, and having with his own eyes beheld the lifeless carcase extended on the ground, and all covered with gore, hastened away to *Spain* with the important tidings^h. Many others, prompted by the like curiosity, flocked to *Phaon's* country-house; so that his death being no longer questioned, the joy of the *Roman* people was so great and universal, that they ran up and down the streets, with such caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from so hard a bondage, overturned and dashed in pieces most of *Nero's* statues, knocked out the brains of as many of his friends as fell into their hands, &c. Amongst others they fastened the gladiator *Spicillus* to one of *Nero's* statues, which they dragged along the streets, and crushed the unhappy favourite to pieces: they laid a famous informer, named *Aponius*, flat on the ground, and drove carts heavy laden with stones over him. Many others were seized by the outrageous and undistinguishing multitude, and by them torn in pieces, though they had no share in *Nero's* crimes: insomuch, that *Mauriscus*, who was deservedly esteemed one of the best men in the city, declared in full senate, that he was afraid they should soon have cause to wish for *Nero*ⁱ. Such was the miserable end of *Nero*, the sixth emperor of *Rome*, who by his un-

His death.

The joy of the Roman people.

^g Suet. ibid.^h Plut. vit. Galb.ⁱ Plut. ibid.

heard-of iniquities well deserved all the misfortunes which befel him. He died in the thirty-first year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months complete, according to some, or eight months wanting two days, according to others: for St. *Jerom*, *Eusebius*^k, and *Zonaras*^l, place his death on the eleventh of *June*; whereas the learned archbishop *Usher*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* alledge strong arguments to prove, that he died on the ninth of the said month. We need not enlarge on his character, since the name of *Nero* is by most nations made use of emphatically to express a barbarous, raging, and abandoned tyrant. *Pliny* calls him the common enemy and fury of mankind^m, and most writers propose him as the pattern of a complete tyrant; and truly his whole life seems to have been a constant struggle, to shew how abandonedly wicked, how execrably bad a human creature can be, when vested with great power. The only thing he earnestly commended to his attendants before he died was, that his head might not be cut off, but his body burnt intire. His request was readily granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba's* freedmen, who likewise allowed his obsequies to be performed with the usual solemnity. His ashes were carefully gathered, and deposited in the stately monument of the *Domitian* family, by his concubine *Acte*, and two other women, who in his infancy had been charged with the care of his education. He was no eloquent speaker, *Seneca* having diverted him, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, from perusing the works of the antient orators, lest he should despise his style and compositions. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote verses with great ease: some indeed accused him as a plagiarist; but from this imputation *Suetonius* clears him, assuring us, that from the tablets on which he wrote, according to the custom of those times, and which our author narrowly examined, it evidently appeared, that the verses were neither transcribed by him, nor dictated by another, being effaced, interlined, and corrected, as thoughts or expressions occurred to him, which he liked betterⁿ. Though he died generally hated and abhorred, yet the vulgar, abandoned to debauchery and inured to the idle amusements of the theatre and circus, began soon to regret the loss of a prince, by whose infamous vices they subsisted. Hence they flocked to his tomb, adorned it with flowers, carried his images, as it were, in triumph, &c. *Vologeses* likewise, king of the *Parthians*, shewed a particular respect for *Nero* after his death, and by the ambassadors, whom he sent to the senate to renew his alliance with the *Roman* people, earnestly begged,

^k HIER. & EUSEB. in chron. ^l ZONAR. p. 190. ^m PLIN. I. vii. c. 8. ⁿ SUET. c. 50—52.

that the memory of *Nero* might be revered, and a monument erected to him ^o. Some even gave out, that he was not dead, but would soon appear again and take vengeance of his enemies: edicts were publicly hung up as issued by him, and soon after a slave, who greatly resembled him, and was no less skilled in singing and playing upon the harp, attempted to pass himself upon the provinces of *Asia* and *Achaia* for the deceased prince; but was seized and executed in the island of *Cythrus* ^p. Several counterfeit *Neroes* appeared afterwards; one especially in the reign of the emperor *Domitian*, near twenty years after the true *Nero* was dead, created great disturbances in the east, where he was followed by vast crouds. *Artabanes*, who then reigned in *Parthia*, espoused his cause, and sent him powerful succours; but was at length, with much ado, prevailed upon to abandon the impostor, and deliver him up to the *Romans* ^q. But what above all to us seems surprising is, that, towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, an opinion prevailed in the church, that *Nero* was to appear again at the end of the world, and either to be himself the antichrist, or to reign in the west and re-establish idolatry there, while the antichrist reigned in the east. This opinion is by *Sulpitius Severus* ascribed to *St. Martin* ^r. Some believed, that *Nero* was to be raised from the dead under another name; others, that he did not really die; but, his wound being cured, was conveyed to some private place, where he is to lie concealed, till the time appointed for the appearance of the antichrist. This opinion, which some pretended to prove from the *Revelations*, is taken notice of by *Lactantius* ^s; but what were his sentiments upon that subject is hard to determine, all the copies of his works being in that place strangely corrupted. It is, however, manifest, that he supposes with *Sulpitius Severus*, *Nero's* body never to have been found, notwithstanding the account which both *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* give us of his obsequies. *St. Austin* expresses no small surprise, that such an absurd, and, as he styles it, ridiculous, opinion should have found partisans amongst men of knowledge and learning ^t. But what opinion has hitherto been broached, that has not found some zealous profelytes among the learned? The family of the *Cæsars*, properly speaking, ended in *Caligula*, who had been adopted by *Tiberius*; but nevertheless, as *Nero* was, as well as *Claudius*, descended from *Augustus* by his mo-

^o Suet. c. 57. Aur. Vict. epit. ^p Dio. l. lxiv. p. 732.

^q Suet. c. 57. Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 2. ^r Sulp. Sever. hist.

facr. l. ii. ^s Lactan. de morte persecutor. c. 2. ^t Aug. de

civit. Dei. l. xx.

ther *Agrippina*, the house of the *Cæsars* is said to have ended in him. As for the writers who flourished in *Nero's* reign, we refer the reader to our notes (T).

(T) These were, *Fabius Rusticus*, who wrote the history of his own time, and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*, though, in the opinion of that impartial writer, he betrayed too much zeal in extolling *Seneca*, to whose friendship he was chiefly indebted for the plentiful fortune he possessed. He was the best historian of his age; but none of his works have reached us (41). *M. Servilius*, who is placed by *Tacitus* among the historians who wrote the history of *Rome*. He died in the sixth year of *Nero's* reign and fifty-ninth of the *Christian æra* (42). Some writers take him to be the same person with *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who was consul with *C. Cestius Gallus*, in the twenty-second year of *Tiberius's* reign and thirty-fifth of the *Christian æra*. *Pliny* speaks of one *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who flourished some time before him, and was esteemed a man of great learning and eloquence (43); and *Quintilian* mentions one, whom he calls *Servilius Novianus*, as a man of an extraordinary genius, but more diffuse in his writings, than was consistent with the laws of history (44). *Vossius* endeavours to prove, that *Nonianus* and *Novianus* were two different writers (45); but most critics take them to be one and the same with *M. Servilius Nonianus*, who was consul under *Tiberius*. *A. Persius Flaccus* acquired great fame in *Nero's* reign by his satires. He was of an equestrian family, but allied to the most illustrious families in *Rome*. He was born in *Volaterræ*, a city of *Ætruria*, on the twelfth of *December*, in the thirty-fourth year of the *Christian æra* and twenty-first of *Tiberius's* reign, *Paulus Fabius Persicus* and *L. Vitellius* being consuls. At the age of sixteen he studied philosophy, together with *Lucan*, under *Annaeus Cornutus*, the famous stoic, of whom we have spoken above. He was nearly related to the wife of the celebrated *Thrasea Pætus*, and lived in great friendship with that zealous and undaunted patriot; but never shewed great value for *Seneca*. He was a man of a mild temper, of an unblemished character, of an extraordinary modesty, and unbounded beneficence. The subject of his satires are the faults of the orators and poets of his time, whom he exposes with great humour and elegance, without sparing *Nero* himself: hence they were received with uncommon applause, greedily read, and mightily cried up by all men of taste, especially by *Lucan*, who was greatly taken with his noble thoughts and fine expressions. He died ere he had put the last hand to them, before he was twenty-eight complete, on the twenty-fourth of *November*, in the year of the *Christian æra* sixty-two, the ninth of *Nero's* reign, *P. Marius* and *L. Asinius Gallus* being consuls. He wrote some other poetical pieces; but *Cornutus*, as we have hinted above, advised his mother to suppress them (46). Some writers have

(41) *Fide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 25.* (42) *Tacit. annal. xiv. c. 9.* (43) *Plin l. xviii. c. 2.* (44) *Quint l. x. c. 1.* (45) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 27.* (46) *Suet. Pers. vit. Hist. chron.*
confounded

confounded him with *Caius Persius Flaccus*, a man of great learning, but who is supposed to have flourished about two hundred years before our poet (47). *Remmius Polemon* taught rhetoric at *Rome* with great applause under *Tiberius*, *Caius*, and *Claudius*, and, dying in the reign of *Nero*, left behind him a poem on weights and measures, which has reached our times. He was a native of *Vicentia*, and originally a slave; but by teaching acquired a considerable fortune, tho' he was generally despised, as a man quite destitute of honour, virtue, and honesty. Under him *Persius* studied eloquence (48) *Cæsius Bassus* died about the latter end of *Nero's* reign, and left behind him several poetical pieces highly esteemed. He excelled in lyrics; but fell far short of *Horace* (49). He is supposed to have been consumed with his house by the flames of mount *Vesuvius*. *C. Balbillus*, who, according to *Seneca*, was a man of great integrity, and well versed in all the branches of literature (50), was appointed præfect or governor of *Egypt* in the second year of *Nero's* reign and fifty-fifth of the *Christian* æra (51). He sailed, according to *Pliny* (52), in six days from the straits of *Messana* to *Alexandria*. He wrote an account of the remarkable things he had seen in *Egypt*, and described a battle, which, during his administration, happened at the mouth of the *Nile*, between the crocodiles and dolphins. The victory, according to him, was gained by the latter (53). *Lucan* was put to death by *Nero's* orders, as we have related above. His chief performance is his *Pharsalia*, wherein he describes the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in the opinion of *Quintilian*, more like an orator than a poet (54). As about no one writer critics are more divided in their opinions than about *Lucan*, we shall not presume to decide a question so much controverted, nor even deliver our sentiments. However, we cannot help thinking, that such as equal him to *Virgil*, do not so much extol *Lucan*, as they discredit themselves, by manifestly betraying their want of taste and judgment. If age had ripened his genius, for he was not twenty-six complete when he died, and joined to his fire and vivacity the more mature judgment of the inimitable *Virgil*, we might have admired in him a complete poet. To him *Vossius* ascribes the panegyric upon *Piso*, which passes under *Ovid's* name (55). He likewise wrote a poem upon the burning of *Rome*, and several other pieces, which have been long since lost. A *Greek* woman, named *Pamphyla*, gained great reputation under *Nero*, by a general history, which she comprised in thirty-three books, well known to the antients, but not conveyed down to us (56). *Andromachus*, a native of *Crete*, by profession a physician, inscribed to *Nero* a *Greek* poem on treacle, which has been transmitted to us among the works of *Galen* (57).

- (47) Vide *Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3.* (48) *Idem, c. 42. Plin. l. xiv. c. 4.* (49) *Idem ibid.* (50) *Senec. nat. quæst. l. iv. c. 2.*
 (51) *Tacit. annal. l. xiii. c. 22.* (52) *Plin. l. xix. c. 13.* (53) *Senec. ib. Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 25.* (54) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.* (55) *Voss. ibid. l. i. c. 26.* (56) *Idem, hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 7.* (57) *Idem, poet. Græc. l. ii. c. 7.*

But

But of all the writers who flourished under *Nero*, the most renowned, without dispute, is the philosopher *L. Annæus Seneca*. His father *Marcus*, or, as others call him, *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, is by the antients surnamed the *Declaimer*, from his having collected and published together the declamations of the most celebrated orators of his time, as appears from the preface which he prefixed to them. He left *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, in *Spain*, his native city, and came to *Rome*, with two of his sons, *M. Annæus Seneca* and *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, about fifteen years before the death of *Augustus*. A third son, named *Lucius Annæus Mela*, the father of *Lucan* the poet, he left in *Spain*. As he was a person of great distinction in his own country, he was, soon after his arrival in *Rome*, admitted into the equestrian order. His eldest son, *M. Annæus Seneca*, being adopted by *Junius Gallio*, a senator, took the same name; and this is the *Gallio*, proconsul of *Achaia*, at whose tribunal *St. Paul* was accused. *L. Annæus Seneca*, his second son, who was very young when he came to *Rome*, applied himself first to the study of eloquence under his father, and afterwards embraced with great ardour the philosophy of the stoics, having for his instructors *Attalus*, *Sotio*, and others. He began very early to abstain, pursuant to the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, from all kinds of meat; but a persecution being raised under *Tiberius* against the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, who refrained from certain meats, he was easily prevailed upon by his father to renounce that doctrine and practice. However, he abstained from oysters and mushrooms, which were then in great request, considering them rather as incentives to gluttony than nourishment, refrained from wine, used no perfumes, nor baths, slept little, avoided the popular diversions, &c. (58). By his first wife, whose name has not been transmitted to, he had a son named *Marcus*. To his second wife he took *Pompeia Paulina*, probably the daughter of *Pompeius Paulinus*, who, in the first year of *Nero's* reign, commanded in *Lower Germany*. He pleaded at the bar with great applause; insomuch, that *Caligula*, who was himself a ready and eloquent speaker, as *Tacitus* informs us, jealous of the reputation he had gained, had, without any other provocation, resolved on his destruction; but was diverted from his cruel purpose by a favourite concubine, who persuaded him, that *Seneca's* health was so impaired by his studies and austerities, that he could not protract his life much longer (59). But, notwithstanding the weakness of his constitution, and the many infirmities to which he was subject, he outlived both *Caius* and *Claudius*. By the latter he was banished, as we have related already, into the island of *Corfica*, after he had been quæstor; which dignity he attained before the reign of *Claudius*, but whether in the time of *Tiberius* or *Caius*, is uncertain. Though he professed a philosophical life, he has been accused of many things altogether unworthy of that profession. Not to mention the crime for which he was banished under *Claudius*, *Dion Cassius* charges him with other more abominable practices, and even with having taught his pupil *Nero*

(58) *Senec. epist.* 108, 83, (59) *Dio. l. lix. p.* 655.

those unnatural abominations, which will render his name infamous to the latest posterity (60). And nevertheless that writer does not betray the least prejudice against him; but, on the contrary, bestows frequently high elogiums upon him. Though he often declaimed with great zeal against riches, yet, in the space of four years, what by the favour of the prince, what by excessive usury and hunting after testaments and inheritances, he amassed an immense treasure. To his usury and iniquitous extortions, *Dion Cassius* chiefly ascribes the revolt of the *Britons*, as we have related above. *Tacitus*, who speaks of him as favourably as he thought consistent with truth, owns, that he courted popular favour, and was greedy of applause (61); and both *Suetonius* and *Quintilian* tell us, that he cried down the eloquence of the antient orators, to the end his own might be the more esteemed. The satire he wrote against *Claudius* is altogether unworthy of a philosopher, and likewise his *consolatio ad Polybium*, even in the opinion of his great admirer and panegyrist *Lipsius*, who therefore would willingly ascribe it to some other; but owns, that he finds no arguments wherewithal to support that opinion. Of this piece we conjecture *Dion Cassius* speaks, where he tells us, that *Seneca*, during his exile, inscribed a book to the freedmen of *Claudius*, filled with such mean and servile flattery, that, being ashamed of it himself, he did all that lay in his power to suppress it (62). As to his style, *Quintilian* tells us, that it was suited to the taste which prevailed in those days, and for some time generally imitated by the young orators (63). But *Quintilian* himself, tho' he admires the lively and fertile genius of *Seneca*, yet wishes he had employed it better, and studied rather to imitate the antients, than to form a style of his own; for from the antient masters of eloquence he would have learnt to distinguish the true beauties of speech from false ones (64). *Suetonius* seems to have entertained the same opinion of *Seneca's* style (65). From *Aulus Gellius* it appears, that in his time *Seneca's* style was still admired by the young orators; but utterly despised by men of riper years and more mature judgment (66). *Erasmus* agrees with *Quintilian*, and confirms his opinion with many learned observations (67), which we recommend to the perusal of our readers. *Lipsius* finds fault with the studied gingle of his periods, reckons many of his thoughts destitute of solidity, and his expressions often obscure and unnatural (68). But after all, his works deserve the highest esteem in regard of the fine morals they contain and inculcate; and every reader will find in them powerful motives to embrace, and excellent rules to pursue, a virtuous life. We shall not enlarge upon them, since they are already so well known; but only observe, that of his works which have reached our times, *Monfieur le Fevre* is of opinion, that his *consolatio ad Marciam*, was written in the reign of *Caius*, or perhaps of *Tiberius*; his *consolatio ad Helviam* in the beginning of his exile; his *consolatio*

(60) *Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 685*. (61) *Annal. xiii. c. 11.*
 (62) *Dio. ibid p. 685, 686.* (63) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.* (64) *Idem*
ibid. (65) *Suet. in Ner. c. 52.* (66) *Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 2.*
 (67) *Erasm. Sen. prol.* (68) *Lips. de Senec. c. 5, & 11.*

ad Polybium, about the forty-third year of the christian æra, and the third of Claudius's reign, when that prince was preparing to invade Britain; his epigrams, during his exile; his books *de ira*, *de otio sapientis*, *de constantia sapientis*, *de providentia*, *de tranquillitate animæ*, after the death of Caligula; his *ludus in Claudium* immediately after the death of that prince; his books *de clementia* and *de beneficiis*, in the beginning of Nero's reign; that *de vita beata* a few years after, when he was in the height of his grandeur and prosperity; and his book *de brevitæ vitæ*, after he had withdrawn from court; his letters and *naturales quæstiones* are supposed by the same critic to have been written the year before his death (69). Besides his other pieces, of which we know not the dates, *le Fevre* ascribes to him the tragedy intitled *Medea*, being induced thereunto by the authority of *Quintilian* (70). The *Oedipus* is likewise thought to have been written by him; but the *Agamemnon*, the *Troas*, and the *Hercules furens*, are, in the opinion of the above-mentioned critic, altogether unworthy of the genius and eloquence of *Seneca*. From him, however, others differ, and ascribe to *Seneca* the *Troas* and *Hippolytus*; but the tragedies intitled *Agamemnon*, *Hercules furens*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules in Oeta*, to *Seneca* the father. As for the *Octavia*, it was, without all doubt, written after the death of *Seneca*, and even of *Nero* (71).

As for the sentiments of *Seneca* touching religion, *In many places*, says *Tertullian* (72), *he favours us; noster est*; hence his authority is frequently made use of by *Lactantius* to confound the Gentiles. *St. Austin* produces several passages out of a book, which was written by *Seneca* against superstition and superstitious worship, but has not reached us, plainly shewing, that he acknowledged but one Supreme Being, and was fully convinced of the folly of idolatry. *There is*, says he, as quoted by *St. Austin*, (73) *but one Supreme Ruler, but one Deity. We adore nevertheless many, not with a view to please the gods, but out of a commendable compliance with the customs and laws of our country.* Thus this able philosopher, this grave senator, who thought it beneath him, says *St. Austin*, to disguise himself on the stage, was not ashamed to disguise himself in the temples, and to assume a mask, not to divert the people, but to lead them astray (74). In the above-mentioned book he disapproved of the Jewish ceremonies; but never once mentioned the christians; which, in the opinion of *St. Austin*, plainly shews, that he found nothing in their religion but what he judged commendable, though he durst not commend it, through fear of disobliging the prince, and the misled multitude. Some letters of his to *St. Paul*, and of *St. Paul* to him, were published very early, which *St. Austin* and *St. Jerom* seem to have thought genuine; nay, the latter was by them induced to place *Seneca* among the ecclesiastic

(69) *Prolegom. in Senec.* (70) *Vide Faber. in Senec. prolegom.*

(71) *Vide Turneb. & Faber. in Senec.* (72) *Tertul. ad nat. l. ii.*

(73) *Aug. de civit. Dei. l. vi. c. 10.* (74) *Idem ibid. & in*
g. a. l. cxi.

writers (75). But these letters are now universally rejected as spurious, and altogether unworthy of St. Paul, and even of Seneca; which inclines us to believe, that the letters, which have been conveyed down to us, are not the same with those which were handed about in the time of St. Austin and St. Jerom. Lipsius is of opinion, that the supposed letters from Seneca to St. Paul, and from St. Paul to Seneca, were written by one and the same impostor (76); and Baronius discovers in them some enormous mistakes (77). And thus much of the writers who flourished under Nero.

(75) *Aug. epist. liv. Hieron. de vir. illust. c. 12. (76) Lips. in proleg. in Senec. (77) Vide Baron. ad ann. 66. art. 11—13. & Godeau hist. eccles. ad ann. 68.*

C H A P. XVIII.

From the death of Nero, to the death of Vitellius, when the empire became hereditary a second time.

S*ervius Sulpicius Galba*, the seventh emperor, was, by his father, descended from the *Sulpician* family, one of the most antient and illustrious in *Rome*. *Sulpicius Galba* governed *Spain* in quality of prætor in the year of *Rome* 602, and was the chief cause of the war with *Viriatus*, the celebrated leader of the *Lusitanians*. He was afterwards created consul; but acquired greater renown by his eloquence, than by the offices he bore, being reckoned the most eloquent orator of his time. His grandson, *Sergius Galba*, served with great reputation under *Julius Cæsar*, and distinguished himself in the *Gaulish* war; but afterwards, imputing the loss of the consulship to the ill offices of the dictator, he joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and was on that account condemned by the *Pedian* law. His son, *Servius Galba*, was more famous for his studies, than his employments; for he was not advanced above the degree of a prætor, when he published several histories, which are greatly cried up by the antients. His son, *Sergius Galba*, married *Mummia Achaica*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated *Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus*, and great grand-daughter of *L. Mummius*, who took and razed *Corinth*. By her he had two sons, *Caius* and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* the emperor. *Caius*, having in his youth squandered away his estate, led a retired life in the country, till the twenty-second year of *Tiberius's* reign; when, upon his receiving a letter from that prince, forbidding him to draw his lot for a province, he laid violent hands on himself. *Tacitus* supposes him to have been consul^u; but *Suetonius* tells us, that he fell by his own hand, upon his being by *Tiberius* forbidden to stand for the consulship^w. The emperor was born on the twenty-fourth of *December*, the fifth year before the common christian æra, that is, the eve of the nativity of our Saviour. His mother, *Mummia Achaica*, dying while he was yet an infant, his father soon after took to his second

^u *TACIT. annal. vi. c. 40.*^w *SUET. in Galb. c. 3.*

wife

wife *Livia Ocellina* (U), a lady of great quality and wealth. She adopted young *Galba*, who thereupon took the name of *L. Livius Ocella*; which, however, he seems to have retained but a short time. We are told by *Suetonius*, that while he was one day amongst other noble youths of his own age saluting *Augustus*, the emperor laying his hand upon his head, *And you too, my son*, said he, *shall one day taste of empire*. The same writer adds, that *Tiberius*, who was greatly addicted to the study of astrology, foresaw the future grandeur of *Galba*; but at the same time knew, that he was not to attain the sovereign power till he was stricken in years; so that he never betrayed the least uneasiness or concern about his distant promotion^x. *Livia Augusta*, the mother of *Tiberius*, to whom he was related, shewed a great kindness and esteem for him while she lived, and at her death left him an immense sum of money; which *Tiberius* never paid him, he being without that legacy one of the most wealthy citizens of his time. He was well versed in all the liberal sciences, especially in the civil law. He married *Lepida*, descended of an illustrious family; but she, and the two sons he had by her, dying, he led ever after a single life, notwithstanding even the solicitations of *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, become a widow by the death of *Domitius*. She had conceived a great passion for him in his wife's life-time; which occasioned a quarrel between her and the mother of *Lepida*, who publicly upbraided her with her scandalous conduct^y. He was, by the interest of *Livia*, preferred to employments before the age required by the laws. During his prætorship he diverted the people at the sports called *Floralia*, with a new kind of entertainment, viz. elephants walking upon the rope. When his prætorship was expired, he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*, and about a year after raised to the consulship, in which office he succeeded *L. Domitius*, the father of *Nero*, and was succeeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of *Otho*, who was emperor after him. *Caligula*

^x SUE T. c. 4. ^y Idem, c. 5.

(U) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba*, apprised of the passion which she had conceived for him, called her one day aside, and pulling off his robe, shewed her the imperfections of his shape, for he was strangely distorted; which, instead of lessening, heightened her esteem for him to such a degree, that though she was courted on account of her wealth and beauty by the chief nobility of the city, she constantly declared, that if she could not marry *Galba*, she would not marry at all (78).

(78) *Suet. c. 3.*

named

named him to the command of the legions in *Germany*, in the room of *Getulicus*; which trust he discharged with great reputation, having in a short time restored the antient discipline, which his predecessor had intirely neglected. Besides, he repulsed with incredible expedition the *Germans*, who had made an inroad into *Gaul*; which gained him the favour and esteem of *Caligula*. Upon the death of that emperor, he was earnestly solicited by many persons of great interest and power, to lay hold of that opportunity, and seize the empire for himself; but he, without hearkening to their propofals, obliged his troops to take the usual oaths to *Claudius*, who thereupon received him into the number of his most intimate friends, and ever after shewed so great esteem for him, that being upon the point of setting out on his expedition into *Britain*, he put off his journey for some days, on account of a slight indisposition which seized *Galba*. Some time after, *Africa* being strangely harrassed with intestine troubles and the invasions of the neighbouring barbarians, he was, without drawing lots according to custom, sent into that province in quality of proconsul, and distinguished himself there even above those, who had gained the greatest reputation in that government. He remained there two years, during which time he restored, with great prudence and necessary severity, the province to its former tranquillity. *Suetonius* tells us, that one of his soldiers having sold, while provisions were very scarce, his allowance of corn for a hundred denarii, the proconsul, to punish his avarice, forbad his comrades to supply him; by which means he was starved. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the *Titian* priests, and the priests of *Augustus*. From this time to the middle of *Nero's* reign, that is, the sixtieth year of the christian æra, he led a retired life, dreading to give the tyrant any umbrage. During his retirement, he never stirred out, even to take the air, but attended by a chariot with a vast sum of money in it, that he might not be reduced to want, in case he found it necessary to consult his safety by a sudden flight. Thus he lived, till *Nero*, of his own motion, named him to the government of *Hispania Tarracoenensis*, that prince not having yet learnt, as *Plutarch* observes, to fear, and exclude from the great employments, men of interest and power. He governed that province for the space of eight years, at first with excessive rigour, of which authors give us several instances: a banker being convicted of fraud in his profession, he ordered both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his counter. He caused a guardian to be crucified for poisoning his ward, whose next heir he was. The criminal urged, that he was a *Roman* citizen, and, as such, exempted from that
ignominious

ignominious death; upon which *Galba* commanded, by way of distinction, a white cross to be prepared for him much higher than usual, but would not revoke his former sentence. However, by degrees he abated of his rigour, through fear of giving *Nero* occasion of jealousy, and abandoned himself, contrary to his inclination, to sloth and idleness, saying, that no man could be called to an account for doing nothing²: nevertheless he took no care to suppress the many bitter lampoons which were handed about against *Nero* and sung throughout his province, or to inquire after or punish the authors of them. He could not check the cruelties and extortions practised by the imperial procurators, whose province it was to collect the taxes and other duties belonging to the revenue; but openly shewed a tender concern for the sufferings of the oppressed people, which gained him the hearts of the natives, but provoked the emperor's officers to such a degree, that, at their instigation, *Nero* had already ordered him to be privately dispatched. But, before these orders could be put in execution, he openly revolted in the manner we have related above¹.

WE left *Galba* at *Clunia*, a city of his province, whither he had retired with his friends, in the utmost consternation, upon the news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Verginius* not to seize the empire himself, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not chosen by the senate. While he was deliberating with his friends what measures to take, and in the utmost despair ready to lay violent hands on himself, his freedman, by name *Vicellius*, of whom we have spoken above, arriving in seven days from *Rome*, and understanding upon his arrival, that *Galba* was reposing in his chamber, opened the door, and, entering in spite of his guards, acquainted him, that *Nero* was dead, and he, by the army, the senate, and people, declared emperor; adding, that not trusting to common report, he had gone himself to the place where the tyrant lay, seen his lifeless carcase extended on the ground, and heard *Galba*, in the camp of the prætorian guards, proclaimed emperor. We may well imagine, how great was the joy of *Galba* upon this intelligence; it flew in a trice through the neighbouring cities, and drew vast crouds to *Clunia*: *Galba* received them in the most obliging manner, communicated to them the news he had received, and assured them of the truth of it, though the expedition used by the messenger rendered it almost incredible. Two days after, *Titus Vinus*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, having received from his friends in *Rome* a distinct account of what had passed in the capital, came from the camp

Galba receives the news of Nero's death.

¹ SUET. C. 6—9.

² SUET. C. 9, 10. DIO L. lxiii. p. 725.

and

Assumes
the title of
emperor.

and imparted it to his general. Nor was it long, ere messengers arrived from the consuls *Silius* and *Trachalus*, who, though deposed by *Nero*, had, it seems, upon his death, resumed the fasces, with the decrees of the senate, declaring *Galba* emperor, and vesting him with the sovereign power ^b. *Suetonius* writes, that he no sooner received these dispatches, than laying aside the title of lieutenant to the senate and people, he assumed that of emperor ^c; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he would not suffer himself to be styled *emperor* or *Cæsar*, till he was acknowledged as such by the deputies, who were sent to him by the senate and met him at *Narbonne* ^d. Be that as it will, he no sooner received the decrees of the senate, than he left *Spain* and set out for *Rome*, attended by his *Spanish* guard, by his chief friends, and by *Otho*, proprætor of *Lusitania*, the first governor who declared for him; but advanced slowly, being, on account of his age, carried the whole way in a litter. *Suetonius* tells us, that on his journey he dispatched assassins into *Judæa*, with private orders to murder *Vespasian*, whose power and abilities he dreaded. But *Tacitus* ^e and *Josephus* ^f assure us, that *Vespasian* entertained not the least thought of revolting from *Galba*; but, on the contrary, upon the first news of his assumption to the empire, he dispatched his son *Titus* to perform fealty and homage in his name, and to receive his orders concerning the war he was carrying on against the *Jews*. With *Titus* king *Agrippa* set out from *Judæa*, in order to assure the new emperor of his submission and obedience; but they proceeded no farther than *Achaia*, where they received news of *Galba's* death. The only person whom *Galba* seemed to dread and suspect was *Verginius Rufus*, who was at the head of a powerful army in *Germany*, and acquired great reputation by the defeat of *Vindex*, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery. But he, though earnestly pressed to assume the sovereignty, not only by the troops under his command, but likewise by deputies from the legions, which, by *Nero's* orders, had from *Illyricum* crossed over into *Italy*, continued firm to his first resolution of reserving to the senate the power of electing an emperor; nay, when certain news was brought him of *Nero's* death, he still persisted in refusing the title of emperor, though his soldiers bound themselves by a solemn oath to stand by him to the last drop of their blood, and one of the tribunes, forcing his way into his tent, with his drawn sword, threatened to kill him upon the spot, if he continued to withstand the ardent wishes of the whole army. When he received from *Rome* a certain account of the resolutions of the

Verginius
refuses the
empire.

^b PLUT. *ibid.* ^c SUET. c. II. ^d ZONAR. p. 190. ^e TACIT. *hist.* l. i. c. 10. ^f JOSEPH. *bell. Jud.* l. iv. c. 29.

senate, he immediately took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, and persuaded, not without much difficulty, the troops under his command to lay aside all thoughts of raising him to the empire, which by the senate had been decreed to another. *Galba* was so taken with his loyal and generous conduct, that he immediately sent for him, with a design to have him near his person, and confer upon him such rewards as his fidelity well deserved. *Verginius* received with the utmost respect *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who was appointed to command in his room, resigned the army to him, and set out without delay to meet the emperor, who already approached the frontiers of *Gaul*. Upon his arrival, he was received very coldly by *Galba*, without the least token, says *Plutarch*, of affection or hatred, of gratitude or resentment. The emperor had a personal value and esteem for him, and would have raised him, had he followed his own inclination, to the chief employments in the state. But *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great sway over the emperor and was jealous of *Verginius*, did all that lay in his power to estrange from him the mind of the emperor, and to put a stop to his promotion. But herein he was more his friend, as *Plutarch* observes, than he intended, and contributed to that happiness which he thought he was opposing: for, by preventing his preferment, he preserved him from those calamities, in which the other officers of the army were involved, and secured to him a life of quiet and tranquillity, which he enjoyed to an advanced age. *Galba*, upon his arrival at *Narbonne*, found there the ambassadors sent to him from the senate, received them in a most obliging manner, and invited them to an entertainment, at which he refused to make use of the silver and gold plate which belonged to *Nero*, and had been sent him from *Rome*, contenting himself with his own, which shewed, that he utterly despised all pomp and outward appearances of grandeur. However, he was soon persuaded by *Vinius* to alter his conduct in this particular, and put upon other measures, which hastened his ruin. He treated with the utmost severity some cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him, published threatening edicts against them, and deprived some of them of great part of their territories, loading them with heavy taxes, and causing their walls to be beaten down. In *Gaul* he ordered *Vettius Chilo*, and in *Spain* *Obultronius Sabinus* and *Cornelius Marcellus*, to be put to death, and with them, if we believe *Suetonius*, even their wives and children, for having refused to join him, when he first revolted from *Nero*. As *Galba* was known to be a man of an humane

*Obliged his
Legions to
acknowledge
Galba.*

*Is received
coldly by
Galba.*

*Galba's
severity.*

^g PLUT. *ibid.* ^h TACIT. *hist.* l. i. c. 53. ⁱ SUET. c. 15.

temper, and naturally averse to all manner of cruelty, these executions were generally imputed, and not undeservedly, to *Vinius* and his other favourites, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the course of the present reign.

Nymphidius Sabinus aspires at the empire.

In the mean time, at *Rome*, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, of whom we have spoken in the preceding reign, having, by his immense largesses, gained the affections of the prætorian guards, and persuading himself, that *Galba*, by reason of his infirmities and old age, would never reach the capital, usurped all the authority there. Presuming upon his interest, he obliged *Tigellinus*, who commanded, jointly with him, the prætorian guards, to lay down his commission. After this, he made several magnificent and expensive entertainments, inviting to them such as had been consuls or had commanded armies, distributed large sums among the people, and with shows and other diversions, which he daily exhibited, gained so great an interest with all ranks, that he already looked upon himself as sovereign. The senate, dreading his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, styled him their protector, attended him when he appeared in public, and had recourse to him for the confirmation of their decrees, as if he had been already invested with the sovereign power.

His power in Rome.

This base compliance puffed him up to such a degree, that he usurped, not leisurely and by degrees, but all at once, an absolute authority. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was so provoked against the consuls for sealing the dispatches, which they sent to the emperor, with their own signets, and not with his, that he would have deposed them, had they not studied to appease him with submissions quite unbecoming persons of their rank and station. Tho' he acted as sovereign, he had not yet openly declared his design of seizing the sovereignty; but when he understood, that *Galba* was already in *Gaul* and approached the borders of *Italy*, that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards, and *Titius Vinius* the new emperor's chief favourite, he summoned the officers under his command; and, after having bitterly inveighed against *Galba's* favourites, who, he said, would exercise the same power and authority, which had been usurped by *Tigellinus*, if they were allowed time to establish themselves, he exhorted them to send ambassadors to the emperor, and beg, in the name of the whole army, that he would discharge from his service *Laco* and *Vinius*. If *Galba* complied with their request, he did not doubt, but the whole power would devolve upon him, since he had contributed more than any other to the ruin of *Nero* and promotion of *Galba*; and this power he designed to make use of against *Galba* himself: if the emperor rejected the petition of the army, that, he hoped, would estrange their minds from him, and

Attempts to stir up the prætorian guards to a revolt.

and dispose them to a revolt. But the officers did not approve of the motion; on the contrary, they thought it absurd and unreasonable to direct an emperor of *Galba's* years and experience, and tell him who of his friends were to be trusted, and who discharged. Hereupon *Nymphidius* changed his measures, and, contrary to the advice of *Clodius Celsus*, a native of *Antioch*, his intimate friend, resolved to conceal no longer his design. Accordingly he imparted it, without disguise, to some of the officers, and they to the soldiers under their command; and it was agreed, that *Nymphidius* should be conveyed that very night into the camp, and there proclaimed emperor. But *Antonius Honoratus*, one of the tribunes, touched with remorse, assembled his men in the evening, signified to them his repentance, and encouraged them to continue steady in their allegiance to *Galba*. *We had, indeed*, said he, *some colourable pretence to revolt from Nero, whose cruelty and tyranny we could no longer bear. But what can prompt us to abandon and betray Galba? Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? did he ever disgrace the imperial dignity by debasing himself to act upon the stage? Notwithstanding all the provocations that monster had given us, we thought ourselves bound to continue faithful to him, to defend and protect him, till we were assured by the traitor Nymphidius, that he had abandoned us and was fled into Egypt. What, but some evil genius, can thus hurry us on from one treason to another? Must Galba fall a victim to appease the ghost of Nero? must one of Livia's family be sacrificed to make way for the son of Nymphidia? Let us rather call him to an account for the death of Nero, and approve our fidelity to Galba by inflicting on the base traitor the punishment he deserves.* The discourse of the tribune brought all who heard him over to his sentiments; so that they resolved to maintain inviolable the oath which they had taken to *Galba*. Most of the other cohorts joined them, and with loud shouts proclaimed a new *Galba* emperor. *Nymphidius* hearing the noise, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing some insurrection, hastened to the camp, attended by a great number of lights, and holding a speech in his hand composed by *Ciconius Varro*, which he intended to pronounce to the army. Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the gates shut and the soldiers under arms on the ramparts. This greatly alarmed him; but nevertheless advancing nearer, he asked them, *What they designed, and by whose orders they had taken arms?* To this question they answered with one voice, *We are determined to acknowledge no other emperor but Galba.* *Nymphidius*, pretending to concur in their sentiments, commended their fidelity; and, not yet despairing of being able by large promises to gain them over to his

The speech of one of the tribunes against him.

He goes to the camp.

Is there
murdered.

His accom-
plices pu-
nished by
Galba's
orders.

Galba's
unfavour-
able seve-
rity.

interest, ordered them to open the gates to their general. They obeyed; but *Nymphidius*, upon his first entering the camp, was saluted with a dart, which *Septimus*, who marched before him, received on his shield. The traitor immediately betook himself to flight; but being closely pursued by the soldiery, was overtaken and slain. His body was dragged through the camp, and next morning exposed to public view in an inclosure made for that purpose ⁱ. For this account we are indebted to *Plutarch*; for *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* only tell us, that *Nymphidius* embarked in measures to seize the sovereignty, but perished in the attempt. *Nymphidius* boasted himself, as we have related above ^k, the son of the emperor *Caligula*; but was commonly thought, according to *Plutarch* ^l, to be the son of a celebrated gladiator named *Martianus*, to whom he bore a greater resemblance than to *Caligula*; for his mother *Nymphidia* was a public prostitute. *Galba* being at the same time informed of the treason and the punishment inflicted on the traitor, dispatched orders to the senate, injoining them to put all his accomplices to death without distinction. Among these were executed *Cingonius Varro*, *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, the same, as we conjecture, who having been by the *Romans* stript of his dominions twenty years before, had delivered himself into their hands, and had by them been conveyed to *Rome*. They were both, without all doubt, privy to the conspiracy; nay, *Mithridates* had said publicly, while men of all ranks were with emulation testifying their joy for the promotion of *Galba*, that while he was at some distance, they entertained mighty expectations of him; but the moment he appeared, they would think it a disgrace to the present age, that he had ever been styled *Cæsar*. But, notwithstanding their guilt, they were deemed to perish as innocents, because they died without being heard in their own defence. Every one expected, from a man of *Galba's* years and experience, a quite different conduct; and therefore the whole city was greatly alarmed at such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, against persons of their rank and quality ^m. But what occasioned a far greater surprize was, his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been consul in the eighth year of *Nero's* reign, to be forthwith put to death, for no other crime, but because he had been faithful to that prince, and commanded as general under him. As *Turpilianus* was broken with age, and had no longer any troops under his command, the emperor, as was publicly said, ought to have put off his execution, till his arrival at *Rome*, and heard him himself. From these hasty and illegal executions it was ge-

ⁱ PLUT. *ibid.* ^k Hist. Univers. vol. XIV. p. 201.
^l *ibid.* ^m TACIT. *hist.* l. i. c. 5.

^l PLUT.

nerally concluded, that the new prince would not observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches.

AFTER a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached at length the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of the city, and was there met by a numerous body of marines, who by *Nero* had been formed into a legion, and were come to address the new emperor for a confirmation of their establishment. But *Galba* either rejecting their petition, or putting off the affair to another time, they grew mutinous, beset the emperor, stopping up the way to all others who came to wait upon him, and with a tumultuous noise, required an eagle and legionary ensigns. Hereupon *Galba* ordered his horse to ride in among them, who put many of them to the sword and the rest to flight. The

emperor, not satisfied with this severity, commanded every tenth man of those who had escaped to be decimated; so that, according to *Tacitus*, several thousands fell, either by the swords of the horse, or those of the executionersⁿ. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that seven thousand of the disarmed multitude were cut in pieces upon the spot. Such, as had the good luck to outlive the massacre and execution of their companions, were, by *Galba's* orders, committed to prison, where they lay till his death, when they were by *Otho* set at liberty, and anew formed into a legion^o. The entrance of the new emperor into the capital, through so much blood and slaughter, was looked upon as an omen portending greater calamities, than the city had suffered even under *Nero*; and the populace were confirmed in their apprehensions by several prodigies, especially by an earthquake, attended with a dreadful noise, which happened upon *Galba's* first entering the palace^p. But what most of all rendered him both odious and contemptible was, his suffering himself to be entirely governed and blindly controuled by his three favourites, *Titus Vinus*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Marcianus Icelus*; who, as they lodged in the palace, and were continually about the emperor, were commonly styled his *pedagogues*. *Titus Vinus* was descended of an illustrious family, but disgraced it by his infamous conduct, being, according to *Tacitus*, of all men the most notoriously wicked. In his very first campaign under *Calvisius Sabinus*, he was branded with infamy; for the wife of that general, led with a preposterous curiosity to view the disposition of the camp, entered it in the night, disguised in the habit of a soldier; and, having there ventured into the place where the guard was kept, was debauched by *Vinius*, in the very quarter which was sacred to the *Roman* eagles and banners. For this

He causes a great number of marines to be massacred.

Is governed by his favourites.

The character of Titus Vinus.

ⁿ TACIT. c. 6. ^o DIO. l. lxiv. p. 729. TACIT. c. 87
^p SULT. c. 18.

crime he was by the emperor *Caligula* put in irons, and kept under close confinement; but being soon after set at liberty by *Claudius*, he discharged several public employments with a character free from reproach. Upon the expiring of his prætorship, he was preferred to the command of a legion, and acquitted himself in it with great applause. Afterwards he was guilty of a crime, altogether infamous and worthy only of a slave; for being invited by *Claudius* to an entertainment, he purloined a golden cup of great value. But the only punishment which the emperor inflicted upon him for so scandalous an action was, to invite him again to his table the very next day, and to distinguish him from the rest of his guests, by ordering, that *Vinius* alone should be served in an earthen cup. Yet he ruled the province of *Narbonne Gaul*, in quality of proconsul, with unbiaſſed justice and eminent integrity. He was, upon the close of his proconsulship, appointed to command, under *Galba*, the legion which was quartered in *Spain*; where, contrary to the opinion of the other officers, he encouraged his general, in the manner we have related above, not to let slip the opportunity that offered to seize the sovereignty. He was a man of great boldness and address, and, according as he chose to apply his talents, capable of performing great things for the public welfare, or plunging the state in endless calamities. *Cornelius Laco*, the other favourite, whom *Galba* had appointed captain of the prætorian guards before he left *Spain*, was a man of slender parts, and of no courage or activity, but mightily conceited with his own talents, a certain enemy to every counsel, however excellent, if not suggested by himself, and headstrong in opposing every man eminent for ability and discernment. *Icelus* was a manumised slave, but not inferior to the other two in favour and authority. *Nero* had vested him, by the gold ring, with the order of knighthood, and he was now everywhere called by an equestrian name, that of *Martianus*. He was a man of insatiable avarice, and is said, by spoil and rapine, to have amassed more wealth in the seven months that *Galba* reigned, than the most rapacious freedman of *Nero* had done during the fourteen years of his reign. As the aged emperor reposed an entire confidence in these ministers, without ever inquiring into their conduct, they prostituted the credit and character of their master to their own vile gain and wicked passions. By them all things were set to sale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were insatiable, and eager to make the most of a short reign; so that in the court of *Galba* appeared all the evils and excesses lately seen and abhorred in that of *Nero*: they were equally grievous, says *Tacitus*, but not equally excused,

Of *Cornelius Laco*
and *Icelus*

Their
scandalous
conduct.

in a prince of *Galba's* years and experience. He had himself a heart altogether upright and well-meaning; but, as the numberless iniquities of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated, than if he had committed them himself. This, says *Dion Cassius*⁹, is the unhappy condition of princes: it is not enough for them to abstain from all violence; they must restrain others, especially their ministers, from committing any: no prince will be reckoned good, when his ministers are known to be bad; nor to be much beloved, when they are much hated. Ministers, it must be owned, are doomed to suffer imputations altogether groundless, as proceeding rather from envy and the nature of their post, than from their evil conduct; in which cases it is but reasonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was notorious, and manifest to all men but *Galba*. He, whom of all men it most imported to know it, knew it not; and hence, without check or controul, they abused the power with which he too blindly entrusted them, and sacrificed his life, his glory, and diadem to their own private views, to sordid interest, which was the smallest thing they ought to have sacrificed for so good a master. But the measures, which they took, proved in the end no less fatal to them, than to the emperor, as we shall have occasion to relate.

Galba's first care, after his arrival in the capital, was to call to an account, and punish, according to their deserts, such as had borne the chief sway in the late tyrannical administration. Among these, *Elius Polycletus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Narcissus*, all *Nero's* freedmen, and *Locusta*, the famous poisoner, were publicly executed, to the infinite satisfaction of the people, who, with loud shouts of joy, attended them as they were led to the place of execution. No one doubted, but *Tigellinus* would suffer the like doom. He had been the chief author and promoter of *Nero's* iniquities, had perpetrated many unknown to him, and at last forsaken and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more ardently wished for, more vehemently urged, by such as hated, by such as lamented, *Nero*; both concurring from opposite passions, in the same antipathy and request. But he had, with immense presents, purchased the favour of *Vinius*, who protected him with his mighty authority, on pretence that his daughter had been saved by *Tigellinus*; and truly he had saved her, says *Tacitus*, not from any clemency of his, after such numbers murdered by him, but purely to purchase means of shelter and escape in time to come. For this is the policy, continued our historian, of every desperate offender, from distrust of present fortune and dread of change, to arm himself betimes with private favour against the

Galba calls to account and punished the ministers of Nero.

Tigellinus is protected by Vinius.

⁹ Dio. l. lxiv. p. 728.

public hatred. Hence it comes, that for the protection of innocence no regard is shewn, but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from punishment *. Of this scandalous partiality the people loudly complained: *Turpilianus*, said they, without having been guilty of any iniquity, or been polluted with the crimes of *Nero*, has been put to death for no other guilt, but because he would not betray his prince and master; whereas he who plunged his prince into those abominations, for which he deserved to die, and afterwards treacherously forsook and betrayed him, is not only suffered to live, but to enjoy the immense wealth, which by all manner of rapine he has accumulated.

The people demand his execution.

Galba checks them with an edict.

As often as the emperor appeared abroad, the people crowded about him, demanding the execution of *Tigellinus*. This they earnestly begged, in the theatre, in the circus, at the gates of the palace, &c. As the execution of this execrable instrument of *Nero's* tyranny was thus demanded by the universal voice of the *Roman* people, it had been but just, as well as politic and popular, to have sacrificed him, though he had been less guilty than he really was, to the manes of so many illustrious *Romans* murdered by him, and to the honest rage of the public. This would have obliged both the friends and enemies of *Nero*, gained the affections of the people, and strengthened *Galba's* party. But these were small considerations with *Vinius*, in comparison of filling his coffers. In order, therefore, to oblige *Tigellinus*, who had engaged to pay him an immense sum, in case he escaped unpunished, he persuaded *Galba*, who reposed in him an entire confidence, not only to withstand the ardent wishes and earnest solicitations of the whole *Roman* people, but to check them with an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor insist upon the execution of an unhappy man, who was dying of a consumption. Nothing so much provoked the indignation of the people as this edict; for it was afterwards known, that *Tigellinus* had that very same day made a sacrifice to the gods for his recovery, which was followed by a magnificent entertainment; and that *Vinius* after having supped with the emperor, had spent the whole night in revelling with *Tigellinus*: it was moreover known, that *Vinius* had carried his daughter with him to the entertainment; and that *Tigellinus*, after having thanked the father for the edict, presented the daughter, first with two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, and afterwards with a necklace, which he took from the neck of the chief of his concubines, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand more. *Halotus*, another of *Nero's* ministers, and perhaps no less hated, on account of his enormous cruelties and

* TACIT. c. 72.

extortions,

extortions, than *Tigellinus*, (for with equal ardour the Roman people demanded his execution) was in the same manner, and from the same motives, protected by the authority of *Vinius*; nay, in consideration of an immense sum, which he paid to that wicked minister, he not only escaped unpunished, but was preferred to a most honourable and profitable employment^r. Thus were criminals, notoriously guilty of the most crying iniquities, but possessed with wealth enough to purchase the favour of the reigning minister, screened from the punishment due to their crimes, while others, less guilty, were by droves hurried to execution. This scandalous and barefaced partiality gained to the minister what he chiefly aimed at, immense treasures, but derived upon the prince infinite public hatred; for, by not restraining his minister, he incurred the same censure and blame, as if he himself had done the evil, or authorised it^s.

Halotus is likewise pardoned and preferred.

Which derives public hatred upon Galba.

THE example of *Vinius* was followed by the other ministers and favourites of the new emperor; for being indulged in immoderate power, they exposed to common sale all the honours and emoluments of the state. His bondmen too were greedy to profit by their sudden sunshine, and eager to convert into hasty gains the short reign of a master already enfeebled with age. So that the people began loudly to complain: Why, said they, was *Nero* deposed, if things are not mended under *Galba*? Why a new prince chosen, but for the ease of the public, after a reign of violence and tyranny? The public hatred, which the numberless iniquities of the new emperor's ministers derived upon him, was heightened by his ill-timed strictness and unpopular parsimony; though his parsimony was chiefly ascribed to *Vinius*, who was said to have checked the emperor's generosity to others, that he might the better gratify his own avarice. However that be, while the emperor endeavoured to reform the abuses, and retrench the exorbitant expences that had prevailed in the preceding reign, he ran into the other extreme. No man's money, says *Tacitus*, did he ever covet, but was sparing of his own, and of the public money greedy and tenacious. Authors relate several instances of his unseasonable parsimony, altogether unbecoming a person of his rank and station. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Canus*, a celebrated player upon the flute, having one night entertained him while he was supping, the emperor, after having highly commended the excellence of his performance, sent for his purse, and presented him with five denarii, about three shillings of our money, telling him, that he made him that present out of his privy purse, and not out of the public money. *Suetonius* adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary oc-

Galba's parsimony.

^r PLUT. *ibid.* SUET. c. 15.

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^s PLUT. *ibid.* TACIT. c. 4.

K k

caſion,

*He orders
nine tenths
of Nero's
donations
to be
restored.*

casion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not refrain from sighing and expressing his dissatisfaction, in a manner inconsistent with common decency ¹. As the public treasure had been quite exhausted by *Nero*, who had consumed above seventeen millions in profuse pensions and donations, *Galba*, after examining every expedient to find the necessary supplies, preferred to all others, as the most just, that of supplying the public at the expence of those, for whose sake the public had been impoverished. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to account; and it was enacted, that they should retain only a tenth of that wild liberality, and restore the rest. But, as they had scarce a tenth left unwasted, having lavished the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens, in the same riot and prodigality in which they had squandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged those who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For these searches and exactions a new court was instituted, in which presided according to *Tacitus* thirty, according to *Suetonius* fifty, *Roman* knights; who extended their inquiries even into *Greece*, and there obliged the players upon instruments, the actors, wrestlers, charioteers, the judges at the *Olympic* games, the priests of *Apollo Delphicus*, &c. to restore nine tenths of *Nero's* donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it; as on all hands were seen open sales and the public crier, and this court was new in its institution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous suits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, was in a ferment. The soldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promised them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba's* name, supposing, that though they did not receive the full, yet the emperor, notwithstanding his parsimony, would not scruple to bestow upon them the same sum that had been given them by *Nero*. But when he refused to fulfil the promise which had been made in his name, and ordered only a small sum, less than had yet been given by any prince, to be distributed among them, they could not refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This disaffection was heightened by a saying of *Galba*: a saying, according to *Tacitus*, worthy of the primitive virtue of the *Romans* and the commonwealth, but to himself dangerous; *That he chose his soldiers, and did not buy them*. His severity too in exacting a strict observance of military discipline, a quality so admired of old, and by the armies ever di-

*Refuses the
soldiers the
usual dona-
tive.*

¹ *PLUT. ibid. SUT. c. 16.*

stinguished

tinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery, scorning the antient discipline, and for fourteen years so accustomed to the base reign of *Nero*, that at this time they no less admired the vices of their princes, than of old they had adored their virtues ^u. Though the rest of his conduct did not, according to *Tacitus*, answer his severity in keeping the soldiery to their duty, yet he performed, as *Suetonius* informs us, many things worthy of so great a prince ^w. That writer does not descend to particulars; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he punished with the utmost severity those who had, by false accusations, occasioned the ruin of innocent persons; that he delivered up to all masters such of their slaves as had borne witness against them; and that he recalled from exile those, who had been banished by *Nero* upon the law of majesty ^x. *Casaubon* thinks it plainly appears from an antient inscription, that he suppressed the tax of the *quadragesima* or fortieth penny, which had been first taken off, and afterwards restored by *Nero* ^y. He discharged several of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy of *Nymphidius*; and dismissed, without the usual rewards, the German cohort, which had served the other *Cæsars* with unshaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, because he suspected them more inclined to *Cn. Dolabella* than to him ^z. However, he took particular care of some other cohorts of *Germans*, who having been sent by *Nero* before him to *Alexandria*, while he meditated a journey thither, and soon after recalled, were returned sickly, and greatly fatigued with so long a course of sailing ^a.

Discharges the German cohort.

ABOUT the same time that *Julius Vindex* revolted in *Gaul*, *Clodius Macer*, who governed *Africa* in quality of proprætor, took up arms against *Nero*, levied new forces, and even a legion, which from him was called the *Macrian* legion, but was soon after disbanded by *Galba*, whom he refused to acknowledge, through fear of being called to account for the numberless murders and extortions, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him. *Plutarch* tells us, that, without either accepting or rejecting the imperial title, he strove to maintain himself in possession of *Africa*, and to furnish the city, by stopping the vessels which thence conveyed corn to *Rome*. He was instigated to this revolt, according to *Tacitus* ^b, chiefly by *Galba Crispinilla*, who had been to *Nero* the directress of his lusts, and afterwards, passing over into *Africa*, had insinuated

^u PLUT. *ibid.* TACIT. c. 5. SUET. c. 16. DIO. p. 729.

^w SUET. c. 14. ^x ZONAR. p. 190. ^y Vide SPANH. l. ix. p.

793. ^z SUET. c. 12. ^a TACIT. c. 31. ^b Idem, *hist.* l. i. c. 7.

Clodius
Macer
killed in
Africa.

And Fon-
teiusCapi-
to in
Lower
Germany.

Vitellius
governor
of Lower
Germany.

herself into the favour of the proprætor *Macer*. According to this account, *Macer* seems not to have revolted till after *Nero's* death. Be that as it will, he was slain at the command of *Galba* by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. As for *Crispinilla*, she returned to *Rome*; and though it was notorious, that she had suggested to *Macer* the pernicious counsel of famishing the *Roman* people, and on that score capital punishment was demanded against her by the universal voice of *Rome*; yet, by the connivance of the prince and the favour of his ministers (for she was both opulent and childless), she escaped her doom, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* ^c. About the same time, was assassinated *Fonteius Capito*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, by *Cornelius Aquinas* and *Fabius Valens*, two tribunes, without staying for the emperor's command. There were who believed, that *Capito*, however abominable he was, however stained with avarice and immersed in impurities, had yet declined engaging in any turbulent counsels; that having rejected the solicitations of *Aquinas* and *Valens* to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treason; and that *Galba*, either imposed upon or afraid of making further inquiry, ratified the execution. However it was, both these executions, that of *Macer* as well as that of *Capito*, were ill received, this being, as *Tacitus* well observes, the usual fate of a prince under public hatred, that every action of his, whether good or evil, is generally disapproved, perversely construed, and contribute to his ruin ^d. *Suetonius* tells us, that, after the death of these two commanders, *Galba* at length quitted his military habit, and a dagger, which till then he had worn fastened to his neck, and hanging down on his breast, though he was not in a condition to make use of it, being enfeebled with age and infirmities ^e. *Capito* was succeeded in the government of *Lower Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raised to that post chiefly by the interest of *Vinius*, whose favour he had gained, by supporting the same faction in the circus. *Galba*, in conferring upon him that command, openly declared, that he did not prefer him out of any esteem he had for him, or opinion of his abilities, but because he believed those to be less feared, who were most addicted to gluttony, and that his keen appetite might be satiated with the plenty of that province; so that his preferment was owing to the contempt, and not to the esteem, the emperor had for him ^f. *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, tells us, that this year was born at *Syracuse*, and

^c Idem ibid.
Vuell. c. 7.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Suet. c. 11.

^f Suet. 10

exposed to public view, a child with three heads; which monstrous birth denoted, according to the interpretation of his *Apollonius*, the three heads or emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, by whom the *Roman* state was for some time governed in one and the same year. He adds, that the cities of *Sicily* were then in arms against each other, and strangely harrassed with intestine divisions &c. But of these disturbances we find no farther account in that writer, nor any mention of them in others.

THE following year, on the kalends of *January*, *Galba* entered on his second consulship, having his favourite minister, *Titus Vinius*, for his colleague. He had scarce assumed the fasces, when an express arrived from *Pompeius Propinquus*, procurator of *Belgic Gaul*, informing him, that the legions in *Upper Germany*, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiously another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the pleasure of the senate and people of *Rome*. *Verginius* had been removed from them, as we have related above; and as he had neither been restored, nor preferred to any other command or employment, but treated, in a manner, like a criminal, they conceived themselves to be charged as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who had been sent to succeed him, they utterly contemned; and truly he was a man void of firmness, void of authority, and, from his lameness and the infirmities of his age, unequal to the direction of the most orderly and peaceable army. Hence, under their present frenzy, they were further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to restrain them. This intelligence ripened the design, about which *Galba* had been for some time deliberating with himself and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a successor; for he imagined himself to be despised, not so much on account of his age, as for want of issue. But his favourites, already at variance and pursuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions: *Vinius* was for *Otho*; *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not so much to favour the interest of any particular, as to exclude him. As *Vinius* had a daughter, who was a widow, and *Otho* was not married, no one doubted but an alliance between them was intended. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought, was in vain rescued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*, the chief confident of that prince's impure pleasures, did not, in this particular, suffer himself to be blindly guided by *Vinius*; but, hearing him favourably, referred the farther consideration of the affair to another time. However, out of complaisance to his chief minister, he ap-

The legions
in Upper
Germany
revolt.

Galba de-
liberates
concerning
the adoption
of a
successor.

He adopts
Piso Lici-
nianus.

pointed him and *Otho* consuls for the ensuing year. Hence it was generally taken for granted, that *Otho* would, upon his entering the consulship, be by *Galba* declared his successor; which caused an universal joy among the soldiery, who, for the most part, favoured *Otho*, and among the courtiers and creatures of *Nero*, who were passionate for a prince so resembling their former. But while *Galba* was deliberating about the choice, and putting it off from day to day, dismal tidings were daily brought from *Upper Germany*; for the legions there, being summoned, according to custom, on the kalends of *January*, to take the usual oath of fidelity to the emperor, had torn his images, broken his statues, and openly declaring, that they would never acknowledge *Galba*, sworn allegiance to the *Roman* senate and people. Hereupon the emperor, beset with anxieties, as not knowing whither the fury of the revolvers might tend, and not trusting to the faith of the troops in *Rome*, applied what to him seemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a successor, to which, besides *Vinius* and *Laco*, he summoned *Marius Celsus*, consul elect, and *Ducennius Geminus*, governor of *Rome*. On this occasion *Vinius* promoted anew with great zeal the adoption of *Otho*, and *Ducennius Geminus* that of *Dolabella*, who was nearly related to *Galba*. But the emperor, preferring the welfare of the public to all other regards, after a short speech concerning his great age, ordered *Piso Licinianus* to be sent for, and, to the great surprise of all, named him his successor. *Piso* was the son of *Marcus Crassus* and *Scribonia*, and both by father and mother nobly born, being by his father descended from the celebrated *Marcus Licinius Crassus*, who was slain in the fatal battle of *Carrhæ*, and by his mother from *Pompey the Great*. He was at this time in the thirty-first year of his age, and by all highly esteemed on account of his extraordinary parts, his engaging behaviour, and singular modesty. His gravity, resembling that of the antient *Romans*, was, says *Tacitus*, by those who judged censoriously, accounted melancholy and austere; but that part of his temper, which alarmed the discontented, pleased the person adopting^h. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba* had always shewn a great esteem for him, and named him in his last will for his heir, before he was raised to the empireⁱ. Some, however, believed, that he was by *Laco* prevailed upon to adopt him for his successor; for *Laco* had, unknown to *Galba*, held private conferences with him at the house of *Rubellius Plautus*, but artfully recommended him to *Galba*, as one to whom he was an utter stranger. *Galba*, after having declared to him, in the presence of his

^h TACIT. c. 14. PLUT. in Galb.

ⁱ SUET. c. 17.

friends

friends and counsellors, his design of adopting him, and naming him for his successor in the empire, is said to have taken him by the hand, and to have spoken thus: “ Were I as a private person to adopt you for my son, glorious even then would be the adoption to us both, since my family would receive new lustre from the blood of the great *Pompey* and of *Marcus Crassus*, and yours from that of the *Sulpitian* and *Lutatian* families. I am now a public person, called to the empire by the united consent of the gods and men; and of this sovereignty, for which our ancestors have often exposed their lives, I offer you the possession, while you are neither seeking nor pursuing it. To this I am urged only by the love of my country, and your excellent qualifications. *Augustus*, who would entail the empire upon his own house, in his own house sought a successor. I chuse out of the common-wealth an heir to the common-wealth: not that I am reduced to this choice by any want of relations of my own; but them I overlook, as well as your relations, because I do not judge them so well qualified for so important a charge as yourself. You have a brother, in nobility your equal, in age your superior, a man worthy of this fortune, did I not find in you one still more worthy. You have passed your youth without reproach, and such hitherto has been your course of life, that nothing in your conduct thus far is subject to blame: but you have yet only had adverse fortune to contend with. Prosperity is more ensnaring; it tries the temper of the soul, and exposes its weaknesses: calamities we often bear with patience; but are utterly subdued and corrupted by a flow of felicity. I do not doubt but you will, with your usual firmness, still retain the same integrity, faith in friendship, candour, and freedom of spirit, endowments, which, above all others, adorn the mind. But in others, towards you, you will find a different conduct: by false complaisance they will endeavour to weaken your fortitude, and, by deceitful flattery and soothing speeches, poison every honest affection of your mind; and to his own sordid gain will every particular be wresting your honour and good inclinations. You and I, upon this occasion, converse with hearts perfectly sincere; but others will make their addresses to our fortunes, rather than to us: and indeed, to reason princes into their duty is a dangerous task, but easy is the art of flattering any prince whatsoever. Could this immense empire subsist without a single ruler, I should glory in resigning, glory in being the first emperor, who resigned the power of the republic into her own hands; but such long since has been the unhappy situation of the state, that all the good, which my old age allows me to do to the

*His speech
to him on
that occa-
sion.*

Roman

“ *Roman* people, is, to leave them a good successor ; nor can
 “ you, with all your youth, do more for them, than afford
 “ them in yourself a benevolent prince. Under *Tiberius*, *Ca-*
 “ *ligula*, and *Claudius*, we were all the inheritance of one fa-
 “ mily. That the empire has begun in me to be elective, is
 “ some equivalent for our antient liberty, and the only li-
 “ berty we are capable of enjoying. Now the *Julian* and
 “ *Claudian* families being extinct, the best men, by this way
 “ of adoption, will become the greatest. To be descended
 “ from princes is the effect of chance ; but, in the work of
 “ adoption, the judgment is exercised ; and whenever you
 “ want to chuse, the general consent will direct you to the per-
 “ son most worthy to be chosen. Have always before your
 “ eyes the example of *Nero*, who, elated with the glory of his
 “ race and a long genealogy of the *Cæsars*, was not in reality
 “ dethroned by *Julius Vindex*, the governor of a province,
 “ unprovided with forces, nor by me assisted with one legion,
 “ but by his own cruelty and infamous debaucheries ; nor was
 “ there, till then, any instance of an emperor by public sen-
 “ tence condemned and deposed. It was my lot to be called
 “ to an unsettled state ; nor must you be alarmed, if while the
 “ whole world continues in this general uproar, there are two
 “ legions which yet remain unreclaimed to obedience. As
 “ to my old age, the only objection to my government, it is
 “ no longer one, since when it comes to be known that I have
 “ adopted you, I shall seem young in my successor. *Nero*
 “ will ever be regretted by the most abandoned and profligate :
 “ to you and me it belongs to govern, that he may not also be
 “ regretted by the good. To say more in this way of instruc-
 “ tion the present conjuncture does not allow me. One certain
 “ rule you have to observe, which is, so to behave yourself to-
 “ wards your subjects, as, were you a subject, you would wish
 “ your prince to comport himself towards you. This rule
 “ comprehends the whole art of reigning with justice and
 “ equity ; for you must remember, that it is not with us as
 “ with other nations, where a particular family rules with
 “ absolute sway, and all besides are slaves ; but you are to go-
 “ vern a people incapable of complete liberty, and impatient of
 “ absolute bondage *.”

*Piso's most
 best be-
 haviour.*

WHEN *Galba* had done speaking, *Piso* returned him thanks
 for the extraordinary and unexpected honour conferred on him,
 addressing him, now both his father and emperor, with a speech
 full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himself, full of
 modesty. He betrayed no symptoms of joy, no change in his

* TACIT. C. 15.

countenance, none afterwards in his behaviour, as if he had been insensible of so mighty a favour; manifest indications, says *Tacitus*, that he was more capable of reigning, than desirous to reign. The next thing that came under debate in the council was, where to declare the adoption, whether to the people assembled, to the senate, or to the army. The result was to do it in the camp; and thither he immediately repaired, tho' that day, the tenth of *January*, was rendered unusually terrible by heavy rains, frequent claps of thunder, and incessant lightning; which, in antient times, would have proved sufficient ground for dissolving public assemblies, but were looked upon by *Galba*, and contemned, as fortuitous and unmeaning. Upon his arrival in the camp, he declared in a full assembly of the soldiers, with the brevity becoming an emperor, that he adopted *Piso* after the precedent of the deified *Augustus*, and according to the custom of the army, where every one chuses his man. And lest the revolt of the *German* legions might, if by him concealed, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly told them, that the fourth legion and the eighteenth, at the instigation of some few incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but would soon return to their allegiance. As no mention was made of the distributions usual on such occasions, only the soldiers who stood next to him applauded his speech, and through all the rest was observed a sullen sadness and silence for having thus lost the donative, which custom and their own insolent claims had, in some degree, rendered necessary. *Tacitus* tells us, that with any liberality, however small, *Galba* might have gained the affections of the soldiery; but suffered by practising, out of season, the rigorous purity of antient times, which they were no longer able to bear*. From the camp *Galba* proceeded to the senate, where he spoke with the same brevity and bluntness as to the soldiery. The speech which *Piso* made was better received. In the mean time, *Otho*, who had been the foremost to espouse the cause of *Galba*, had promoted it with vigour, and thence conceived hopes of being adopted and named by him for his successor, enraged at his disappointment, and burning with anger against *Galba*, with envy towards *Piso*, determined to make a resolute effort, while the authority of the one was daily decaying, and that of the other not yet confirmed. Many concurring motives inspired him with this resolution. As he had consumed his fortune in a course of riot and expence, and contracted immense debts, in the quiet establishment of the state he saw nothing but despair, and only upon public confusion founded his hopes. Besides, he looked

His adoption declared to the soldiery.

And to the senate.

Otho resolves to attempt the sovereignty.

* *Idem*, c. 18, 19.

Gives credit to an astrologer.

Two common soldiers undertake to transfer the empire.

upon his being put by, as a certain sign of the displeasure and ill-will of *Galba* towards him, and thence thought resignation and acquiescence more threatening, than boldness and temerity. His favourite freedmen too and his slaves, inured to a licentiousness and riot inconsistent with the œconomy of a private family, were to their lord continually displaying the alluring advantages attending the sovereign power, and representing them as his own, if he roused himself, and made them so. The astrologers at the same time urged him by their predictions, while they were confidently averring, that the stars presaged approaching revolutions and a year of great glory to *Otho*. Of this tribe *Ptolemy* was one, who having accompanied *Otho* into *Lusitania*, and foretold him that he should survive *Nero*, had gained mighty credit from the event. Now he persuaded him, that, if he exerted his might and laid hold of the present opportunity, he would certainly attain the accomplishment of his wishes, the sovereign power. Hereupon *Otho*, with whom these predictions passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the fates, resolved to make a bold push and try his fortune. The direction of the treasonable design he committed to one of his freedmen, by name *Onomastus*, who introduced to him two men as proper instruments in it, *Veturius*, a soldier of the life-guard, and *Barbicus Proculus*, tesserarius of the same band; that is, one whose office it was to receive the parole from the tribune in writing, and carry it to the tents of the soldiers. *Otho*, having first in a long conversation tried their temper and capacity, and found them to be men of great address and resolution, imparted to them his design, loaded them with mighty presents, promised them more ample rewards, and furnished them with vast sums to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they were able. Thus two common soldiers undertook to transfer the *Roman* empire from one prince to another, and transferred it effectually. They admitted very few into the secret; the minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they estranged from the emperor by various artifices, especially by filling them with utter despair of the donative, which had been promised, and so often put off. This, said they, is not only defrauding us of our deserved rewards, but blasting our expectations for ever, and giving a bad precedent to other emperors, who will not fail to follow an example so prejudicial to us, so advantageous to themselves: *Rome* was at this time filled with troops; *Galba* had brought with him a *Spanish* legion; the legion, which had been raised by *Nero*, still remained in the city; and besides these forces, there were many from *Germany*, *Britain*, and *Illyricum*, such as had been thence detached by *Nero's* orders, and

sent forwards to the *Caspian* straights, for the war which he meditated against the *Parthians*, but recalled to suppress the revolt of *Vindex* in *Gaul*. These, dreading the severity of discipline, which in this reign began to be revived, were all ready to revolt; and though not combining in favour of any particular, yet prepared for the first daring spirit. The prætorian guards indeed, transported with a fondness for *Nero*, were entirely addicted to *Otho*, who, they hoped, would recal the licentiousness which they had enjoyed under that prince; nay, some of them were so impatient to see him invested with the sovereign power, that on the fourteenth of *January* they were prepared, as he returned home from supping abroad, to have hurried him away and declared him emperor; only they apprehended, that, during the dark, whoever chanced to be presented to the *German* or *Pannonian* army, might by them, for the most part unacquainted with the person of *Otho*, be, instead of him, saluted emperor. The execution of the design was therefore put off till the next day, when *Otho* early in the morning went to attend the emperor, and was, according to custom, received by him with a kiss, and admitted to be present at a private sacrifice, which *Galba* offered in the temple of *Apollo*. We are told, that *Umbricius* the soothsayer had no sooner viewed the intrails of the victim, than he warned the emperor of dismal presages, of treasonable plots just impending, and a domestic foe, all in the hearing of *Otho*, who stood next to him, and, by a different construction, understood it all as propitious to himself, and a successful issue foretold of his own machinations. However he was not a little disconcerted at the discovery, and could not help betraying some dismay and confusion. But, in the mean time, *Onomastus*, his freedman, arriving, acquainted him, that the surveyor and builders waited his coming. This was the signal before settled amongst them, to intimate that the soldiers were assembling, and the conspiracy ripe for execution. He therefore immediately withdrew, feigning to those who asked him the cause of his departure, that he was about purchasing certain houses, which being old, and thence suspected to be decayed, it was necessary first to examine them. Then, leaning on his freedman, he proceeded through the palace of *Tiberius* to the *Velabrum*, and from thence to the gilt pillar by the temple of *Saturn*, where the several highways in *Italy* terminated. There he was received by a party of the guards and proclaimed emperor; but as they were not above twenty-three, though his soul was not of the same soft temper and effeminacy with his person, but, on the contrary, bold and daring, yet he was so dismayed at the smallness of their number, that he desired to retire and drop his

Galba is warned of a treasonable plot.

Otho is saluted emperor by a small party of the guards.

And carried to the camp.

design. This the soldiers would not suffer; but putting him in great haste into a chair, hurried him away with their drawn swords. *Plutarch* tells us, that he pressed them to make all the haste they could, crying out, *I am a lost man*. The party that attended him was soon joined by much the like number of soldiers, and these, in their progress to the camp, were followed by others, who came in, three and four at a time, till at last they made up a considerable body. Upon their arrival at the camp, *Julius Martialis* the tribune, who that day commanded the main guard, suffered them to enter, either overcome with surprise at so daring an undertaking, or privy to the conspiracy, or else believing the camp to be generally infected, and that it was in vain to resist. In the camp they met with no opposition, those who were not privy to the design being incompassed by such as were; so that some out of fear, others by choice, joined the revolt, and at last all with one voice saluted *Otho emperor* and *Cæsar* ¹.

Measures taken by Galba to suppress the revolt.

IN the mean time, *Galba*, utterly unacquainted with the revolution, was still bent upon the sacrifice, and tiring, says *Tacitus*, with his supplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the sway of another head. News was first brought him, that a senator, it was uncertain who, was by a party of the guards hurried away to the camp, there to be presented to the soldiery; and soon after word was brought, that *Otho* was the senator thus hurried thither. Instantly from all parts of the city people crowded to *Galba* with the same tidings, each relating them his own way. Some exaggerated every thing beyond measure; others, not laying aside, even at so desperate a juncture, their wonted flattery, soothed him with relations far short of the facts. In this sudden alarm *Galba* hastily summoned his friends, and in a consultation held with them it was resolved, that the temper of the cohort then upon duty in the palace should first of all be sounded, not by *Galba* in person, whose authority was reserved as the last remedy upon the highest emergency, but by *Piso*; who having caused them to be assembled at the foot of the stairs of the palace, exhorted them with great eloquence and energy, to continue steady in their allegiance, displayed the vices and debaucheries of *Otho*, and assured them, that they should receive from *Galba* and him as large a donative for their fidelity preserved, as was offered them by *Otho* for dipping their hands in the blood of their sovereign. When he had ended his speech, some of the cohort stole away; but the major part displayed their ensigns, and prepared their arms to defend their emperor. *Celsus Marius* was immediately sent to secure the troops that had been detached from the army in *Illyricum*, and

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* SUET. in *Oth.* c. 6. TACIT. c. 23—28.

were then posted in the *Vipsanian* porch. To *Amulius Serenus* and *Domitius Sabinus*, centurions of the first rank, orders were given to bring away from the court of the temple of *Liberty* the band of *German* soldiers there. To the camp of the prætorian guards repaired the tribunes *Cerius Severus*, *Subrius Dexter*, and *Pompeius Longinus*, to try, whether, by reason and exhortations, the mutiny, then in its infancy, might not be quelled and obedience restored. Two of these tribunes the soldiers only terrified with threats, but laid violent hands on *Longinus*, stripped him of his arms, and ignominiously drove him out of the camp, he being, above the rest, obnoxious to them, on account of his known fidelity and invincible attachment to *Galba*. The band detached from the *Illyrian* army drove *Celsus* from amongst them with flights of darts. The second legion of marines, eager to revenge the blood of their brethren, massacred by *Galba* on his first entry as emperor into *Rome*, joined, without hesitation, the prætorian bands. The *German* troops continued a great while wavering and irresolute, being in their bodies still feeble (for they were lately returned from *Alexandria* sickly and fatigued), and in their minds entirely peaceable, and rather inclined to *Galba*, out of gratitude for the care he was taking to cherish and restore them^k. *Suetonius* tells us, that they immediately hastened to the assistance of *Galba*; but not being acquainted with the streets, they mistook their way and came too late^l. *Galba*, in the mean time, was held in suspense between two different counsels. *Vinius* was of opinion, that the emperor should remain in the palace, arm his slaves in his defence, fortify the avenues, and by no means issue forth amongst men mad with rage. All the rest alledged the necessity of dispatch and instant measures, before the conspiracy of a few, yet weak and unsupported, had gathered strength and numbers. *Galba* yielded to the advice of the latter, their counsels appearing to him more plausible. *Piso*, however, was sent away before to the camp, as a young man of great fame and reputation, and one who was generally looked upon as an enemy to the hated minister *Titus Vinius*. Scarce had he left the place, when it was rumoured about, that *Otho* was slain in the camp; and soon after there appeared persons who averred, that they themselves had been upon the spot when the traitor was killed, and beheld his dead body extended on the ground. It was by many conjectured, that this rumour was first framed, and afterwards heightened by the partizans of *Otho*, with no other view, but to entice *Galba* from his retirement. However that be, upon this occasion, not only the simple and thoughtless vulgar broke out into loud

The troops
refuse to
obey the
officers sent
to them.

Galba is in
suspense
what to do.

Receives
false informa-
tion
from the
crowd.

^k Idem, c. 31, 32.

^l Suet. in Galb. c. 20.

And from
Julius At-
ticus.

shouts and extravagant demonstrations of zeal; but the greater part of the *Roman* knights and senators, now divested of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reserve, forced the gates of the palace; and rushing in, presented themselves before *Galba*, complaining, that the vengeance, by them meditated in his behalf, was now snatched out of their hands. The most cowardly, such as had not courage enough to face the least danger, as the event well proved, were at this juncture profuse of words and boasts, and in tongue valiant and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it; so that *Galba*, deprived of true information, put on a breast-plate; and finding himself unable, through age and infirmities, to sustain the pressing croud, he was put into a chair. Before he left the palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the guards, pressing through the croud, presented himself before the emperor, and, displaying a sword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand *Otho* had been slain. *Galba* returned no other answer, than *Fellow-soldier, whose orders hadst thou?* Such was his firmness in restraining the licentious insolence of the soldiery, without being dismayed by menaces, or corrupted with the most soothing flattery^m.

The zeal of
the soldiery
for *Otho*.

In the mean time, they had to a man declared for *Otho* in the camp; and placing him amidst the ensigns upon that very tribunal, where a little before stood the golden statue of *Galba*, encompassed him round with banners displayed. The common soldiers refused to the tribunes and centurions access to his person; nay, they gave him caution to beware of all who were in command or authority among them. First the prætorian guards, and then the legion of marines, unanimously swore allegiance to him, and, with loud shouts, saluted him emperor, *Cæsar*, and *Augustus*. After this, *Otho*, now confiding in his strength, inflamed them with a long speech, filled with bitter invectives against *Galba* and his favourites; and then ordered the common armoury to be thrown open, whence arms were instantly snatched at random, without any regard to the custom of war, or the different orders and ranks of men. *Galba*, in the mean time, having left the palace, was approaching the forum, where he was overtaken by *Piso*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious soldiery resounding quite to the city, had thought it adviseable not to proceed to the camp. At the same time, *Celsus Marinus*, who had been sent to the *Illyrian* army, returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture, some advised *Galba* to retire back to the palace; others proposed seizing the capitol; and several were for taking possession of the place where the

^m TACIT. c. 35.

people used to assemble. In this contest, as in a storm, *Galba's* chair was borne, sometimes one way and sometimes another, according to the different movement and fluctuation of the multitude; when on a sudden appeared first a party of horse, and then a body of foot, rushing furiously into the forum. At this sight, the standard-bearer to the cohort, which had remained with *Galba*, rent from his standard the effigies of the emperor, and dashed it against the ground. Upon this signal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp. Hereupon, those who carried *Galba*, seized with dread and trembling, flung him from his chair prostrate upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His last words are differently reported, as he was hated by some, or admired by others. By several it was spread abroad, that he asked in the style of a suppliant, What evil he had merited? and begged time, only for a few days, to discharge the donative, which had been promised in his name. But most agree, that of his own accord he presented his throat to the assassins, bidding them strike resolutely, if the good of the commonwealth so required. Of the very person, who gave him the mortal blow, we have no clear account. Some hold it to have been one *Terentius*, an *evocatus*, or resumed veteran; others one *Lecanius*. The more current tradition in *Tacitus's* time was, that *Camurius*, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion, cut his throat with his sword. The rest hacked and mangled in a dreadful manner his legs and arms (for his breast was covered with armour); nay, they were transported with a spirit so brutal and inhuman, that even after they had cut off his head, they satiated their rage by disfiguring with numberless wounds his lifeless body. Upon *Titus Vinius* they next discharged their rage. Some writers tell us, that through fear he was quite bereft of speech; others, that with a loud voice he cried out, they had no such orders from *Otho*; whence they conclude, that he was privy to the conspiracy, and had embarked in that treason, for which he had administered cause. Before the temple of *Julius Cæsar*, he was wounded in the knee; and presently after, by one *Julius Carus*, a legionary, pierced quite through the body. Among the many persons who had first made boast of their inviolable faith and attachment to their sovereign, one was found who performed what he had promised. This was *Sempronius Densus*, centurion of a prætorian cohort, and by *Galba* appointed to guard the person of *Piso*. He had not received any particular favour of *Galba*; but only from a principle of honour, and in compliance with the oath he had taken, he placed himself before the emperor's chair, commanding those who were advancing against him, to spare

Galba abandoned by all.

He is murdered.

With Titus Vinius.

The fidelity and bravery of Sempronius Densus.

Piso murdered.

spare the emperor. As they still advanced, he threw away the vine branch, which he held in his hand as the badge of his office; and drawing his sword, singly encountered them all, boldly upbraiding them as detestable parricides; insomuch, that, partly by his blows partly by his reproaches, he drew upon himself the swords of the assassins; and though he could not save the emperor, yet procured to *Piso*, who was already wounded, opportunity to retire. He was himself killed; but *Piso* escaped to the temple of *Vesta*, where he was by a bond-man of the state received through compassion and concealed in his chamber; which *Otho* no sooner knew, than he dispatched *Sulpitius Florus*, belonging to the *British* bands, a man just before presented by *Galba* with the privilege of a *Roman* citizen, and *Staius Murcus*, one of his guards, with orders to dispatch *Piso*. By them therefore *Piso* was dragged forth, and butchered near the gate of the temple. His head was immediately cut off and carried to *Otho*, who beheld it with unspeakable joy, thinking himself now relieved from all fear and perplexity. The bleeding heads of the emperor and his adopted son were stuck upon long poles, and thus carried along amidst the banners of the military bands, close by the eagle of a legion. Many, who had not the least share in the murder either of *Galba* or *Piso*, displayed their swords and hands all embued with blood, and demanded of the new emperor a gratuity. *Tacitus* and *Plutarch* tell us, that above an hundred and twenty petitions of this nature, presented in one day to *Otho*, fell afterwards into the hands of *Vitellius*, who commanded search to be made after the authors, and punished them all with death, not from any tendernefs for *Galba*, but out of policy, looking upon their punishment as a wholesome method of securing himself against such traytorsⁿ.

The senate and people flatter the new emperor.

THE news of *Galba's* death was no sooner divulged, than the senate, the *Roman* knights, and the people, earnestly crouded to the camp, striving to out-run each other, and to overtake and pass such as were before them. To a man they condemned the conduct of *Galba*, magnified the judgment and choice of the soldiery, kissed the hands of *Otho*; and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal were, the more loud were their protestations. The senate, as if they were not the same men, says *Plutarch*, or had other gods to swear by, took the same oath to *Otho*, which *Otho* had not long before taken to *Galba*, and had just then violated. The new emperor received all who presented themselves to him with great demonstrations of kindness; and at the same time endeavoured to pacify the soldiery,

ⁿ TACIT. c. 38—42. PLUT. ibid.

breathing menaces and ravage. They demanded, that *Manius Celsus*, consul elect, and a faithful friend to *Galba* even in his last distress, might be instantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unshaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let loose to general pillage and massacre, and to destroy every worthy and able man in the *Roman* state. But, as *Otho* had not sufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious soldiery, he personated great wrath against *Celsus*, ordered him to be put in irons, as if he reserved him for some more severe punishment; and by that means redeemed him from a violent death just impending. From this moment all things were transacted by the arbitrary will of the soldiers. By them were chosen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely *Plotius Primus*, once a common soldier, thence preferred to command the watch, and during the reign of *Galba*, a chief man among the Partizans of *Otho*. With *Plotius* they joined *Licinius Proculus*, one in high confidence with *Otho*, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of *Rome* they advanced *Flavius Sabinus*, partly in deference to the judgment of *Nero*, in whose reign he had administered the same office, and partly out of regard to his brother *Vespasian*. They then demanded, that the fees, wont to be by them paid to their centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, should be utterly abolished; for under this name every soldier paid, as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a legion used to be absent at once, roaming like vagrants up and down the countries, where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raise money wherewithal to purchase a dispensation from military toils. As most of the soldiers were debauched by such wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into sedition, dissention, and civil wars. *Otho*, therefore, readily granted them their request: but that he might not estrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for such exemptions and furloughs, when they were judged necessary; a regulation, which, by his successors, was perpetuated as part of the military establishment. In the close of the day, *Laco*, captain of the guards to *Galba*, was seized, and soon after by *Otho* condemned to an island, where, by his orders, he was murdered by a veteran, whom the emperor had sent before him for that purpose. *Icelus*, as he was only a manumised slave, was publicly executed. The day, thus spent in black and tragical iniquities, was concluded with public rejoicings. The next day, the city prætor assembled the senate, when to *Otho* were de-

Otho
saves *Cel-*
sus.

The soldiery
act arbi-
trarily.

Otho sup-
presses the
fees paid by
the soldiers
to their
centurions.

Laco and
Icelus put
to death.

Otho ac-
knowledg-
ed by the
senate.

Galba's
body bur-
ied.

His cha-
racter.

creed the tribunitial authority, the title of *Augustus*, and all the honours enjoyed by other emperors. From the senate, the new emperor was carried in a kind of triumph cross the forum, still flowing with blood, and over heaps of dead bodies to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where at length he granted leave to burn and bury the slain. The remains of *Piso* were, by his wife *Verania* and his brother *Scribonianus*, committed to the grave, as were those of *Titus Vinius* by his daughter *Crispina*, after they had found out and redeemed, at a great price, their heads, which their murderers had retained, in order to sell them to their relations. The body of *Galba*, after it had lain long neglected in the streets, and suffered, during the licentiousness of the night, insults without number, was, by *Argius* one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of steward, deposited in a mean grave within his own gardens. His head, miserably mangled and stuck upon a pole by the vile rabble attending the camp, was by them set up before the tomb of *Patrobius*, a freedman of *Nero*, whom *Galba* had caused to be executed. Here it was found the day following, and laid with the remains of his body, which had been already burnt^o. Such was the end of *Galba*, after he had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, and reigned, from the time he declared against *Nero*, nine months and thirteen days, but from that prince's death only seven months and as many days. He had passed through the reigns of five emperors, much happier under the sovereignty of other princes, than in his own. He had but moderate talents, and was, according to *Tacitus*, rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. He had commanded with great reputation in the *German* wars, afterwards governed *Africa*, as proconsul, with moderation and gentleness, and, in the latter part of his life, ruled with the same equity and justice the *Hither Spain*. He would, to use the expression of our historian, in the opinion of all men, have passed as one capable of the empire, had he never been emperor; not that his being advanced to that high station caused any alteration in him, but because he suffered himself to be blindly governed and controuled by his freedmen and ministers; men who were continually prostituting the credit and character of their master, to their own vile gains and wicked passions. Had he been blessed with good counsellors, he would, in all probability, have proved an excellent prince. He was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the insolence of the soldiery, and wished well to the commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities? He himself robbed no man, but his servants and mini-

• TACIT. C. 47, 48. PLUT. *ibid.* SUT. C. 20:

sters set no bounds to their rapines; and he, who ought not to have employed bad men, or at least ought to have restrained and punished them, was blind to all their iniquities. As he never inquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The sad fate, which their corruption and his own indolence brought upon him, is a sufficient warning to princes, either never to trust implicitly to the advice and conduct of any ministers, or at least to be well assured, that they are such, if such are to be found, as may be implicitly trusted.

Otho, now honoured by the senate with the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, took upon him the consulship, having for his colleague his brother *Salvius Titianus*; but resigned the fasces on the first of *March* to *Virginus Rufus*, as his brother did to *Pappæus Vopiscus*. The new emperor had scarce taken possession of the sovereignty, when he was alarmed with dismal tidings concerning *Vitellius*; tidings, which, before the murder of *Galba* had been suppressed, with a design to have it believed, that only the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted. *Vitellius*, as we have related above, had been by *Galba* preferred to the command of the legions in *Lower Germany*, which he had entered about the beginning of *December* in the preceding year, and with great care visited the winter-quarters of the legions there. To their ranks he restored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious punishments; and cancelled the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others. Having by this means gained the affections of the soldiery, *Vitellius*, *Fabius Valens*, who commanded a legion under him and was highly disgusted with *Galba*, who, he thought, had not rewarded him according to his deserts, solicited his new general to assume the sovereignty, magnifying to him the zeal and ardour of the soldiery, by whom he was no less beloved, than *Galba* hated. By his speech *Vitellius* was, says *Tacitus*, excited to covet the sovereignty, rather than to hope for it. In *Upper Germany*, *Alienus Cæcina*, who commanded a legion there, had intirely captivated the affections of the soldiers by his graceful person and engaging behaviour. He exercised the office of quæstor in the province of *Spain* called *Bætica*, when *Galba* revolted, whom he immediately joined, and was thence by him preferred to the command of a legion. But *Galba*, having soon after discovered, that he had embezzled the public treasure, ordered him to be prosecuted. *Cæcina*, resenting this, did all that lay in his power to stir up the troops to a revolt, hoping, by an universal confusion, to escape the punishment due to his crime. Neither in the army itself were there wanting seeds of tumult and discord: for they had all to a man

excited to take upon him the sovereignty by Valens.

The troops in Upper Germany inclined to a revolt.

Refuse the
oath to
Galba.

been engaged in the war against *Vindex*; nor could they be induced to acknowledge *Galba*, till after *Nero* was slain. Hence a report was maliciously raised among them, and rashly believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the centurions, for the most part, cashiered. The cities of *Treves* and *Langres*, which lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions, and had been by *Galba* deprived of great part of their territories, were more inflamed against him than the legions themselves; and therefore assured them by their deputies, that they were ripe for an insurrection, and ready to join them, as soon as they declared against *Galba*. On the first of *January*, when the legions were, according to custom, to swear allegiance to the emperor, they refused the oath, tore the images of *Galba*, and declared, that they acknowledged no other sovereign, but the senate and people of *Rome*; not one tribune or commander daring to exert himself in behalf of the emperor, or offering to harangue the multitude from a tribunal. It is true, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, commander in chief, was upon the spot; but had not courage enough either to restrain such as were already rushing into rebellion, or to recover such as were only wavering, or even to rouse and animate those who still continued steady and faithful to *Galba*. Four centurions, viz. *Nonius Receptus*, *Donatus Valens*, *Romilius Marcellus*, and *Calpurnius Repentinus*, all belonging to the eighteenth legion, would have protected the images of *Galba*, but were by the furious multitude seized and confined in chains. Further than this, none of them shewed the least regard to their duty, or their former oaths: but it happened in this as in other insurrections; whither the greater part led, the rest blindly followed. The following night, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion hastening to *Cologne*, where *Vitellius* then resided, acquainted him with what had passed, and exhorted him to lay hold of the present opportunity. Hereupon messengers were by *Vitellius* forthwith dispatched to acquaint the troops under his command, that the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted from *Galba*; so that they must either make war upon the revolters, or, if they preferred peace and tranquillity, join with them and create an emperor: at the same time, he desired them to consider, that, with much less danger, they might elect a prince at once, than continue in search of one. The winter-quarters of the first legion lay nearest, and with it *Fabius Valens*, who entering *Cologne* the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his legion and a body of auxiliaries, openly saluted *Vitellius* emperor, and led him in a kind of triumph through the principal and most frequented streets in the town. His example

Vitellius
proclaimed
emperor.

was immediately followed, with great competition, by all the legions of the same province. The army in *Upper Germany* no sooner heard, that *Vitellius* had been saluted emperor by the troops under his command, than, relinquishing the plausible names of the senate and people of *Rome*, they acceded to the party of *Vitellius*. This happened on the third of *January*; whence it is evident, says *Tacitus*, that they had been no-ways attached to or concerned about the free *Roman* state the two days before.

The zeal of the inhabitants of *Cologn*, *Treves*, and *Langres* was equal to that of the legions; they all offered, with great ardour, supplies of men, horses, and money, each according to the measure of his power and sufficiency. Neither was such liberality confined to the leading men of those colonies; but the common people too signalized their zeal for *Vitellius*, in surrendering, instead of money, of which they were destitute, their girdles, the trappings of their horses, the silver ornaments upon their armour, &c. not doubting, but they should, in due time, be amply rewarded for their seasonable generosity; for, while *Vitellius* was giving away his own fortune and lavishing in bounties that of others, without measure or discernment, they bestowed, as *Tacitus* observes, upon this extravagance the title of liberality and good-nature ^{P.}

The zeal of the people in his behalf.

AND NOW *Vitellius*, trusting to his strength and the zeal of the soldiery, began to act as sovereign, and disposed of several employments, which had hitherto been administered by the imperial freedmen, but were by him conferred upon *Roman* knights. At the same time, to gain the affections of the soldiery, he ordered the fees exacted from them by the centurions, for exemptions from duty, to be paid out of his own treasure as emperor. He could not help humouring, in many instances, the revengeful temper of the soldiers, demanding the execution of particulars: however, in some instances, he defeated it, under colour of committing the obnoxious persons to prison. *Pompeius Propinquus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, who had acquainted *Galba* with the commotions begun in *Germany*, was immediately put to death; but *Julius Burdo*, commander of the naval forces in *Germany*, was, by *Vitellius*'s orders secured in prison, and afterwards discharged, when the rage of the soldiery began to abate. They suspected, that he had first inticed *Fonteius Capito*, of whom we have spoken above, to revolt, and then betrayed him: hence against him chiefly the fury of the army raged; but *Vitellius*, who had a particular value for him, saved him by deceiving them; and indeed there was no other means of protecting and shewing mercy. *Crispinus*, the centurion, by whom

He begins to exercise the sovereign power.

Several persons put to death at the request of the soldiery.

Fontéius Capito had been put to death, was publicly executed, and with him *Nonius*, *Donatus*, *Romilius*, and *Calpurnius*, the four centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought most heinous by such as have renounced both ⁹.

Orders his
troops to
march to
Italy.

UPON the news of the revolt of the armies in *Germany*, *Valerius Asiaticus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, declared for *Vitellius*: his example was followed by *Juniüs Blasus*, governor of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, or that part of *Gaul* which took its name from the city of *Lions*, and by an *Italian* legion and a body of horse quartered at *Lions*. The forces in *Rhætia* and those in *Britain* went likewise, without hesitation, over to his side. *Vitellius*, now become, by the accession of so many armies, mighty both in forces and treasure, appointed two generals to conduct the war, and to each assigned a different rout. To *Fabius Valens*, he gave orders to cross *Gaul*, and in his march endeavour to gain over the natives to his party; but if he could not prevail upon them to join, to over-run and pillage their country, and then make an irruption into *Italy*, by that part of the *Alps* which was called *Cottian*, and is now known by the name of mount *Cenis*. *Cæcina* was ordered to advance thither by a nearer way, and to pass over the mountains called *Penini*, now the *Great St. Bernard*. *Valens* had under his command the flower of the army of *Lower Germany*, to the number of forty thousand fighting men. From *Upper Germany*, *Cæcina* led thirty thousand. *Vitellius* was to follow, with a numerous body of *German* troops, to support the whole weight of the war. But while the soldiers were urgent for action, and eager to begin their march, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter season, the general was passing his time in voluptuous sloth, in revels, and banquets. By the middle of the day, he was always intoxicated with wine, and so gorged with feasting, that he was not capable of giving any directions. But such was the zeal and ardour of the soldiers, that of themselves they supplied all the duties of the leader, as effectually as if he had attended in person. As soon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with eagerness, that the signal might be given for marching. We are told, that on the very day the army under the command of *Valens* began their march, an eagle, measuring his motion by that of the troops, glided gently along, and flew just before them, as if he shewed them the way, without being frightened with the joyful shouts uttered by the soldiery, who thence concluded, that the enterprise would prove successful. They advanced with assurance to the territories of *Treves*, as to those

The march
of Valens
through
Gaul.

of a friendly state. But at *Dividurum*, now *Metz*, tho' they were there received in a very friendly manner, they were seized with a sudden panic, ran to their arms, and would have put the inhabitants, all to a man, to the sword, without the least provocation, had not their general, with much ado, restrained their fury, and by intreaties prevailed upon them to forbear pursuing the utter destruction of the unoffending city. There were slaughtered, however, not for the sake of pillage or spoil, but from fury and madness, near four thousand persons. The rest of *Gaul* was so alarmed with the news of this slaughter, that thenceforward, as the army approached any city, the inhabitants crowded out to meet them, accompanied with their magistrates in the attire of suppliants, and readily supplied them with all manner of provisions. In the capital of the *Leucians*, that is, in the city of *Toul*, *Fabius* received tidings of the murder of *Galba*, and that the sovereignty was devolved upon *Otho*. This news did not affect the soldiers, for they were only intent upon war: as for the *Gauls*, they bore equal hatred to *Otho* and *Vitellius*; but as they were possessed with dread of the latter, they declared for him. From *Toul*, the army advanced to *Langres*, a city intirely attached to the party of *Vitellius*, and were there kindly received. The inhabitants of *Autun* supplied them out of fear (for they hated *Vitellius*) with money, arms, and provisions. What the city of *Langres* had done out of fear, that of *Lions* did through joy; for *Galba* had loaded them with taxes, deprived them of part of their territories, and converted to his own exchequer the revenues of their state. As animosities had been long subsisting between the people of *Lions* and those of *Vienne*, *Valens*, at the instigation of the former, marched against the latter, under pretence, that they had aided the conspiracy and attempts of *Vindex*, and had lately levied troops for the support of *Galba*. But the people of *Vienne* gained over *Valens* with an immense sum, and a donative to the soldiery of three hundred sesterces a man. They were commanded, however, to surrender the arms belonging to the state, and to supply the soldiers with provisions. From thence, in a slow progress, the army was led through the territories of the *Allobroges* and *Vocontii*; the general, upon every march which he made, upon every shifting of his camp, striking infamous bargains with the proprietors of the several lands, and the magistrates of the several cities, for favour and exemptions. This he did with such open menaces, that he ordered *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, to be set on fire, because they shewed some reluctance to pay the sum he had required. *Lucus* was, in former times, one of the chief cities of the *Vocontii*, or *Dauphiné* but has been long since utterly destroyed. Marching in this manner,
Valens

He arrives
at the
Alps.

Cæcina
commits
great de-
vastations
in the
country of
the Hel-
vetii.

A squadron
of horse re-
volts to
and brings
over seve-
ral cities to
the same
party.

Valens arrived at length at the *Alps*. *Tacitus* observes, that he had been long fordidly poor, but by this march became suddenly rich, and abandoned himself, as his appetites had been whetted by a long course of penury, to all manner of riot and excesses¹.

ON the other hand, *Cæcina* rioted in greater spoil and more blood. The *Helvetians*, not apprised of the tragical end of *Galba*, refused to own the sovereignty of *Vitellius*. Hereupon, *Cæcina*, who longed passionately for a pretence to plunder their country, instantly decamped, and entering their territories in a hostile manner, ravaged their fields, sacked their cities, and made a dreadful havock of the unhappy inhabitants: many thousands were cut off, and great numbers made prisoners, and sold for slaves; for the *Helvetians*, once renowned for their valour and experience in war, were at this time only famous for the reputation which they had formerly acquired: they were fierce and daring, says our historian, while danger was at a distance, but struck with terror when it arrived. As the army, after having committed universal ravage and spoil, was marching in order of battle to *Aventicum*, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were dispatched to offer a surrender of the city, which was accepted. *Julius Alpinus*, a leading man among the *Helvetians*, was, by *Cæcina*'s orders, put to death; the fate of the rest was referred to the judgment of *Vitellius*, who, moved with the tears and intreaties of *Claudius Cossus*, their deputy, a man of great eloquence and address, granted to all pardon and security². While *Cæcina* was waiting in the country of the *Helvetians*, till he had learnt the pleasure of *Vitellius*, and preparing at the same time to pass the *Alps*, he received joyful tidings from *Italy*, that the squadron of horse named *Syllana*, and then encamped on the banks of the *Po*, had declared for *Vitellius*. They had served under him in *Africa*, when he was proconsul there; *Vitellius*, had been recalled from thence by *Nero*, in order to be sent forward into *Egypt*; and, upon the insurrection of *Vindex*, detained in *Italy*. As the officers were unacquainted with *Otho*, and engaged by obligations to *Vitellius*, they easily prevailed upon their men, by magnifying to them the great strength of the approaching legions and the renown of the *German* armies, to go over to the same party, and swear fealty to *Vitellius*. With themselves, as a present to their new prince, they brought into his interest the strongest municipal cities beyond the *Po*, viz. *Milan*, *Novara*, *Jurea*, and *Vercelli*. As such an extensive country could not be guarded by a single band of cavalry, *Cæcina* who had this information directly from themselves dispatched thither forth-

¹ TACIT. c. 60—67.

² Idem, c. 68, 69.

with the several cohorts of *Gauls*, *Lusitanians*, and *Britons*, with a body of *German* troops, and the squadron of horse called *Taurina*. As for himself, he was some time in suspense, whether it were not adviseable to bend his march over the mountains of *Rhætia* towards *Noricum*, against *Petronius*, governor of that province, who, having on all hands raised forces and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was suspected to act for *Otho*. But fearing he might lose the detachments already sent forward, and reflecting, where-ever the decisive battle was fought, *Noricum* would certainly prove one of the acquisitions following a general victory, he ordered his soldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the *Apennine*, and led himself the heavy body of legionaries over the *Alps*, still covered with snow. *He passes the Alps.*

THE arrival of these troops in *Italy* filled *Rome* with consternation. Not only the senate and equestrian order, who had some share in the administration and some concern for the public welfare, but even the populace, loudly complained, that two men, of all the most infamous for effeminacy, profusion, and debauchery, were thus fatally chosen, as it were on purpose to rend and destroy the empire. They thought their vows for either would be alike detestable, their supplications alike impious, since such men they both were, that whosoever of the two proved the conqueror, would thence prove the worst. In the mean time, *Otho*, tho' hitherto entirely abandoned to his pleasures, was not at this juncture lulled asleep by them; but, suspending his voluptuous sallies and artfully dissembling his passion for luxury, conducted all things suitably to the dignity of the empire. In order to gain the affections of the people, who suspected his virtues to be assumed, and apprehended a return of his vices, he caused *Celsus Marius*, consul elect, to be brought before him in the capitol. He had already rescued him, as we have related above, from the cruelty of the soldiers, under colour of committing him to prison; and now he aimed at obtaining the character of tenderness and clemency, by mercy shewn to a man so illustrious, so beloved by the *Roman* people, and so odious to all the partizans of *Otho's* cause. *Celsus*, when he appeared, confessed, without betraying the least fear, the imputed crime of having persevered steady in his allegiance to *Galba*; he even appealed to *Otho*, whether he ought not to approve such an example of fidelity. *Otho* commended his steadiness, and, in a very obliging manner, desired him rather to forget his confinement, than remember his release. Neither did he treat him as a criminal pardoned, but forthwith admitted him amongst his most intimate friends, and presently after chose *Rome in great consternation.*
Otho strives to gain the affections of the people.
He pardons Celsus Marius.

^c Idem, c. 70.

him one of his generals for conducting the war. The saving of *Celsus* caused an universal joy amongst men of rank, was applauded with loud acclamations to the populace, and was not ill received even by the soldiers, who now admired in him the same virtue, against which they had, in the height of their fury, been so much incensed^u. The public joy for the deliverance of *Celsus* was greatly heightened by the doom of *Tigellinus*. He had been the chief author of all the enormities committed by *Nero*, whom he had afterwards betrayed and abandoned; and was therefore abhorred by those who loved, and those who hated, *Nero*. While *Galba* reigned, he was protected, as we have related above, by the power and authority of *Titus Vinius*: hence the people were the more inflamed against him, their old detestation of *Tigellinus* concurring with their recent hatred to *Vinius*. From every quarter of the city they now flocked to the forum and the palace, and filled with their multitudes the circus and the several theatres, demanding, with bold seditious words, the execution of *Tigellinus*, till at length the fatal injunction to die was dispatched to him, then at the baths of *Sinueffa*. There, amidst a herd of harlots, after many passionate embraces and unmanly delays, he at last cut his throat with a razor^w.

Tigellinus is ordered to put himself to death.

Frequent messengers and letters between Otho and Vitellius.

WHILE the forces of *Vitellius* were on their march to *Italy*, *Otho*, with frequent messengers and private letters, strove to divert his competitor from engaging in a war, which might prove fatal to both. He offered him immense sums, and such a place of retirement as he himself should chuse to live in, agreeable to his profuse life and taste; nay, he engaged to take him for his partner in the empire, and to marry his daughter. With the same or the like offers *Vitellius* tempted *Otho*; so that they soon proceeded to reproaches, upbraiding each other with their debaucheries and profligate lives; nor in this did either bring a false charge against the other. *Otho*, having recalled the ambassadors sent by *Galba* to the armies in *Germany*, dispatched others in their room in the plausible name of the senate; but the ambassadors continued with *Vitellius*. As for the prætorian guards, who, by the appointment of *Otho*, accompanied them, *Vitellius* obliged them to return back, without suffering them to mix amongst his legionaries. At the same time *Valens* transmitted letters to the prætorian bands and city cohorts, in the name of the *German* army, exhorting them to abandon *Otho* and embrace the same interest. He likewise upbraided them for transferring the sovereignty to *Otho*, when it had been so long before conferred upon *Vitellius*. But the *German* army con-

^u Idem, c. 71. Dio. l. lxiv. p. 731.

^w Idem, c. 72.

tinuing faithful to *Vitellius*, notwithstanding the great promises of *Otho*, and the prætorian bands steady in their allegiance to *Otho*, notwithstanding the offers of *Vitellius*, the two chiefs began to employ snares and ministers of death against each other: assassins were dispatched by *Otho* into *Germany*, and by *Vitellius* to *Rome*; but the attempts on both sides were defeated *.

THE first tidings from abroad that raised *Otho's* hopes were from *Illyricum*, whence he received advice, that the legions in *Dalmatia*, in *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia*, had declared for him, and sworn allegiance. The army in *Judæa* was by *Vespasian* sworn to *Otho*, as were the legions in *Syria* by *Mucianus* governor of that province. *Egypt* too and all the provinces extending to the east submitted to him. The like submission was paid him in *Africa*, in *Spain*, and in *Narbonne Gaul*; but the latter province soon acceded to the party of *Vitellius*, which was the nearest and strongest. *Aquitain* likewise first declared for *Otho*; but soon after, from the same motive, swore fealty to *Vitellius*: for there was no true zeal, as *Tacitus* observes, in the people for the cause and interest of either of the pretenders, and only by the oppressions of fear they were transported and changed from one side to another. *Otho*, in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, applied himself to the administration of the empire: in the senate he made many obliging and popular harangues; upon such antient senators as had already sustained the first employments in the state, he conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; several young noblemen, lately recalled from exile, he invested with such sacerdotal offices, as had been enjoyed by their fathers or ancestors. To *Claudius Rufus*, *Pedius Blæsus*, and *Scævinius Promptinus*, senators degraded in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*, he restored their former dignity. By the like benevolence he attempted to gain the affections of whole cities and provinces. He supplied the colonies of *Hispania* and *Emerita* with a fresh recruit of families, and made the whole people of the *Lingons* free of *Rome*. To the province of *Bætica* he submitted all the cities of *Mauritania*; and granted great privileges to the *Cappadocians* and *Africans*. But not forgetting, even while his sovereignty was at stake, to honour the memory of his once favoured *Poppæa*, he procured a decree from the senate for replacing her several statues, which had been thrown down after the death of *Nero*; nay, he suffered the statues of that prince to be reared in public places, and did not betray any distaste, but rather satisfaction, upon his being saluted by the people in the theatre with the name of *Nero Otho*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the history of his own times, and

Most of the provinces declare for *Otho*.

He studies to gain their affection.

* Idem, c. 73. Suet. in Oth. c. 8. Plut. ibid.

succeeded *Galba* in the government of *Spain*, tells us, that *Otho*, in his first dispatches to the governors of the provinces, in his grants and letters, subscribed himself *Nero Otho*; but being apprised, that this gave offence to the nobility, he omitted the former name ^y.

*The Roxo-
lanians de-
feated.*

WHILE the minds of all men were intent upon the progress and issue of the civil war, the *Roxolani*ans, a people of *Sarmatia*, having made an irruption into *Mæsia*, to the number of nine thousand men, and cut off two cohorts, were unexpectedly attacked by the third legion, put to flight, and obliged to seek for shelter in the marshes, where, through the rigour of the winter, they all perished to a man. For this victory, *Marcus Aponius*, governor of *Rome*, was distinguished with a triumphal statue, as were *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Julianus Titus*, and *Numisius Lupus*, commanders of the legions there, with the consular ornaments. Great was *Otho's* joy on this occasion; for to himself he assumed the glory, as if the success in war was owing to his auspices ^z.

*A sedition
among the
prætorian
guards.*

AT *Rome*, in the mean time, arose, from an unforeseen accident, a sedition, which well nigh involved the city in destruction. *Otho* had ordered the seventh legion to be removed from *Osia*, where it was quartered, to *Rome*, and committed the care of supplying them with arms to *Varius Crispinus*, a tribune of the prætorian guards. *Crispinus* chusing, for the execution of his orders, the close of the evening, when the camp was composed and the soldiers retired to their tents, directed the armoury to be thrown open, and the carriages belonging to the cohorts to be loaded. The lateness of the hour gave no small jealousy to the drunken soldiery. Some of the most turbulent, and most intoxicated with wine, began to cry out, That *Crispinus* was disaffected to *Otho*; that the senate was arming against the person and cause of their emperor; and that those arms were to be employed, not for him, as *Crispinus* gave out, but against him. This report being in a trice spread over the whole camp, a general uproar ensued; they all betook themselves to their arms, and having cut in pieces *Crispinus*, while he was endeavouring to repress their seditious fury, and with him such of the centurions as were remarkable for severity of discipline, they instantly advanced with their drawn swords to *Rome*, after to the imperial palace. *Otho* was then entertaining at a great banquet the chief lords and the women of the greatest distinction in the city. As they doubted whether the danger proceeded from the casual rage of the soldiery, or the premeditated treachery

^y TAGIT. c. 77, 78. Suet. c. 7. PLUT. in Oth. ^z TAGIT. c. 79.

of the emperor, they were all seized with dread and terror, and not knowing whether they should fly or stay, they constantly watched the countenance of *Otho*; who, being alarmed at the danger threatening his guests, among whom were eighty senators, not only dispatched forthwith the captains of the guards to soften the rage of the soldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all speed by private ways; which they did accordingly, rambling in the dark here and there, few to their own home, most to the houses of their meanest dependents, where search and pursuit were least apprehended. They were no sooner gone, than the soldiers, breaking down the gates of the palace, forced their way into the banquetting room, and there, with one voice, demanded to have a sight of *Otho*, having in their passage wounded *Julius Martialis* and *Vitellius Saturninus*, two officers, who strove to oppose their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandished, and terrible menaces uttered, not only against the tribunes and centurions, but against the whole body of the senate; for as they could assign no particular victim to their fury, they claimed a latitude for a general slaughter, as if the whole senate had conspired against *Otho*; till the emperor, rising from his banquetting couch, by supplications, intreaties, and even tears, to the disgrace of the imperial dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to desist and return to their camp. The next day, the houses in the city continued closely shut up; scarce a soul was to be seen in the streets; and the soldiers, with down-cast looks, shewed rather tokens of anger and rage, than remorse. Their captains therefore, *Licinius Proculus* and *Plotius Primus*, harangued them in companies apart, and endeavoured to appease their fury; but to no purpose, till they distributed among them a large sum, five thousand sesterces a man. Then, and not before, *Otho* ventured to enter the camp, where the soldiers, returned at length to a sense of their duty, gathered round him, and, with a composed behaviour, required of their own motion, that the authors of the insurrection should be put to death. The emperor, ascending the tribunal, represented to them the enormity of their late conduct, enlarged on the respect due to the senate, and the necessity of maintaining military discipline in the camp; but as he was well apprised, that a sovereignty like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preserved by reviving the rigid virtue and discipline of the antient *Romans*, he concluded, that of the late transgression but few were guilty, and that of these few two only could bear the punishment. His speech was favourably received, and two of the ringleaders in the late tumult were immediately executed, no one shewing the least

*Their rage
and fury.*

*They are
appeased
with a
large do-
native.*

The consternation
of the city.

least concern for them, though capital punishment was inflicted upon them in the sight of their comrades and the whole army. Thus was the sedition at length intirely quelled; but nevertheless the city still continued in the utmost consternation, from the apprehension of a civil war, and the dread of being involved in the same calamities, which had proved fatal to it in the time of *Antony* and *Augustus*. They were, on one hand, under necessity of obliging *Otho*, and, on the other, afraid to disoblige *Vitellius*, who was supported by a strong party, and might in the end get the better of his rival. The soldiers dispersed all over the city, crept into houses in disguised habits, as spies, watching for matter of mischief and destruction against such as were signal for their nobility or wealth. Some too believed, that certain soldiers from the army of *Vitellius* were arrived at *Rome*, to sound the affections of the *Roman* people. Hence all places were filled with suspicion and distrust; nay, men were not exempt from caution and fear in the most secret recesses of their own houses. But, under the eye of the public, this sort of dread chiefly prevailed: there people studied with great care to frame their faces agreeable to the quality of the news that was said to be brought, that they might not seem to betray any diffidence, when affairs bore an ambiguous aspect, or be slow in rejoicing, when they appeared prosperous. The senators chiefly, when assembled, were at a loss how to preserve in all points a safe and unexceptionable conduct. They dreaded the consequences that might attend their issuing decrees against *Vitellius*; and, on the other hand, were afraid, that, by forbearing to issue them, they might rouse the jealousy of *Otho*. In this perplexity, without publishing any decrees, they contented themselves with uttering invectives against *Vitellius*, but such as, being common and vulgar, were not remarkable; nay, even these the most wary took care to utter under the din of a general clamour, and when many were speaking at once^a.

The general alarm
heightened
by several
prodigies.

THE general terror was greatly heightened by several prodigies said to have happened at this time. From the hands of the statue of *Victory triumphant*, standing upon her chariot in the porch of the capitol, the reins dropped, as if she were grown too weak to hold them any longer. Out of *Juno's* chapel suddenly arose an apparition of a size more than human. The statue of *Julius Cæsar*, in an island in the *Tiber*, turned quite round from west to east, upon a day utterly free from tempests. In *Hetruria* an ox spoke. Divers animals were said to have produced unnatural births. But the most affecting omen of all was, a hasty and dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, whose

^a Idem, c. 80—85.

waters swelling to an immense height, overthrew the *Sublician* bridge, and, having their course obstructed by the heap of ruins, not only overflowed the adjacent quarters, but covered places which were reckoned secure against any such disaster. Many were swept away in the streets, and many drowned in their shops and beds. Amongst the populace a famine ensued, the corn and other provisions being in great part carried away by the river. As soon as the waters returned, *Otho* performed the solemnity of lustration, and purified the city with sacrifices. Then weighing carefully with his friends all the methods of conducting the war, he resolved to send a powerful force by sea to invade *Narbonne Gaul*, since the *Apennine* mountains, with those of the *Cottian Alps*, and all the other approaches to *Gaul*, were beset and shut up by the armies of *Vitellius*. With this view he reinforced the navy and the marines with a detachment from the prætorian bands. The direction in chief of the expedition was committed to *Antonius Novellus*, to *Suedius Clemens*, both lately centurions of the first rank, and to *Æmilius Pacensis* a tribune, dismissed by *Galba*, and now by *Otho* re-established. *Oscus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, was charged with the care of the ships, and employed to inspect the fidelity and behaviour of the other officers. As for *Otho* himself, he resolved to march against *Cæcina* and *Valens*, at the head of the prætorian guards and the other troops, which were then quartered in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Under him commanded, as his lieutenants, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Marius Celsus*, and *Annius Gallus*, all men of known valour and experience, and capable of performing great feats, had not *Otho* placed his chief confidence in *Licinius Proculus*, captain of the prætorian guards, and suffered himself to be governed by him, though quite unexperienced in war^h.

Otho proposes to take the field.

Otho, before he left *Rome*, ordered *Cornelius Dolabella* to retire to *Aquinum* in *Campania*, where he was kept under close confinement for no crime of his, but only as obnoxious on account of the antient lustre of his name and kindred to *Galba*.

Then the emperor ordered many of the magistrates, and a great part of such as had been consuls, to prepare for the field, with no design of allowing them any share or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongst these was included *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, whom *Otho* did not distinguish with any new mark either of his favour or displeasure. *Vitellius* had likewise left at *Rome* his mother, his wife, and his children; and to these *Otho*, either through fear or from an affected moderation, shewed a tender regard, com-

Otho orders the chief senators and nobility to follow him to the war.

^h Idem, c. 87.

mending them to the protection of his friends. Great was on this occasion the consternation of the city; the chief senators were disabled by age from bearing the toils of war; the nobles were sunk in sloth, and through a long peace had quite forgot the military laws; the *Roman* knights were unacquainted with the functions and duties of a camp. The more these degrees of men strove to conceal their fear, the more apparently they discovered it. Some, to disguise their want of courage, purchased gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately horses; others provided materials for riot and feasting, as so many implements of war. The giddy and thoughtless multitude were puffed up with great hopes. Those who found their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, rejoiced in the public commotions, promising to themselves in particular most security in the general distraction; but they all soon felt the heavy evils and pressures of war, the price of provisions being doubled, and the populace at once deprived of the usual bounties of the prince, who with much-ado could find corn and money to supply his numerous armies^c.

He takes
his leave
of the se-
nate.

WHEN all *Otho's* forces were ready to take the field, he assembled on the fourteenth of *March* the senate, and to their care recommended the commonwealth. In the next place he ordered the people to meet, and in a long speech to them boasted, that his interest and title were supported by the majesty of the city, and the joint consent of the people and senate. Against the partizans of *Vitellius* he spoke with great gentleness and restraint, taxing the *German* legions rather with ignorance, than with insolence and rebellion. Of *Vitellius* himself he made no mention; but whether from any moderation of his own, or because the person who composed his speech, refrained from opprobrious and offensive words, in due caution for himself, is uncertain; for as *Otho*, in all military deliberations, consulted *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Marius Celsus*, so in his civil administration he was believed to employ the talents of *Galerius Trachalus*. Be that as it will, the emperor's speech was received by the populace with loud shouts and many acclamations, each striving to surpass the other in strains of flattery, not from any affection to *Otho*, but from a custom transmitted from reign to reign of flattering any emperor, whosoever he were, with empty applauses and a hollow display of zeal. *Otho*, upon his leaving *Rome*, committed to his brother *Salvius Titianus* the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the empire. When he had thus settled matters in the city, in the best manner he could, he at

And leaves
Rome.

^c Idem, c. 88. 90.

last set out, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, of a chosen body of such of the prætorian bands, as served under the standard of veterans, and a vast number of marines. He marched himself before the ensigns on foot, wearing a breast-plate of iron, undressed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame^d.

FORTUNE seconded his first attempts; for his fleet, having made a descent in the province of the maritime Alps, defeated the Ligurians, whom Marius Maturus, who governed that province in quality of procurator, had armed against them, plundered *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*, and laid waste the whole country. On this occasion a woman having concealed her son, the soldiers suspecting, that with him she had in the same place concealed her money, put her upon the rack; but could not, with all the torments which rage and cruelty ever devised, prevail upon her to discover the place where her son lay concealed. Tacitus tells us, that pointing to her belly, she replied he lay there, and could not, with all the tortures successively tried, nor even with the agonies of death, be brought to return them any other answer. In the mean time, news being sent in great hurry and alarm to *Fabius Valens*, that *Otho's* fleet was upon the coast of *Narbonne Gaul*, he sent thither two cohorts of *Tungrians*, four troops of horse, and the whole squadron of *Treverians*, under the command of *Julius Classicus*. To these was joined a cohort of *Ligurians*, and five hundred *Pannonians*. They no sooner arrived, than they were attacked by *Otho's* men, who had already landed. The engagement lasted till night, and was renewed the next day, when *Vitellius's* forces were at length put to flight with great slaughter. However, as the victory to *Otho's* men proved very bloody, they retired to *Albingaunum*, a municipal city in *Liguria*, and there continued without making any further attempts upon *Narbonne Gaul*. At the same time, *Decimus Pacarius*, governor of *Corfica*, having declared for *Vitellius*, was slain by the inhabitants, who brought his head to *Otho*^e.

In Italy, the whole country, which extends from the *Po* to the Alps, was held by the troops of *Vitellius*; for the squadron of horse, named *Syllana*, had brought over with them several cities to his party, as we have related above; and the cohorts, which *Cacina* had sent thither before him, were already arrived. To them therefore several cities submitted, not from any affection to *Vitellius*, or that they preferred his cause to the cause of *Otho*; but by long peace and ease they were quite debased, ready for any bondage, and the easy acquisition of the first

^d TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 11.^e Idem, c. 15—18.

comer. At *Cremona* *Vitellius's* men surpris'd and took prisoners a cohort of *Pannonians*; and between *Placentia* and *Ticinum* intercepted a hundred horse and a thousand marines. Animated with this success, they pass'd the *Po* over-against *Placentia*, and surprising certain scouts, fill'd the rest with such dread, that to *Placentia* they carried tidings, that *Cæcina* approach'd with his whole army. *Vestrius Spurinna*, who commanded in that city for *Otho*, and had with him five cohorts of the prætorian guards, a thousand veterans, and a few horse, though he was certain that *Cæcina* was not yet come, determin'd to confine his own men within the fortifications; but they, headstrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, snatching up the ensigns and standards, sallied out tumultuously, turning against their own commander, while he strove to restrain them, the points of their weapons, and giving out with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and *Cæcina* treacherously called in; so that *Spurinna* was oblig'd to approve their resolution, since it was not in his power to prevent it. With them therefore he march'd out of *Placentia*, and arriving, when night already approach'd, within sight of the *Po*, represent'd to them the necessity of pitching and fortifying their camp against any sudden attack. This toil, which was utterly new to men inured to the gaieties of the city, cool'd their courage at once; all over the camp dutiful and submissive language was heard; they applauded with one voice the prudent care of their commander, who, for the seat of the war, had chosen a colony so strong and opulent; and, submitting to orders, suffer'd themselves to be led back the same night to *Placentia*, where the walls were forthwith strengthened, new bulwarks added, towers rais'd, &c. ^f In the mean time, *Cæcina*, having pass'd the *Alps*, enter'd *Italy*, and, after attempting in vain, by many secret conferences, and mighty promises, to corrupt and debauch *Otho's* forces, resolv'd to lay siege to *Placentia*; and accordingly incamp'd before the place. The first day pass'd in mutual reproaches, *Cæcina's* men marching up to the walls, and upbraiding *Spurinna's* upon the ramparts, as players, dancers, idle spectators of *Pythian* and *Olympic* games, men corrupted by the licentious amusements of the theatre and circus, who triumph'd in the murdering of *Galba*, a naked and disarm'd old man, but were not very forward to face an armed enemy in the field. These reproaches so inflam'd them, that the next day, when *Cæcina* order'd a general assault, they behav'd with incredible bravery, made a dreadful slaughter of his men, and oblig'd them to retreat in the utmost confusion.

Cæcina
besieges
Placentia.

Is forced to
raise the
siege.

^f Idem, c. 19.

In this conflict, the amphitheatre of *Placentia*, which stood without the walls, and was the most stately and capacious building in *Italy*, was burnt down. This defeat brought great disgrace upon *Vitellius's* party; and *Cæcina*, ashamed of his disappointment, immediately repassed the *Po*, and bent his march towards *Cremona*, which had submitted to *Vitellius*. Upon his march, *Turullius Cerealis* revolted to him with a great number of marines, and *Julius Briganticus* with a few horse: the latter a *Batavian* by nation, and commander of a squadron of horse; the other a centurion of the first rank, who having served in that character amongst the forces in *Germany*, was thence well affected to *Cæcina*. About the same time, *Martius Macer*, who commanded under *Otho* a body of two thousand gladiators, having imbarqued them upon the *Po*, landed unexpectedly on the opposite shore, where he surprised *Vitellius's* and defeated the auxiliary troops which belonged to the auxiliaries forces of *Vitellius*, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged defeated. the rest to fly for refuge to *Cremona*. *Macer* restrained his men from pursuing them, lest the fugitives, strengthened by fresh succours from the city, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this restraint great distrust arose amongst the suspicious soldiers of *Otho*, the most cowardly urging criminal imputations against their leaders, and putting a malevolent construction upon all their proceedings. *Cæcina*, greatly concerned to see all his enterprises abortive, and fearing lest *Fabius Valens*, who was now approaching, should rob him of the whole glory of the war, hurried with more impatience than circumspection to retrieve his honour. At a place about twelve miles from *Cremona*, named *Castores*, he secretly conveyed the flower of his auxiliaries into the woods, which lay just above the great road; the horse he commanded to march farther on, and, after having engaged the enemy, to betake themselves to a voluntary flight, and continue it, till the auxiliaries lying in the woods had an opportunity of rising at once out of their ambush and falling upon the enemy. But this stratagem being betrayed by some deserters to *Otho's* generals, *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, they craftily drew *Cæcina's* forces into the same snare; for *Paulinus* taking the command of the foot, and *Celsus* that of the horse, they placed three cohorts in close ranks in the high-road, and on either side of it concealed among the woods the first legion, the thirteenth, six cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse. The three cohorts in the high-road were immediately attacked by *Cæcina's* horse, who, after having stood their ground a while, turned their backs and fled. But *Celsus*, who was aware

* Idem, c. 20—23. PLUT. in Otho.

*Cæcina's
forces de-
feated.*

*Paulinus
and Celsus
removed.*

of the artifice, with-held his men from pursuing them; and in the mean time, the forces, which *Cæcina* had concealed in the woods, rose out of their ambush. Then *Celsus*, pretending fear, retired insensibly before them, till they found themselves surrounded on all sides; for on both their flanks they were attacked by the cohorts and the legions, and the horse, suddenly wheeling about, fell upon them in the rear. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæcina's* whole army had been cut off, if the legions under the command of *Paulinus* had come up with more expedition; but that general moved too slowly, and with more caution than was necessary, or indeed consistent with the rules of war. Our historian charges him with two material oversights on this occasion: the first was, that, instead of sounding the charge and supporting his cavalry, by falling briskly upon *Cæcina*, he spent his time in filling the ditches and clearing the grounds, that he might extend his front, thinking it too early to begin to conquer, till he had provided against being conquered. By this delay leisure was given to the enemy to shelter themselves amongst the vineyards; whence they renewed the charge, and killed the most resolute and forward of the prætorian horse. The second was his not taking advantage of the disorder the enemy were in, both in the field of battle and in the camp, but causing a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably. But *Paulinus* was, as our historian informs us, a man by nature wary and slow, better pleased with deliberate counsels supported by reason, than with victory resulting from chance. The soldiery complained loudly of his conduct, and prevailed upon *Otho* to remove him together with *Celsus*, and to place in their room his brother *Titianus* and *Proculus* captain of the prætorian guards. *Titianus* therefore was sent for, and to him was committed the rule and direction of the war, though *Proculus* bore in all deliberations the greater sway. The two degraded generals were kept in the camp, rather as counsellors than commanders; for *Otho* entertained a mighty opinion of their experience and abilities in war ^h.

IN the mean time, *Fabius Valens* arrived with the troops under his command at *Ticinum*, where, while he was fortifying his camp, news was brought of the late unsuccessful battle. Hereupon his troops accusing him of treachery, as if he had, by feigned delays, detained them from assisting at the engagement, turned away, without waiting for their general's orders, to join *Cæcina*. Upon the conjunction of the forces of *Valens* with those of *Cæcina*, the officers of *Vitellius* were for coming to a decisive battle. *Otho*, on the other hand, advancing to a village

^h TACIT. C. 20—24. PLUT. *ibid*.

between *Cremona* and *Verona*, called *Bebriacum*, had recourse to a consultation, whether it were adviseable to protract the war, or risk the fortune of a battle. Upon this occasion *Suetonius Paulinus* the most experienced commander of his age, declared, that it was his opinion, that haste and present action were advantageous to the enemy; but to *Otho* procrastination and delay, since the intire army of *Vitellius* was arrived, and in want of many necessaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the speediest way of supplying their present want. On the contrary, *Otho's* army was abundantly provided: *Italy*, the senate, and the people of *Rome* were intirely at his devotion, and ready to supply him, not only with provisions, but with treasure, more prevalent than the sword in all civil dissensions. Moreover, several provinces had revolted from *Vitellius*; whereas all the countries, which had at first declared for *Otho*, continued inviolably attached to him. In his front lay the river *Po*; his cities were secure in the strength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was evident from the brave defence of *Placentia*. He added, that were the war protracted till the summer, the *Germans*, of all the enemy's forces, the most formidable, would never endure so great a change of country and climate, but insensibly moulder away, and utterly vanish with all their terrors. He concluded, that as the legions of *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæsia* were upon their march and would arrive in a few days, the emperor might then resume the present deliberation; and if it were judged adviseable to engage, he might bring into the field a far greater strength. With the counsel of *Paulinus*, *Marius Celsus* concurred; and *Annius Gallus*, who was absent, being ill of the hurt which he had received a few days before from his horse falling with him, declared to those who were sent to learn his advice, that he entertained the same sentiments, and would have the emperor by all means to wait, at least till the legions from *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæsia* had joined him. But *Otho*, *Titianus* his brother, and *Proculus*, were bent upon engaging. The two latter, hurried by rashness and want of experience, were always averring, that fortune, and the gods, and the deity of *Otho* attended upon his counsels, and would undoubtedly prosper his enterprizes: to such gross flattery had they betaken themselves, that no one might dare to thwart their opinion, which in the end prevailed. Many reasons are alledged by the antients for this strange determination: some writers tell us, that the prætorian guards, disliking the strict discipline they were then under, and longing for the diversions and gaities of the city, grew refractory, and demanded to be led against the enemy, not doubting, but they should carry all before them. Others write,

Paulinus is against engaging the enemy.

Otho resolves to venture a battle.

write, that, from an aversion to both princes, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity, and agreeing among themselves to set up a proper emperor, or to refer the choice to the senate; and that hence *Otho's* generals had declared for delays and procrastination; *Paulinus* particularly, who considered, himself as the most antient consular, as one famous in war, and one who, by his exploits in *Britain*, had gained a great name. There were; no doubt, in both armies a few, in whose breasts cordial wishes were entertained for public tranquillity, instead of civil dissension, and for a prince worthy and innocent, in the room of two, of all men the worst, and infamous for every kind of iniquity. But *Paulinus*, as *Tacitus* judiciously observes, was too wise a man to imagine, that in an age abandoned to corruption, the common herd, who, from a passion for war, had promoted civil discords and violated the public peace, would, for the sake of peace, extinguish a fire of their own kindling and relinquish the war; or that two armies, so different in manners and language, could ever be brought to agree upon a point of such importance. Besides, the generals and leaders in both armies, being deeply involved in debt, pressed with indigence, and for the most part guilty of enormous crimes, would have taken care to make choice of such an emperor, as was most like themselves, and should be obliged to them for his election¹.

Otho retires to Brixellum.

WHEN an engagement was resolved upon, it was debated next in the council, whether the emperor should be present in the action, or remove elsewhere. *Titianus* and *Proculus* advised him to retire to *Brixellum*, now *Bersello*, where, secure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he should reserve himself, they said, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of sovereignty. *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, that they might not seem to advise exposing the person of the prince to perils, dared not oppose his departure. This advice, which *Otho* readily embraced, was attended with two bad consequences; for he considerably weakened the army, by taking with him a numerous detachment of the best troops to guard him; and besides, the forces remaining lost all courage, since they suspected the fidelity of their leaders. In the mean time, the band of gladiators, who served under *Otho*, being attacked and defeated by a detachment of *Germans*, *Macer*, who commanded the former, was by the whole army required to slaughter; nay, they had already wounded him with a lance and were falling upon him with their drawn swords, when, by the sudden interposition of the tribunes and centurions, he was rescued. However, *Otho*, being obliged to remove him, sent *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to

¹ TACIT. C. 38.

Vespasian, to take the charge of the forces that had been under his command, to the great joy of the soldiers, pleased with the change of leaders, while the leaders abhorred the charge of a soldiery so licentious and unruly. After the departure of *Otho* to *Brixellum*, the name and honour of the generalship remained with his brother *Titianus*, but the whole authority with *Proculus*. As for *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, they were on no occasion consulted, but only bore the empty title of commanders, and thence served as cloaks for the faults and mistakes of others. The tribunes and centurions were under the greatest concern, to see men of superior worth and capacity thus neglected, while the very worst men bore sway. But the common soldiers, who suspected their fidelity, were chearful and elated, though rather disposed to canvass and interpret, than to obey and execute, the orders of their commanders. The two armies were encamped on the banks of the *Po*, whence *Otho's* forces moved their quarters, and retired within four miles of *Bebriacum*, which is by *Tacitus*, as we have hinted above, placed between *Cremona* and *Verona*, but by *Sanfon* between *Cremona* and *Mantua*, upon the river *Oglio*, where the present city of *Caneto* stands. Their march was so unskilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely distressed for want of water, though it was then the spring of the year, about the thirteenth of *April*, and there were rivers on all hands. *Proculus* was for continuing the march the next day, with a design to attack the enemy, encamped about sixteen miles off, at the confluence of the *Adda* and the *Po*. This resolution was utterly disapproved by *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, who declared against exposing the army, fatigued with marching and loaded with baggage, to the enemy, who, being themselves light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce four miles, would never lose the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were fortifying their camp. This point was still under debate, when a *Numidian*, dispatched by *Otho* upon a swift horse, arrived with letters to the generals, wherein the emperor, having first reproached them in a very bitter strain, with want of spirit and resolution, commanded them peremptorily to engage without loss of time. Such orders as these, sent by princes who are at a distance, prove commonly most fatal. Of this we have innumerable instances; and the reason is very obvious: it is impossible for a man, who is not upon the spot, to make a right choice of the ground, the opportunity, and favourable moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the most able commanders, who are upon the spot. Upon the receipt of the emperor's letters,

The whole power devolved upon *Proculus*.

Otho orders them to engage without delay.

letters, *Celsus* and *Paulinus* dropped all opposition, and the army immediately decamped ^k.

The battle
of Bebria-
cum.

THE same day, two tribunes of the prætorian guards came to *Cæcina*, as he was intent upon building a bridge cross the *Po*, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures, when the scouts, in great haste, apprised him, that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the tribunes being thus interrupted, it remained uncertain, whether they intended to betray their own party, to contrive a plot against the enemy, or had some design truly worthy and honest. *Cæcina*, having dismissed the tribunes, immediately quitted his post upon the river, and hastened to the camp, where he found the signal of battle already given by *Valens*, and the soldiers under arms. While *Valens* was drawing up his legions, his cavalry sallied forth by themselves, but were by a party of *Otho's* forces, much inferior in number, repulsed, and forced to fly for shelter to their ramparts; whence the *Italic* legion, with their drawn swords, drove them back to the encounter. The legions of *Vitellius* were ranged in order of battle, without the least consternation or alarm; for though the enemy approached, they were prevented from seeing them by a thick coppice. In the army of *Otho* an universal confusion prevailed; the generals distrusted the soldiery, and the soldiery were incensed against their generals. The carriages and retainers to the camp were mixt and crowded amongst the ranks; from a deep ditch on each hand, the way was too streight even for an army marching, where no danger from an enemy was to be apprehended. No order was observed, some thrusting themselves into the front, some retiring to the rear, as each found himself prompted by bravery or by fear. Besides, a groundless report was spread among the foremost ranks of *Otho's* army, that the forces of *Vitellius* had revolted from him and would join them. Upon this report, they accosted the enemy with the salutation of friends; but the others returned the compliment with a hostile and threatening murmur, which not only disheartened them, but gave occasion to the rest, who were unapprised of the cause of such greeting, to apprehend that they were betrayed. At the same time, the enemy attacked them with great vigour; and *Otho's* men, tho' fewer in number and fatigued, sustained the charge with great resolution and intrepidity. As the place was embarrassed with trees, hedges, and vineyards, they fought with small regularity, bearing down one upon another, body to body, buckler to buckler, with swords and axes, after a dreadful manner, each man exerting his might, as if the event of the whole war de-

^k Idem, c. 39, 40.

depended upon his valour. In the open plain, between the *Po* and the highway, two legions chanced to encounter; the one-and-twentieth belonging to *Vitellius*, and named *Rapax*; and the first on *Otho's* side, intitled *Adjutrix*. The former was famous for feats of valour; the latter till then had never been led into the field, but was fierce, resolute, and eager of acquiring renown. They engaged with incredible fury, rejecting the use of darts, and closing resolutely with swords and axes. After a long and bloody contest, the soldiers of the first having routed the foremost ranks of the one-and-twentieth, carried off their eagle; a disgrace which so enraged this legion, that they returned to the charge, slew *Orphidius Benignus*, commander of the first, and took several standards. In another quarter, the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*, was defeated by the fifth. *Alphenus Varius*, at the head of the *Batavians*, having utterly routed the body of *Otho's* gladiators, attacked his army in flank; which struck the prætorian bands with such dread, that they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, putting into disorder such of their own men, as still kept their ranks and faced the enemy. Thus the whole army, no longer able to stand their ground, retired in the utmost confusion, bending their course towards *Bebriacum*. As the ways were obstructed by the bodies of the slain, (for above forty thousand fell on both sides) the enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, it being of no advantage to take prisoners, who in civil wars were not converted into sale and gain. *Suetonius* and *Protulus* took different routs, both shunning that to the camp, out of an apprehension of the soldiery, who had already charged their commanders with the loss of the battle. *Vedius Aquila*, commander of the thirteenth legion, having with more courage than discretion entered the camp, while it was yet broad day, was charged by the troops that had remained there, and by those who were returned from the battle, as a traitor to his cause, and abused in a most outrageous manner; not that he had really committed any crime; but such is the custom of the croud, for every man to cast upon others his own guilt and disgrace. *Titianus* and *Celsus* durst not venture into the camp till night, when the guards were already posted, and the tumult of the soldiery repressed. The victorious army of *Vitellius* pursued the fugitives within five miles of *Bebriacum*, where they halted, not thinking it safe to attempt forcing the enemy's camp the same day; and besides, they entertained hopes of a voluntary surrender. *Otho's* forces seemed disposed to make a vigorous defence, boasting, that they had been overcome by acts of treachery, and by no superior bravery of the enemy. But the officers, and *Titianus* himself, in a council which they held the day following,

Otho's army routed.

Those who
fled to the
camp sur-
render.

agreed to send deputies to *Cæcina* and *Valens* to treat of a surrender. Their proposals were accepted, and, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then both armies meeting, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, burst into tears, and, at once pleased and grieved, uttered their detestations of the sad lot of civil wars. Assembling now without distinction in the same tents, they dressed with great tenderness one another's wounds; some those of their brothers, some those of their friends. There were scarce any so exempt from affliction, as not to have some dead friend to bewail. The bodies of *Orphidius* and other officers of distinction were sought for and buried with the usual solemnity. In the end, they all submitted to *Vitellius*, and to him took the oath of allegiance¹.

Otho be-
trays a de-
sign to lay
violent
hands on
himself.
The zeal
of his sol-
diers on
this occa-
sion.

Otho, in the mean time, waited at *Brixellum* for an account of the battle. The first rumours were melancholy, but uncertain, till the fugitives brought a certain account of the utter defeat. The first who arrived with the dismal tidings was a common soldier, who being taxed with falsehood and cowardice by some persons about the emperor, to convince them of the truth of his account, and to shew that he had not fled for want of courage, fell upon his sword at *Otho's* feet; who, admiring his resolution and fidelity, cried out, *No more such worthy and gallant men shall on my score be brought into danger.* This *Suetonius* the historian tells us he learnt of his father *Suetonius Lenis*, who, in the battle of *Bebriacum*, commanded in quality of tribune the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*^m. The battle was no-ways decisive; for *Otho* had still with him many brave troops inviolably attached to his cause and interest; his forces beyond the *Po* still remained intire; there were numerous garrisons in *Bebriacum* and *Placentia*; and the legions from *Mæsia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia* were advancing; nay, the *Asiatic*, *Syrian*, and *Egyptian*, legions were already near the *Adriatic*. But nevertheless, he was no sooner informed of the defeat of his army, than he manifestly betrayed a fixed purpose of sacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. The soldiers, apprised of his design, did all that lay in their power to support him under his concern. They pressed him to take courage, since there still remained fresh forces, declaring, without flattery or deceit, that they were ready for his sake to expose themselves to the greatest dangers, and suffer all extremities. Those who stood at a distance signified their zeal and ardour by stretching out their hands; such as were nearest fell at his knees, kissed his hand, and with many tears intreated him to stand by them, and to

¹ TACIT. c. 41, 45. PLUT. *ibid.*

^m SÜET. in *Oth.* c. 10.
accept

accept of that duty and fidelity which could never expire, but with their last breath. But above all, the intrepidity and fidelity of an obscure and private soldier displayed itself on this occasion; but finding the emperor stood altogether unshaken and fixt in his purpose, he drew his sword; and addressing himself to *Otho*; *From this, Cæsar, said he, judge of our fidelity; for there is not a man amongst us, but would strike thus to serve you!* Having thus spoken, he turned his sword against himself, and fell at the emperor's feet. *Plautius Firmus*, captain of his guards, by repeated instances, besought him not to abandon an army so faithful and zealous; soldiers so singularly affectionate and loyal. In bearing calamities, said he, more greatness of spirit is shewn, than in flying from them. To support themselves with hope, even in spite of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and brave, as it was that of the timorous and spiritless, to be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter despair. As during these expressions *Otho* happened to look chearful or pensive, there followed shouts of joy or dismal groans. Nor was this zeal confined to the prætorian guards, who were inviolably attached to the person of *Otho*; but those who had been sent before the rest out of *Mæsia*, and were now arrived, declared, that in the approaching army the same steadiness prevailed, and that the legions had already reached *Aquileia*. Hence it is evident, that the war might have been renewed, and that its issue, notwithstanding the late overthrow, was altogether uncertain. But neither by persuasions and intreaties, nor by all the apparent probability of success, could *Otho* be prevailed upon to continue the war, or be diverted from the resolution he had taken; a resolution which no one expected from a person of his soft and effeminate temper. Having commanded silence, he spoke to them after this manner: This day, *His fine*
my fellow-soldiers, which gives me such sensible proofs of your *speech be-*
affection and loyalty, is far preferable to that on which you *fore he*
luted me emperor. I therefore beseech you not to deny me the *dies.*
satisfaction of laying down my life for the preservation of so many brave men. To expose wantonly to fresh perils such virtue and so much fortitude, is a price, which I judge too high for the redeeming of my own life. I am well apprised, that the enemy has neither gained an intire nor a decisive victory: I have advice, that the *Mæssian* army is not far off; that the legions from *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* are near the *Adriatic*; that the forces in *Judæa* have declared for us; the senate favours our cause; we have in our power the wives and children of our enemies, &c. But alas! it is not with *Pyrrhus*, with *Hannibal*, with the *Cimbrians*, we fight; but it is eagle against eagle, and *Rome* against *Rome*. *Italy* must bleed, whether I vanquish or am vanquished;

and even he who triumphs will have occasion to mourn. Shall I ever bear, that such a number of *Roman* youth, that so many noble armies be cut off, and ravished for ever from the common-wealth? With me let me carry this satisfaction, that for my cause you were all ready to die; but be content to survive me. *Vitellius* began the civil war, and thence sprung the source of our struggling for the empire by arms. To me will be owing the example of struggling for it no more than once. By this rule let posterity judge of *Otho*. *Vitellius* shall again possess in safety his brother, his children, and his wife. Others have held the sovereignty longer; in a manner more glorious none ever yet relinquished it. Assure yourselves, it is my free choice to die rather than to reign, since I cannot so much advance the *Roman* state by war and bloodshed, as by sacrificing myself to the public peace and tranquility. Nothing but my death can seal a lasting peace, and secure *Italy* against such another unhappy day. But let us no longer retard one another: let not me delay your care of your own preservation, nor you me in the pursuit of a design never to be shaken or changed. To multiply words about the subject of dying, is the part of a dastardly spirit. How much I am undaunted in this my purpose, I desire you to take this signal proof, that I complain of no man; since to be blaming the gods or men, upon the approach of death, implies a mean and indirect desire of livingⁿ.

*His calm
behaviour.*

AFTER this discourse, he desired those who attended him to leave him, and submit without delay to *Vitellius*. The young men he pressed with authority, the old by intreaties, addressing himself to all with great courtesy, in a language suitable to their years or dignity. At the same time he rebuked, as ill-judged and unreasonable, the tears and lamentations of his friends, with a countenance calm and composed, and a speech flowing and assured. To such as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. To those who were absent, he sent passports, forbidding any one to stop them in their journey. All such memorials and letters, as were signal for expressions of zeal towards him, or for invectives against *Vitellius*, he committed to the flames. What money and jewels he had, he distributed amongst his friends. His brother's son, *Salvius Cocceianus*, one just in the bloom of his youth, who was bewailing him with a flood of tears, he endeavoured to comfort with tender expressions, bidding him be in no apprehension of *Vitellius*, who, he said, could not, for his whole family preserved in safety, refuse a return of mercy in this single instance. The clemency of the conqueror, continued he, I have purchased by thus hastening

ⁿ TACIT. c. 46, 47. PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. l. lxiv. p. 732, 733. SUET. c. 9.



to die, since pressed by no desperate distress, but at a juncture when so many brave men were demanding to be led to battle, I have, for the sake of the common-wealth, forborne making a last effort. To myself I have acquired sufficient fame; to my posterity sufficient lustre. Into a house newly raised, I have translated the sovereignty, after the same had been vested in so illustrious families, namely, the *Julian*, the *Claudian*, and the *Servian*: but that *Cæsar* has been your uncle, you must neither forget, nor too zealously remember. After this, he caused all those who were about him to retire; and withdrawing into a private room, he wrote consolatory letters to his sister, and to *Messalina*, who had been formerly married to *Nero*, and whom he himself had designed to marry, recommending to her his memory and ashes. While he was thus exercising his thoughts about his last moments, a sudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was brought him of an uproar among the soldiers, who threatened with present death all who were about to depart, as traitors and deserters. Against *Verginius* chiefly they were enraged, and had already besieged his house, which for his security he had shut up. Hereupon *Otho*, appearing again, reprimanded the authors of the insurrection, gave audience to such as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect safety. He then withdrew again to his chamber, which he left open till the night was far spent, allowing free entrance to all who were desirous to see him. After this, having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, he called for two daggers; and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed the sharpest under his pillow. He next resolved to be fully assured that his friends were all gone; which he no sooner understood, than he lay down, passing the night in perfect repose, and, as is affirmed, not without sleep. At break of day he took the dagger, and gave himself a mortal stab on the left side of the breast. Upon hearing him groan, his freedmen entered and his slaves, with *Plotius Firmus*, captain of his guards, and found no more than one wound. His death was no sooner divulged, than the whole place resounded with the mournful cries of the soldiers, accusing themselves, with the deepest concern, for not watching him more carefully, and striving to save a life, which was laid down to preserve theirs. His funeral was dispatched with great expedition, (for such had been his own desire) to prevent his head being cut off and exposed to public derision. The prætorian cohorts bore his corpse, magnificently attired, often kissing his wound, and his hand, and even paying him divine honours. At his funeral pile some of the soldiers slew themselves; and others who were at *Babriacum*, *Placentia*, and in other quarters, understanding the

*His death.**Lamented by the soldiery.**His obsequies.*

His character.

the manner of his death, were so deeply and sensibly affected, that they slew one another, not caring to outlive a prince, whom they so tenderly loved. To him they raised a tomb of a mean structure, and thence like to remain, with this epitaph only, *To the memory of Marcus Otho*; which they thought the best security against any insults from the conqueror^o. Such was the end of *Otho*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, after having reigned, according to some three months, according to others three months and five days. He derived his original from the municipal city of *Tarentinum* in *Hetruria*. His father had sustained the dignity of consul; his grandfather that of prætor. His mother's line was not of equal lustre; but far from sordid. He spent his tender years in idleness, in scandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to *Nero*, purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident of his impure pleasures, *Nero* committed the care of his beloved mistress *Poppæa Sabina*, till he could accomplish the removal of *Octavia* his wife; but soon suspecting him for a rival, he sent him into *Lusitania*; where the administration of that province furnished a pretence for keeping him from *Rome*. In *Lusitania* he governed with gentleness and popularity, was the foremost to espouse the cause of *Galba*, and promoted it with vigor. Thence he conceived hopes of being by him adopted and declared his successor; but finding himself disappointed, and seeing nothing but despair in the quiet and establishment of the state, (for he lived in a course of riot and expence, which even to the fortune of a sovereign would have proved burdensome) he revolted from *Galba*, and seized the empire in the manner we have related. His death was much applauded, as his life was censured; for though he had lived like *Nero*, yet he left this character behind him, that no one ever died more gloriously^p: and indeed nothing can be more glorious in a man, than to sacrifice his life for the good of his country.

Otho's troops submit to Vitellius.

AFTER the death of *Otho*, the soldiers began anew to mutiny; nor was there any one to restrain them. They applied to *Verginius*, pressing him, with many intreaties and menaces, to accept the sovereignty, or at least to go as their ambassador to *Cæcina* and *Valens*. Already they were breaking into his house, when he, by a back way, stole out and escaped them. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a person of great note, immediately undertook the embassy to *Vitellius's* commanders, and obtained pardon for all the troops that lay at *Brixellum*; and at the same

^o TACIT. c. 49. SUET. c. II. PLUT. ibid. P TACIT. c. 50. SUET. PLUT. ibid.

time *Flavius Sabinus* prevailed upon the forces under his command to go over to the conqueror; so that war had now every-where ceased, and peace was at once re-established. Many senators had accompanied *Otho* from *Rome*, and had been afterwards by him left with a small body of troops at *Mutina*. The senators found themselves exposed there to great danger; for news being brought thither of the defeat, the soldiers slighted it as a report void of truth; and suspecting the senate to be disaffected to *Otho*, they watched the words of particulars, and wrested even their countenances and behaviour to a malignant sense. At last they proceeded to insult them with invectives, and seemed only to want a pretence of putting them all to the sword. On the other hand, they were afraid of being deemed disaffected to *Vitellius*, whose brother was among them, if they seemed slow and cool in their rejoicings for the victory. They resolved therefore to return as far as *Bononia*, and wait there for other advices more certain and copious. They posted men upon the several roads leading to the city, purposely to examine such as passed. By these one of *Otho's* freedmen being questioned, why he had left his lord? answered, That he had about him his lord's last will and commands; that he had left him indeed alive, but fixed in his purpose of dying, and of sacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. Hereupon they immediately declared for *Vitellius*, whose brother now presented himself to be flattered, as did all the senators to flatter him; when on a sudden one *Cænus*, a freedman of *Nero's*, arriving, affirmed, that by the arrival of the fourteenth legion, in conjunction with the forces from *Brixellum*, the army, which had lately conquered, was intirely routed, and the fortune of the other party retrieved and changed. What prompted him to such forgery was, that *Otho's* warrants for post horses, which were now neglected, might by such tidings be restored to force: and truly *Cænus* was by this means with great speed carried to *Rome*; but there, a few days after, put to death by *Vitellius's* orders. The fiction, however, was believed by the soldiers, who began anew to threaten the senators for having departed from *Mutina*, and declared for *Vitellius*; insomuch, that they were obliged to conceal themselves, not daring, for fear of the incensed soldiery, to appear abroad, till letters from *Fabius Valens*, assuring them of *Otho's* death, removed their fright⁹.

Rome was, in the mean time, free from all terror and alarm; the interludes, sacred to *Ceres*, which yearly began on the twelfth, and ended on the nineteenth, of *April*, were cele-

⁹ TACIT. c. 53, 54.

Honours
beaped
upon Vitel-
lius by the
senate.

Italy
miserably
afflicted.

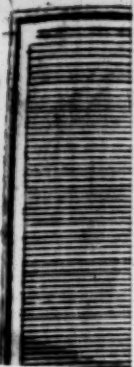
Vitellius
receives
intelli-
gence of
the victory
at Bebria-
cum.

brating, when news was brought into the theatre, that *Otho* had, by a voluntary death, put an end to his life. Hereupon the spectators with loud shouts applauded the name of the new emperor, uttering against *Otho* the same invectives which a little before they had uttered against *Vitellius*. The troops in the city immediately swore allegiance to *Vitellius*. The people carried the images of *Galba* round the temples, crowned with laurels and adorned with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets, after the manner of a sepulchre, close by the lake of *Curtius*, where *Galba* had been slain. In the senate the many honours given to former princes at intervals, and during a long course of reigning, were at once decreed to *Vitellius*. On the German armies high commendations were bestowed, and an embassy sent to return them public thanks, and congratulate them upon their late victory. The letters addressed by *Fabius Valens* to the consuls *Verginius Rufus* and *Poppæus Vopiscus*, of whom the first was absent, were publicly read, and found to be conceived in terms no-ways arrogant; but more applauded was the modesty of *Cæcina*, who had not sent any, it being deemed assuming in any but the emperor to write to the senate and magistrates. In the mean time, *Italy* was afflicted with greater calamities than she had suffered during the war. The soldiers of *Vitellius*, distributed amongst the cities and municipal towns, committed most dreadful devastations, without sparing even the temples. Some, in the disguise of soldiers, killed their particular enemies; and the soldiers themselves, as they were well acquainted with the country, marking out the richest inhabitants, plundered their houses and farms, putting all to fire and sword without mercy, if any resistance was offered. Their generals durst not restrain them, being themselves equally guilty and awed by their men. Of the two *Cæcina* was less addicted to avarice, but courted the favour of the soldiery. *Valens* was himself infamous for pillage and rapine, and thence blind to the excesses of others. Thus, by so mighty a force of foot and horse, by such acts of violence, so many depredations and insults, was *Italy* quite exhausted, and many of the most wealthy inhabitants reduced to beggary.

Vitellius, in the mean time, not yet apprised of the success of his own arms, having left *Hordeonius Flaccus* with a sufficient force to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, was marching towards *Italy* with the residue of the German army, reinforced with eight thousand men drawn from *Britain*, and fresh levies hastily made amongst the *Gauls*. After a few days march he received the agreeable news of the victory at *Bebriacum* and the death

* Idem, c. 55.

* Idem, c. 56.



VITELLIUS



VESPASIAN.



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LIUS.



TITUS.



VESPASIAN.



DOMITIAN.



TITUS.



TIAN.



Pomarede Sculp^t.

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of *Otho*. Hereupon, transported with joy, he assembled his men, and from the tribunal acquainted them with the intelligence he had received, bestowing mighty praises upon the bravery of his victorious troops. The army, not yielding in the base arts of flattery to the senate, made him at this juncture a general request, that he would raise his favourite freedman *Asiaticus* to the equestrian dignity. The emperor, with seeming indignation, rejected their demand; but what in the face of the public he had refused, he soon after privately conferred at a banquet, honouring *Asiaticus*, a most infamous and rapacious slave, with the gold ring, the badge of knighthood. This proceeding was not a little resented by the soldiery. As he was marching through *Gaul*, other messengers came with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the *Mauritanias*, viz. the *Tingitana* and *Cæsariensis*; *Lucius Albinus*, who, in quality of procurator, governed there and had declared for *Otho*, being killed by the *Moors*, upon a report, that *Albinus*, scorning the title of procurator, intended to usurp the ensigns of majesty and the royal name of *Juba*. With him were slain *Asinius Pollio*, who commanded a body of horse, *Festus* and *Scipio*, both captains of cohorts, and several other officers of distinction. Into these transactions *Vitellius* made no inquiry, nor took any notice of the murder of so many great men, a hasty hearing being all he afforded to any affair, however important. His army he commanded to pursue their march by land; he himself sailed down the *Saône*, without the lustre and appointment of an emperor, till *Junius Blæsus*, governor of *Lyonesse Gaul*, a man of great generosity and proportionable wealth, furnished him with a princely train, and accompanied him with great state and magnificence. But this very behaviour provoked *Vitellius* against him, though he then disguised his aversion under many courteous expressions. At *Lyons* he was met by the generals of both parties, the conquerors and the conquered. *Valens* and *Cæcina* he commended in public, and placed them on each side his chair of state. Soon after he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his son, yet an infant, who was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour. His father, taking him thus dressed in his arms, bestowed upon him the surname of *Germanicus* and all the marks of sovereignty. He freely forgave *Salvius Titianus*, *Otho's* brother, the instinct and tenderness of nature, which had prompted him to espouse his brother's cause, and his own want of abilities, pleading for him. Of *Marius Celsus* we are only told, that *Vitellius* reserved for him the consulship, to which he had been formerly designed, and which he was to discharge in the month of *July*. He long postponed admitting *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Licinius Proculus*,

Both the
Maurita-
nias sub-
mit to him.

How he
treated the
generals of
Otho.

keeping them in suspense like criminals. At length he heard them, when they both made a defence rather necessary than honourable; nay, altogether unworthy of a man of *Paulinus's* character; for upon themselves they freely took the shame of treason, ascribing to a fraud concerted between them the long march before the battle, the great fatigue of *Otho's* soldiers, the intermixing the carriages among the troops, when drawn up in battle-array, &c. *Vitellius* gave credit to the confession of their treachery, and forgave them the crime of fidelity, with which they were charged. *Galerius Trachalus*, who composed *Otho's* speeches, was saved by *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*. But all the centurions, who had signalized their faith and bravery in the cause of *Otho*, were by the new emperor's orders put to the sword; which estranged from him the minds of the soldiery, especially of the *Illyrian* legions. However, he suffered the last wills of such as died fighting for *Otho* to continue in force, and the law in behalf of those who died intestate. Before him he sent an edict to *Rome*, to signify, that he deferred receiving the name of *Augustus*, and would not at all accept that of *Cæsar*. By another he ordered the astrologers to depart *Italy* by the kalends of *October*; which was no sooner published, than a libel was hung up in the same style, ordering, in the name of the astrologers, *Vitellius Germanicus* to quit the world by the same day; which so incensed him against all those of that profession, that no sooner was any of them detected, than he caused them, without further inquiry, to be forthwith executed. By a third edict he enjoined, under a heavy penalty, that thenceforth no *Roman* knight should debase himself to fight amongst the gladiators or with the wild beasts; a practice which had been greatly encouraged by former emperors. Before *Vitellius* left *Lyons*, he dispatched orders to *Rome* for the execution of *Dolabella*, who had been confined by *Otho*, as we have related above, to the city of *Aquinum*, and, upon tidings of the death of that prince, was returned to *Rome*. The crimes alledged against him were, that he had broke out of prison, and, presenting himself as a new leader to the vanquished party, had attempted to corrupt the cohort quartered at *Ostia*. These crimes were urged against him before *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of the city, by *Plautius Varus*, a man of prætorian dignity and one of *Dolabella's* intimate friends. The charge of treason could not be proved; but nevertheless *Vitellius*, who dreaded a man of his birth and abilities, and likewise hated him on account of his having married *Petronia*, his divorced wife, resolved by all means to get rid of one, whom he looked upon as a competitor. Having therefore sent for him from *Rome*, and directed him in the letter he wrote to him,

Sends several edicts to Rome.

Dolabella
falsely accused.

not

not to take the *Flaminian* road, but to come round by *Interamna*, now *Terni*, he placed assassins there, with orders privately to dispatch him; but they, without waiting till he arrived at the place appointed, cut his throat in an inn upon the way, while he was not under the least apprehension of danger¹. *Vitellius's* This instance of cruelty raised great murmurs both among the people and nobility, and upon the new reign derived universal hatred and abhorrence.

FROM Lyons *Vitellius* removed to *Vienne*, where he publicly administered justice and thence continued his rout to *Italy*. As he was a man of a most voracious appetite, which *Tacitus* styles quite beastly and boundless, and greatly addicted to banqueting, from *Rome* and *Italy* were brought him dainties of all sorts and every incentive to gluttony, the roads from both seas being continually filled with carriers loaded with viands for the emperor's table. The chief men of the municipal cities, through which he passed, were quite beggared by their magnificent feasts, that being the only means of making their court to the new prince. The soldiers, following the example of their leader, rioted in all manner of excesses, plundering and laying waste, without controul, the cities, villages, and farms, contiguous to the road. The emperor was overtaken on his rout by *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, governor of *Spain*, who came to clear himself of the crimes with which he was charged by *Hilarius*, the emperor's freedman, who urged, that, upon advice of the contest between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Cluvius* had attempted to establish an independent principality, and to appropriate to himself both the provinces of *Spain*. But, the charge appearing groundless, *Vitellius* ordered his freedman to be punished, and took *Cluvius* into the number of his chief favourites, commanding him to attend him, without depriving him of the government of *Spain*, which he still administered, though absent. The like honour was not shewn to *Trebellius Maximus*, who had fled out of *Britain*, frightened by the menaces of the soldiers there. In his room was sent *Vettius Bolanus*, then attending at court. *Vitellius* arriving in *Italy*, found the country filled with troops, those of his own army and the army of *Otho*, dispersed amongst the villages and municipal towns, and mixed together; which occasioned continual quarrels and innumerable disorders; for the vanquished legions continued still in their former disaffection, and breathed nothing but war. The emperor therefore resolved to separate them, and deliver *Italy* from so heavy a burden. The fourteenth legion was accordingly remanded back to *Britain*, from whence they had been by *Nero* called over. With

He receives
Cluvius
Rufus in
favour.

¹ Idem, c. 63—65.

He separates the disaffected forces.

Frequent disturbances amongst the troops of Vitellius.

them were sent the *Batavian* cohorts, who had fought for *Vitellius*; whereas the legion had espoused the cause of *Otho*; and hence a source of perpetual quarrels. At *Turin* especially a tragical battle had ensued, while a *Batavian* insulted an artificer, as having defrauded him, and a soldier of the legion protected the artificer, as his host, had not two prætorian cohorts quartered there, by espousing the party of the legionaries, intimidated the *Batavians* as the weaker. The emperor, when informed of their disagreement, ordered the *Batavians*, as men in whom he could confide, to be incorporated with his own army, and the legion to be led forthwith over the *Alps*, bending their rout so as to avoid *Vienne*; which city was thought to be disaffected to *Vitellius*. But notwithstanding this order, they no sooner descended from the *Alps*, than they turned their ensigns to *Vienne*, and were marching thither, till such as were prone to mutiny were by the better-disposed prevailed upon to march back, in compliance with the emperor's orders, and pursue their rout to the coast of the ocean, whence they were transported in a body to *Britain*. In the next place, the prætorian cohorts were first separated, and then discharged; but sweetened with the rewards which were bestowed upon such as had fully served their term of warfare. The first legion of marines was sent into *Spain*, to be there tamed with tranquillity and repose. The seventh and eleventh were sent back to their old quarters in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. The thirteenth was kept in *Italy*, and there employed in erecting two amphitheatres, since *Cæcina* and *Valens* were preparing each a public combat of gladiators, the former at *Cremona*, the other at *Bononia*. Thus *Vitellius* parted and dispersed, without the least noise or disturbance, the disaffected troops which had served under *Otho*; but had not authority enough to restrain the licentiousness of his own army. As the officers, and even the common soldiers, usually adopt the manners of their emperors, about *Vitellius* was seen only universal disorder, universal drunkenness, and all things rather resembling nocturnal revellings and the debauches of *Bacchanals*, than a *Roman* army and military discipline. In this situation a tumult arose, which derived its beginning from matter of pastime, but was not quelled without much bloodshed. Two soldiers, one of the fifth legion the other from amongst the auxiliary *Gauls*, having, while they sported together, provoked each other to wrestle, the legionary was thrown down, and the *Gaul* triumphed over him with great scorn. This immediately divided those, who had assembled only as beholders, into two parties; insomuch, that the soldiers of the legions, falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two cohorts to the sword. But this tumult was in the end composed

composed by another; for dust and the lustre of arms being discerned at a distance, a general cry ran in an instant through the whole army, that the fourteenth legion had returned, and was approaching with hostile minds; for they were known to be disaffected to *Vitellius*. Hereupon they all joined to oppose the common enemy. But their fear was soon allayed; for it proved the rear of their own army. However, as they chanced, in the mean time, to meet a slave belonging to *Verginius*, they charged him as one employed to assassinate *Vitellius*; and rushing into the banqueting room, insisted, that *Verginius* should be put to death. Tho' *Vitellius* entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of *Verginius*, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he prevailed upon the enraged soldiery, to forbear shedding the blood of one, who had borne the supreme dignity of consul, and been once their own general ^u.

THE next day, *Vitellius* gave audience to the ambassadors from the senate, whom he had ordered to wait for him at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; then he entered the camp of the victorious army, where he was received with loud shouts and joyful acclamations. After he had commended the zeal and bravery of the conquering legions, and promised them their usual rewards, he sent back to their own country the eighteen *Batavian* cohorts, which had attended him in his journey, having found by experience, that they were altogether ungovernable and too prone to mutiny. He likewise dismissed to their several territories all the auxiliary *Gauls*, who had been levied in the beginning of the war. At the same time, that the revenues of the empire, already exhausted, might be able to supply his wild extravagancies, he ordered the number of men in the legions and auxiliaries to be retrenched, put a stop to further levies, and granted discharges to all who required them; which, to those who continued in the service, proved matter of great disgust, since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many. From *Ticinum* the emperor bent his rout to *Cremona*, where he beheld the public sports, exhibited with extraordinary magnificence by *Cæcina*. While he was there, he conceived a desire of viewing the field at *Bebriacum*, and surveying the scene of the recent victory. As the battle had been fought not quite forty days before, the field was still covered with bodies all rent and deformed, with torn and mangled limbs, carcases of horses and men putrified, and the ground dyed with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, the corn trod down, and the whole a shocking scene of cruelty, slaughter, and destruction. The emperor, however, persisted

He disbands several troops.

He surveys the field of battle.

^u Idem, c. 65—69.

*A singular
instance of
the cruelty
of Vitel-
lius.*

in his resolution, and with a great retinue set out for *Bebriacum*; the people of *Cremona* strewing the road with flowers and laurel, rearing altars, and sacrificing victims, even where the ghastly remains of their slaughtered countrymen were still to be seen. *Cæcina* and *Valens* accompanied him, and pointed out the several quarters of the combat: Here the legions began the onset; here the horse in a body rushed upon the enemy's squadrons; from thence the auxiliaries fell upon the rear; in this place the one-and-twentieth legion engaged and routed the first; in that the thirteenth was put to flight by the fifth, &c. The tribunes and commanders of the several legions recounted and heightened, by boasts and invention, their own feats of bravery. The common soldiers too, turning aside from the road to review the field, from space to space, called to mind the several conflicts passed, some with shouts of joy, but many not without concern, and even tears, in beholding the bodies of the slain, mingled in heaps with the carcases of horses and other beasts of burden. As for *Vitellius*, he turned not once his eyes from a spectacle so tragical, nor shewed he the least horror at the sight of so many thousand *Roman* citizens slain and unburied; nay, he even testified joy, and offered a pompous sacrifice to the tutelar gods of the place ^w. *Suctonius* writes, that some of his train being offended with the stench of the half-purified bodies, the emperor was so imprudent as to tell them, *A dead enemy smells well, but a dead citizen better*; evidently betraying, by that impious saying, his natural bent to cruelty and bloodshed. The same writer adds, that afterwards calling for a large quantity of wine, he first drank plentifully himself, and then caused the rest to be distributed amongst his soldiers ^x. From *Bebriacum*, *Vitellius* pursued his rout to *Bononia*; and the nearer he advanced to that place, his march proved the more loose and debauched. Amongst his military bands were blended bands of comedians and herds of eunuchs, agreeable to the genius in *Nero's* reign: for of him *Vitellius* always spoke with admiration and praise. At *Bononia* he assisted at the combat of gladiators exhibited by *Valens*, which was extremely pompous and magnificent, all the decorations of the entertainment having been brought from *Rome*. Before he set out from thence, that he might to *Valens* and *Cæcina* procure some vacant months for exercising the consulship, he abridged the term appointed for others, and *Valerius Marinus*, designed consul by *Galba*, he postponed to a farther time, for no offence given, but because *Valerius* was a man apt to acquiesce under any injury. As he was on his march from *Bononia*, he received let-

^w Idem, c. 70, 71.

^x Suet. ibid. c. 9.

ters from his friends in *Syria* and *Judæa*, informing him, that the provinces in the east had taken the oath of fidelity to him. As he dreaded *Vespasian*, and upon the very mention of his name was frequently observed to start, he no sooner received these tidings, than both he and his army, having now no rival power to fear, abandoned themselves to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine. In all the great towns through which he passed, every pleasure, and every diversion, proved a bait to stop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and stirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiously adorned with garlands of flowers, and plentifully stored with the most exquisite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threescore thousand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immense multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, singers, charioteers, &c. for in such disgraceful familiarities he took great pleasure. Among these there was no order or discipline; nay, their rapines and daily disorders, however insupportable, proved to the emperor matter of sport and diversion. Hence, not satisfied with free quarters where-ever they came, they enfranchised slaves, plundered the houses of their hosts, insulted their wives and children, and, where any resistance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleasure; for though they were constantly quarrelling among themselves, yet, in contest with the peasants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were consumed by furnishing such vast supplies of provision; but as the grain was then ripe, the lands were stripped and laid waste. As the emperor drew near *Rome*, the croud, great in itself, was mightily increased by the arrival of the senators and *Roman* knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which some paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within seven miles of *Rome*, *Vitellius* caused a quantity of meat ready dressed to be distributed among his soldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the mean time, the populace, who came in droves to the camp and were scattered all over it, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived; which it seems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the soldiers, who were strangers to such jokes and could not brook them, upon being asked by way of derision, what was become of their belts? ran to arms, and with their drawn swords falling upon the disarmed multitude, slaughtered great numbers of them, which occasioned a general alarm and consternation in the city. When the tumult in the

*His army
let them-
selves loose
to spoil and
ravage.*

*The po-
pulace
slaughter-
ed by the
soldiery.*

camp

The emperor's entry into Rome.

His conduct.

camp was composed, *Vitellius*, mounted upon a stately courser and in his coat of armour, with his sword by his side, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the senate and people to march before him. But being advised by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dress, as if it had been taken by storm, he put on the senatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, surrounded with standards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops; the whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of a better emperor^y. In this state he went to the capitol, to offer sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and there finding his mother *Sextilia*, embraced and honoured her with the title of *Augusta*. From the capitol, he marched in the same pomp to the imperial palace. The next day, he assembled the senate, and made a public speech, in which he promised extraordinary advantages from his administration, uttered high and pompous things of himself, and chiefly enlarged upon his temperance, tho' all *Italy* had seen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptuousness and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtless multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wishes; and, as he refused the title of *Augustus*, they pressed him so, that he accepted it at last with as much vanity as he had before refused it. He likewise took upon him the office of chief pontiff; but was so ignorant of the religious rites, that a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of *July*, he published an edict concerning the celebration of certain solemnities, tho' that day had been always held unlucky, because on it had happened the tragical overthrows at *Cremera* and *Allia*. His chief study was to gain the good graces and applause of the rabble. With this view he frequented the theatre and circus, exhibited public shows, and did all that lay in his power to keep them in good humour. He went often to the senate, even when the deliberations were about things of small moment. As *Helvidius Priscus*, prætor elect, chanced to offer his sentiments against those of the emperor, he seemed at first to resent it; but afterwards returning to himself, he answered the senators who interposed, that it was nothing new nor surprising, that two senators should be of different opinions; and that he himself had often opposed *Thrasea*; a comparison which was generally ridiculed. In room of the prætorian cohorts, which he had discharged, he raised sixteen new ones and four city cohorts, each containing a thousand chosen men. For captains of the prætorian guards, he appointed *Publius Sabinus*, raised from the command of a cohort, and *Julius Priscus*, then only a centurion. *Priscus* owed his preferment to the interest

^y TACIT. c. 87—89.

of *Valens*, and *Sabinus* his to that of *Cæcina*; for by these two *His fa-*
 favourites all the functions of sovereignty were discharged, and *vourites*
 no portion of power left to *Vitellius*. They strove to excel each *usurp all*
 other in credit and sway, in greatness of train, in numerous le- *the power.*
 vees and dependents; and hence were ever at variance with one
 another, their antient and mutual hatred, which, even during
 the war, had been ill-disguised, being inflamed by the malign-
 ity of their several friends. However, this their animosity did
 not render them more remiss in seizing for themselves fine
 houses and gardens, and the wealth of the empire. *Asiaticus*
 too, formerly the emperor's pathic and now his freedman, had
 a great share in the administration; for, before four months
 were elapsed, he is said to have equalled in wealth all former im-
 perial freedmen. As for *Vitellius*, he quite abandoned the
 functions of an emperor, resigning himself entirely to riot, lux-
 ury, and gluttony. In his court no man strove to rise by vir-
 tue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, namely,
 by means of consuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the
 emperor, ever craving, and never satiated. He eat constantly
 three, and often four and five, meals a day, having brought
 himself to a habit of discharging his stomach by vomiting when
 he pleased. All his meals were expensive almost beyond belief, *His glut-*
 but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited *tony and*
 himself to his friends houses to breakfast in one place, to dine in *profuseness.*
 another, and to sup in a third, all on the same day. He was every-
 where entertained in a most sumptuous and expensive manner:
 but of all these entertainments, the most memorable was made
 for him by *Lucius* his brother; in which, if *Suetonius* ^a and *Eu-*
tropius ^a are to be credited, two thousand different dishes of fish
 and seven thousand of fowl were served up; the choicest of both
 sorts that the sea and land afforded. His own profuseness fell not
 much short of his brother's at the dedication of a charger,
 which, by reason of its vastness and capacity, he termed *the*
target of Minerva. It was nevertheless filled with the sounds
 of the fish called *scari*, the brains of pheasants and peacocks,
 the tongues of birds called *phænicopteri*, and the small guts of
 lampries, brought from the *Carpathian* sea and the farthest
 coasts of *Spain*. As he judged it sufficient to enjoy present
 pleasures, without troubling himself about future events, he
 squandered away in banquets above seven millions of our money
 in four months time ^b; nay, *Josephus* tells us, that if he had
 reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have
 been sufficient to supply the expences of his table. Besides the
 vast sums he consumed by his riotous living, he erected at a

^a Suet. c. 13. ^a Eutrop. p. 720. ^b Tacit. c. 95.

great charge stables for the use of charioteers, exhibited almost daily shows in the circus, combats in the theatre and amphitheatre, those of gladiators, these of wild beasts, and in the most flowing plenty wantonly scattered treasure. But nothing gave greater disgust to the virtuous, tho' it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his solemnizing with great pomp in the field of *Mars* the obsequies of *Nero*, and obliging the *Augustal* priests, an order by *Tiberius* consecrated to the *Julian* family, to assist at that ceremony^c.

The state
of affairs
in the east.

WHILE *Vitellius* was thus wasting the wealth of the empire in voluptuousness and consuming banquets, fortune, or rather providence, was raising him a competitor in a distant part of the world. *Vespasian* had been sent by *Nero*, as we have related elsewhere, with three legions and a considerable number of auxiliaries, to make war upon the *Jews*, which he was carrying on with great success, when news was brought him of the death of that prince and the accession of *Galba* to the empire. Hereupon he immediately dispatched his son *Titus* to pay homage to the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the prosecution of the war. But receiving upon his arrival at *Corinth*, as he had been long stopped by contrary winds, certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, and at the same time understanding that *Vitellius* had taken up arms and designed to dispute the empire with *Otho*, he resolved to return to *Judæa*, to receive there further instructions from his father. Having therefore left *Greece*, he steered his course to the island of *Rhodes*, to that of *Cyprus*, and thence to *Syria*. In the island of *Cyprus* his curiosity prompted him to visit the temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, which was at that time highly renowned amongst the natives as well as foreigners. After he had surveyed the signal wealth of the temple, the donations of princes, and other curiosities, he began to consult the oracle, first concerning the security of his voyage, and then proposed, but in dark terms, questions concerning himself. The priest, by name *Sostratus*, returned him in public a short answer, but desired a secret interview, wherein he disclosed to him his future grandeur. Hereupon, full of hopes, he proceeded to his father; but before his arrival the armies in the east had already sworn fidelity to *Otho*. In *Judæa*, three legions, as we have hinted above, were under the command of *Vespasian*; men thoroughly exercised in war. *Mucianus* governed *Syria* at the head of four legions. Between these two commanders, as they ruled in two bordering provinces, great animosities had reigned; which, however, they dropped upon the death of *Nero*, and agreed to act in concert for their mu-

^c Idem ibid

tual security and interest. This union was first begun by the Vespasian interposition of their common friends, and afterwards accomplished by *Titus*. Into the same confederacy were gained the tribunes, the centurions, and by degrees the common soldiers, who, upon hearing that *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the empire, began to rage and complain, that while others enjoyed rewards for bestowing the empire, they alone were doomed slaves to every emperor. The ardour of the soldiery was well known to the generals; but they judged proper to wait the issue of the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*. Nay, even after *Otho's* death, *Vespasian* took the usual oath to *Vitellius*, and wished him a prosperous reign in presence of his army, as a precedent for them to follow. His troops heard him with disgust and silence, and were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to take the same oath, thinking themselves no less able to create and support an emperor, than the *German* legions or the prætorian bands. They were seven legions, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two provinces of *Syria* and *Judæa* were in their possession: to them lay contiguous that of *Egypt*, which was governed by *Tiberius Alexander*, by birth an *Egyptian*, at the head of two legions. Several forces were quartered in *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, upon the frontiers of *Armenia*, in *Asia*, and the other provinces. The governor of *Egypt*, who was intirely addicted to *Vespasian*, accounted for his own the third legion then in *Mæsia*, since it had been translated thither out of *Egypt*. Hopes too were entertained, that the other legions in *Illyricum* would espouse the same interest. *Vespasian*, however, continued still in suspense, considering with himself, how dangerous it was to cast himself, at the age of sixty, and his two sons *Titus* and *Domitian* in the prime of their years, upon the caprice of fortune and fate of war: in private pursuits, room was always left for retreat; but to those who strive for the sovereignty, no middle lot remains; they must either reign or perish. At the same time, he had before his eyes the great strength of the *German* army; a thing perfectly known to him, who was a man of great experience in war. However, he yielded at length to the solicitations of *Mucianus* and the other officers, promising to assume the title of emperor, when a proper opportunity offered. Hereupon the two commanders, after having spent several days in private conferences, parted, *Mucianus* to *Antioch*, and *Vespasian* to *Cæsarea*, the former the metropolis of *Syria*, the latter of *Judæa*. In the mean time, at *Alexandria* was begun the example of acknowledging *Vespasian* for emperor, through the haste and zeal of *Tiberius Alexander*, who brought the legions there to swear allegiance to him on the first of *July*, which was the day ever afterwards kept and

and Mucianus enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

Vespasian proclaimed emperor.

solemnized as the first of his reign. The army in *Judæa* took to him in person the same oath on the third of *July*, with such ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of *Titus*, who was then on his journey back from *Syria*, where he had been concerting measures with *Mucianus*. These glad tidings no sooner reached *Syria*, than *Mucianus* administered to his soldiers, who were themselves well-disposed, the oath to *Vespasian*. Before the fifteenth of *July* the whole province of *Syria* had taken the same oath. To the party too acceded *Sohemus* king of *Edeffa*, *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Agrippa* king of *Ituræa*, who was returned with great expedition from *Rome*, upon private intelligence conveyed to him by his friends concerning the transactions in the east. Allegiance was likewise sworn by all the maritime provinces, extending to *Asia* and *Achaia*, and by all the inland regions bordering upon *Pontus*, and the two *Armenias*^d.

He establishes a council at Berytus.

His preparations for war.

Vespasian, having now taken upon him the imperial authority, established in the first place, at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*, a council for the direction of all important affairs. Thither repaired *Mucianus*, with a train of general officers and tribunes, and of all such centurions and private men as made a signal appearance. From the army too in *Judæa* came a great number of the principal officers, who, while they strove to surpass each other in pomp and parade, furnished the appearance of the court and grandeur of an emperor. The first step taken for prosecuting the war was, to enlist men, and to recal to the service the dismissed veterans. Fortified cities were allotted for forging of arms. At *Antioch* money was coined, gold and silver. All these undertakings were, in their several quarters, diligently dispatched by careful and capable inspectors. To the kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, *Vologeses* and his brother *Tiridates*, ambassadors were sent; and at the same time provision was made, that, when the legions were withdrawn to prosecute the civil war, the countries behind should not be left naked and defenceless. It was resolved in a council of all the chief officers, that *Titus* should carry on the war in *Judæa*, *Vespasian* seize the straits leading into *Egypt*, and *Mucianus* with part of the forces encounter *Vitellius*. To all the generals and armies letters were sent, with orders to invite to arms, with the promise of rewards, the prætorian soldiers who had been disbanded by *Vitellius*. In the mean time, *Mucianus*, at the head of the sixth legion and thirteen thousand veterans, began his march, acting rather like a colleague, than a minister, of the emperor.

^d TACIT. c. 72—SI. SUET. in Vesp. c. 9. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv c. 35.

He bent his rout through *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia* to *Byzantium*, where he had ordered the fleet to attend him. He loaded the countries, through which he passed, with exorbitant taxes; for which, however, the craving necessities of war furnished an excuse. Out of his own treasure too he helped to support the war; thus liberal of a private sum, which he was sure to repay himself with usury out of the public. The rest contributed after his example; but few were found who recovered their share ^c.

In the mean time, the *Illyrian* army, upon advice that the legions in the east had declared *Vespasian* emperor, espoused the same party with extraordinary zeal. The third legion, then in *Mæsia*, was the foremost; the eighth and the seventh, intitled *Claudiana*, followed the example of the third, being both devoted to *Vespasian*, though they had not been in the last fight. They had indeed advanced as far as *Aquileia*, and there hearing melancholy tidings of *Otho*, insulted those who brought them, rent the standards bearing the name of *Vitellius*, and, sharing the public money amongst themselves, acted with open hostility. Hence, considering that they might urge to *Vespasian* these acts of violence as matter of service and merit, whereas they must expect to be punished for them by *Vitellius*, they not only declared for the former, but by letters solicited the army in *Pannonia* into the confederacy, and were preparing to have recourse to force, if they refused. In *Pannonia* the thirteenth legion and the seventh, called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without hesitation to the cause of *Vespasian*, being chiefly instigated by *Antonius Primus*. He was a native of *Tolouse*; and there, while he was a youth, known by the nickname of *Beccco*, or rather *Becccc*, which, in the language of the *Gauls*, signified *the bill of a cock*. He had been degraded under *Nero* from the senatorial dignity, for forging a will; but restored to his rank by *Galba*, who likewise preferred him to the command of the seventh legion. He was believed to have made frequent applications to *Otho* by letters, offering to serve him in the capacity of general; but being by him neglected, he had borne no share in that war. When he found, that *Vespasian* was likely to prevail, abandoning *Vitellius*, he betook himself to him, and proved a mighty addition to the cause; for he was a man of great personal bravery, daring, and enterprising, a prompt speaker, powerful in popular tumults, and, though rapacious, profuse, and in peace altogether wicked and corrupt, yet very useful in war. The *Mælian* and *Pannonian* armies drew after them the forces in *Dalmatia*. Into *Britain* two

The Illyrian army declares for Vespasian.

And the Pannonian legions.

The character of Antonius Primus.

^c TACIT. c. 82—84. JOSEPH. *ibid.* c. 40.

dispatches were sent to the fourteenth legion, others into *Spain* to the first; for they had both engaged for *Otho* against *Vitellius*. At the same time, letters were dispersed over all the territories of the *Gauls* ^f.

Vitellius
bears of
the revolt.

Sends for
succours.

Africa
faithful to
him.

Vitellius was first informed of the revolt of the third legion in *Mœsia*; which intelligence was conveyed to him by *Aponius Saturninus*, who commanded in that province, but much softened and qualified. The emperor's friends too, soothing him with flattering speeches, took care to put favourable constructions upon the ill tidings. *Vitellius* himself, in a harangue to the soldiers, inveighed against the prætorians lately discharged, as if they had published lying reports, and assured both the soldiery and people, that there was no ground to fear a civil war. The name of *Vespasian* he took care to suppress, and dispersed soldiers all over the city, with directions to silence the rumour among the populace; a precaution which greatly increased the public alarm. From *Germany*, however, from *Britain*, and from both *Spains*, he sent for succours, but in a very negligent manner, the better to conceal the necessity which pressed him. In the provinces, and commanders of the provinces, no less remissness was found: *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded in *Germany*, and *Vettius Bolanus*, governor of *Britain*, were wavering in their fidelity to *Vitellius*; nor in *Spain* was there any forwardness or expedition shewn, the commanders of the three legions there, men equal in authority (for over those provinces presided then no ruler of consular dignity), watching the fortune of the war, and being ready to follow it. In *Africa*, the legion and cohort levied by *Clodius Macer*, and afterwards discharged by *Galba*, upon orders from *Vitellius*, returned to the service. The youth too of the province offered themselves to be enlisted with signal alacrity, *Vitellius* having ruled there as proconsul with great uprightness, as had *Vespasian* in the same quality with ignominy and public hatred. *Valerius Festus*, governor of the province, promoted at first the inclinations of the people with exemplary zeal; but soon after beginning to waver, while he asserted in public the cause of *Vitellius*, by secret intelligence he encouraged that of *Vespasian*, being resolved, whatever party prevailed, to maintain the justice of the stronger ^g.

THE measures concerted and agreed on by *Vespasian* and *Mucianus* were, that the *Illyrian* army should advance as far as *Aquileia*, possess themselves of the *Pannonian Alps*, and there wait, till their forces from all quarters behind them came up,

^f TACIT. c. 85—87. Suet. c. 13. Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 737.

^g TACIT. c. 96—98.

in order to enter *Italy* the following year in a body. In the mean time, the fleet was to keep constantly cruizing both in the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* seas, in order to prevent the conveying of corn to *Rome* from *Egypt*, and provisions from *Achaia* or *Sicily*. By this means they did not doubt, but *Italy* would be obliged to submit without bloodshed. But these orders did not reach the *Illyrian* army, till it was too late to put them in execution; for the leaders of *Vespasian's* party in *Illyricum*, having held a council at *Petovio*, now *Pettaw* in *Stiria* upon the *Drave*, to deliberate, whether they should content themselves with guarding the passes of the *Pannonian Alps*, till the forces behind them advanced, or, by a resolution more daring, march forward and venture a struggle for *Italy*, some indeed thought it adviseable to wait the arrival of succours, magnifying the fame and renown of the *German* legions; but *Antonius Primus*, who was against all delay, argued, that to themselves dispatch was altogether advantageous, and to *Vitellius* only pernicious; since the *German* legions, once indeed formidable, were, by haunting the circus and theatres, and following the idle diversions of the city, at present utterly softened and debauched, and dreadful to none but their hosts; whereas if time were allowed them, their antient vigour would still return, by their application to the cares and pursuits of war. Not far from them, added he, lies *Germany*, from whence a sure recruit of forces; beyond the *Channel*, *Britain*; just by, *Gaul*, as also both *Spains*; from all a ready supply of men, horses, and contributions. *Italy* itself is in their possession, with the immense treasures of *Rome*. The protracting of the war therefore to another summer will prove highly advantageous to them; but in this interval where shall we find provisions? where money? Let us therefore delay no longer, but, with a bold push, make an irruption into the boundaries of *Italy*. The measures which I advise, I am resolved to pursue. You, who are yet free to follow fortune on either side, stay, and with you detain the legions. To me a few cohorts, lightly equipped, will be sufficient. You shall soon hear that I have opened my way into *Italy*, and shaken the power of *Vitellius*. You will then be glad to follow in the track of one who has conquered for you. This speech, uttered with eyes darting fire and a fierce and thundering voice, moved even such as were most cautious and wary. The common soldiers, who, together with the centurions, had conveyed themselves into the council, scorning the resolution of others as cold and spiritless, extolled him as the only brave man, the only resolute leader. His resolution being generally approved of, to render the march into *Italy* secure, letters were forthwith dispatched to *Apenius Saturninus*, who

Antonius Primus is for invading Italy with the Illyrian army.

His proposals approved.

had

He seizes
Aquileia,
and several
other
cities.

Takes
Verona.

had already joined the party of *Vespasian*, with directions to follow in haste with his army from *Mæsia*. That the provinces, thus bereft of their armies, might not be exposed to the incursions of the bordering nations, the chiefs of the *Jazyges*, a *Sarmatian* nation, were taken into the service and retained in pay. Into the party too were drawn *Sido* and *Italicus*, kings of the *Suevians*, men noted for their attachment and fidelity to the *Romans*. On the side towards *Rhætia* guards of auxiliaries were posted, that country being governed by *Portius Septimius* the procurator, a man unshaken in his fidelity to *Vitellius*. *Sentilius Felix* was ordered to possess himself of the bank of the *Oenus*, now the *Ins*, flowing between *Rhætia* and *Noricum*. These precautions being taken, *Primus* marched with great expedition to invade *Italy*, at the head of a chosen body of infantry and part of the horse. He was accompanied by *Arvius Varus*, an officer of great bravery and experience in the art of war, which he had learned under the renowned *Corbulo*, whom he was supposed, in secret conferences with *Nero*, to have accused, and thereby occasioned the ruin of that celebrated commander. By favour, thus infamously gained, he was raised to the rank of a principal centurion. *Primus* and *Varus*, advancing to *Aquileia*, were admitted into the city, and likewise into the neighbouring towns of *Opitergium* and *Altinum*: *Padua* too and *Abeste*, now *Este*, received them with great demonstrations of joy. In the latter place they learned, that three cohorts of *Vitellius's* army, with the squadron of horse called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at *Forum Allienum*, now *Ferrara*, and were posted there. At break of day therefore they attacked them, before they were apprised of their approach, put some of them to the sword, and obliged the rest either to save themselves by flight, or to change their allegiance. In the mean time, two legions arriving at *Padua* from *Pannonia*, viz. the seventh, surnamed *Galbiana*, and the thirteenth, named *Gemina*, *Primus*, after having allowed them a few days for repose, bent his march to *Verona*, with a design to seize that city, and make it the seat of war, as it was situated among spacious plains, fit for encounters of horse, in which his prime force lay. In their march they became masters of *Vicetia*, an acquisition, which, tho' small in itself, passed for one of great moment; since in it *Caccina* was born, and from the general of the enemy the place of his nativity was snatched. The seizing of *Verona* was deemed a more important conquest; for it was a wealthy and flourishing city, and besides, the key of *Germany* and *Rhætia*: so that now all communication between *Vitellius* and those countries was cut off. In the mean time, letters arrived from *Vespasian*, with orders to his generals not to venture beyond

Aquileia,

Aquileia, but to wait there the coming of *Mucianus*. To his authority he added reasoning, viz. that since *Egypt*, since the magazines for supplying *Italy* with provisions, since the revenues of the most opulent provinces, were all under his power, the army of *Vitellius*, through want of grain and pay, might be forced to come over. *Mucianus* in his letters urged the same counsels; but he was prompted by a passion for gaining all the glory, and reserving for himself the whole honour of the war. But from quarters of the world so distant, the counsels arrived when other measures were already taken ^b.

THE dismal tidings of the irruption of the enemy into *Italy* no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Vitellius*, at length thoroughly alarmed, ordered his two generals, *Cæcina* and *Valens*, to prepare with all expedition for taking the field. New levies were raised, and to all, who should voluntarily lift themselves, not only dismissal was promised after the victory, but the same rewards that were paid to veterans after a long course of warfare. As *Valens* was just then recovered from a severe fit of sickness, *Cæcina* alone was sent forward at the head of the *German* army. But the appearance of those forces, so awful upon their late entry, proved far different upon their departure. They had, by imitating the excesses of their emperor, by surrendering themselves to the voluptuous entertainments of the city, and following other practices too abominable to be named, quite wasted their martial ardour and enfeebled their bodies. Their march was lazy and slow, their ranks thin, great numbers, especially of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, having been swept off by distempers arising from their riotous living. Their horses were quite lifeless, and the men grown too delicate to bear the sun, the dust, or the weather; but the more averse they were to military toils, the greater propensity they had to disobedience and mutiny. It was generally believed, that *Cæcina*, who commanded them, out of jealousy and hatred to *Fabius Valens*, *Vitellius*'s chief favourite, had already resolved to change sides, and signified his intention to *Flavius Sabinus*, *Vespasian*'s brother, whom *Vitellius* had not yet removed from the government of *Rome*. *Cæcina*, after *Vitellius* had embraced and dismissed him with high marks of honour, leaving the city, sent forward part of the cavalry to possess themselves of *Cremena*, ordering the rest to repair to *Hostilia*, a place of some strength, and about thirty miles from *Verona*. He himself turned away to *Ravenna*, to confer there with *Lucius Bassus*, who, from the command of a squadron of horse, had been by *Vitellius* preferred at once to that of the two fleets, the one riding at *Ravenna*, the other at

Vitellius orders Cæcina and Valens to take the field.

The bad condition of the German army.

Cæcina wavers in his fidelity.

^b TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—5.

His treachery.

The fleet at Ravenna declares for Vespasian. Cæcina revolts, and is by his troops put in irons.

Misenum; but was nevertheless highly dissatisfied, because he was not appointed captain of the prætorian guards. It is uncertain, whether he drew *Cæcina* off from *Vitellius*, or *Cæcina* him. Those who composed the relation of this war, while the *Flavian* family was possessed of the sovereignty, tell us, that they were both guided by a sincere concern for the public tranquillity, and affection for the commonwealth. But our historian is of opinion, that as they were men of no faith or principles, they were prompted by jealousy and spite; and that, rather than others should surpass them in interest with *Vitellius*, they chose to overthrow *Vitellius* himself ¹. *Cæcina* having rejoined the legions, employed many devices to alienate the affections of the centurions and common soldiers from *Vitellius*, to whom of themselves they were strongly devoted. *Bassus* undertook the same task with the fleet, and accomplished it without much difficulty; for, as they had lately served under *Otho*, they were ready to abandon their faith to *Vitellius*. *Cæcina* advanced to *Hofilia*, and pitched his camp between that village and the marshes formed by the river *Tartarus*, being defended behind by the river, and on each side by the marsh. As he had with him six legions and a great number of auxiliaries, it was in his power to have utterly defeated *Primus's* two legions, (for his other forces were not yet arrived) and to have forced them, by a shameful flight, to abandon *Italy*. But framing delays, he privately carried on a correspondence with the enemy's generals, till, by intercourse of messengers, he agreed with them upon the articles of his treachery. In the mean time, arrived at *Verona* the seventh legion, named *Claudiana*, under the command of *Vipsanius Messala*, a man of a most illustrious family, and the only one who engaged in the war upon worthy designs. The seventh legion was soon after followed by the third and the eighth; and then it was judged proper to draw an intrenchment round *Verona*. In the mean time, the fleet at *Ravenna*, revolting from *Vitellius*, tore his images, and openly espoused the cause of *Vespasian*; which *Cæcina* no sooner understood, than assembling all the principal centurions and some of the common soldiers, he represented to them the deplorable condition of *Vitellius's* affairs, exhorted them to gain betimes the favour of the new prince, and then forthwith gave them the oath to *Vespasian*. Those who were his accomplices setting an example, the rest, astonished at so sudden an event, took it after them. At the same instant, the images of *Vitellius* were pulled down and defaced, and messengers dispatched to acquaint *Antonius Primus* with the whole. But as soon as news of the defection was spread

¹ Idem, c. 6.

through the camp, the soldiers flocked to the quarter where the images of *Vespasian* were set up, and, with the utmost indignation, flung them down, and replaced those of *Vitellius*; then chusing for their leaders *Fabius Fabullus*, commander of the fifth legion, and *Cassius Longus*, prefect of the camp, they put *Cæcina* in irons, cutting in pieces certain marines, who by chance fell in their way, abandoned their camp, and, breaking down the bridge, marched back to *Hostilia*, and thence to *Cremona*, to rejoin there the first legion named *Italica*, and the one-and-twentieth, surnamed *Rapax* ^k.

THESE transactions were no sooner known to *Primus*, than he resolved to attack the enemy, thus divided in their affections, ere the leaders had recovered their authority, the soldiers their discipline and obedience, or the legions their former spirit and boldness. He imagined, that *Fabius Valens*, who was inviolably attached to *Vitellius*, and a commander of great experience, had ere now left *Rome*, and would, upon learning the desertion of *Cæcina*, travel with great expedition. With his whole army therefore he marched from *Verona*, and the next evening incamped at *Bebriacum*. The day following he sent out his auxiliaries to forage in the territories of *Cremona*, and marched himself at the head of eight thousand horse to support them. When he had advanced about eight miles from *Bebriacum*, news was brought him, that the enemy approached. While *Primus* was consulting what measures to take, *Arrius Varus* rushed out with a party of the most resolute horse, and put the enemy's van-guard into confusion; but many advancing to support their comrades, the fortune of the encounter changed, and *Arrius* was put to flight. This hasty step had been taken without the approbation of *Primus*, who judged, that the issue would be such as it proved. He now exhorted those about him to prepare for battle; to the legions he dispatched orders to arm, and notice to the auxiliaries spread over the country, to quit their pillage, and hasten by the several nearest ways to the combat. In the mean time, *Arrius's* routed troops arriving, communicated their dread to the rest; insomuch, that the whole body of horse under the command of *Primus* betook themselves to a shameful flight. During this consternation, *Primus*, discharging the duty of an experienced commander and a most courageous soldier, strove to animate such as were dismayed, to stop such as were flying, readily assisting here with his counsel and orders, there with his sword, where-ever the greatest efforts were required, where-ever any hope was presented. With his javelin he pierced a standard-bearer who

Arrius Varus put to flight by the troops of Vitellius.

The gallant conduct of Primus.

^k Idem, c. 7 — 14.

Vitellius's
cavalry
routed.

The battle
of Cremona.

was flying, and seizing the standard, turned it against the enemy. Hereupon an hundred horse, ashamed to desert their general, returned to the fight. With these, drawn up in close ranks, he sustained the onset, till the rest of his men, finding the bridge behind them broken and their flight interrupted, returned to the charge. Hereupon consternation and dismay seized the enemy; they began to give ground, and at last, *Primus* pressing them with fresh vigour, betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The conquerors pursued them within four miles of *Cremona*, where they met, attacked, and routed two legions, that called *Rapax* and that named *Italica*, who were advancing to the relief of their cavalry. *Primus* forbore pursuing them, mindful of the condition of his men and horses, quite spent with the fatigue of the day. In the close of the evening arrived the rest of *Primus's* forces; and as they marched over heaps of slain, they concluded from thence, that the war was ended, and demanded to be led directly to *Cremona*, being well apprised, that by storming the town in the dark, they should have a greater latitude for plundering; whereas if they waited the return of day, supplications would be offered, and terms granted: by which means the wealth of *Cremona* would accrue to the commanders of the legions and principal officers; for the plunder of a town taken by storm belonged to the soldiers, but to the leaders when gained by surrender. It was with the utmost difficulty, that *Primus* (for they utterly slighted the other commanders) prevailed upon them to delay the attack for one night. In the mean time, some horsemen, who had advanced close to the walls of *Cremona*, having seized some stragglers from thence, learnt of them, that six legions of *Vitellius*, and the whole army that had incamped at *Hostilia*, having that day marched thirty miles, were just approaching in battle-array. Hereupon *Primus* immediately drew up his men according to the nature of the ground, and made the necessary preparations to receive the enemy, who, as they wanted a leader of experience, instead of resting at *Cremona*, attacked, spent as they were with a long march and fasting, *Primus's* forces, and began the engagement at the third hour of the night; that is, about nine in the evening. The combat lasted the whole night, fortune sometimes favouring one side, sometimes another. As they fought in the dark, and the watch-word of each, by being frequently asked and repeated, became known to the other, they could not discern friend from foe. In this dreadful confusion, the seventh legion, called *Galbiana*, was sorely beset. Out of it six centurions of principal rank were slain, and some of the ensigns taken. The eagle, however, was preserved by *Atilius Verus*, the chief centurion, who, in defend-
ing

ing it, slew heaps of the enemy, and at last fell himself. *Primus's* men were chiefly annoyed by a balista of amazing bulk, which, being placed upon the ridge of the highway, swept away whole ranks, by discharging against them great, massy stones; but at length two common soldiers, passing undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, cut the springs of the engines, and by that means, at the expence of their own lives, (for they were immediately cut in pieces) saved part of the army from utter destruction. To neither side was fortune yet leaning, when, the night being near spent, the moon rising discovered the two armies to each other. More favourable, however, she proved to that of *Vespasian*, as she shone upon their backs, and full in the enemy's faces. *Primus*, now that he could distinguish his own men and be by them distinguished, applied himself to animate them, some by shame and reproof, others by applause and exhortation, all by hopes and promises. There ensued from every quarter cries and shoutings; and just then the third legion, according to the custom in *Syria*, where they had been long quartered, paid their adoration to the rising sun. This incident gave birth to a report, which flew in an instant through the whole army and reached the enemy, that *Mucianus* was arrived, and between his forces and the third legion mutual salutations had passed. This disheartened the troops of *Vitellius*; which *Primus* perceiving, made a last effort, pushed them with great vigour, and utterly broke their ranks; which they attempted indeed to restore, but in vain, being embarrassed by their own carriages and engines. Being therefore no longer able to keep *Vitellius's* their ground, they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and *army de-* strove to gain *Cremona*, *Primus's* men pursuing them with great *feated.* slaughter. *Vitellius* is said to have lost, what in the engagement, what in the flight, about thirty thousand men. But the sight of so many dead bodies lying together in heaps, and covering the fields and ways, did not occasion so much horror, as the death of a father slaughtered by his own son. The fact is thus related by our historian, upon the authority of *Vipsanius Messala*, *A father* who, in this engagement, commanded the seventh legion, *killed in* the battle named *Claudiana*: *Julius Mansuetus*, a native of *Spain*, list- *by his son.* ing in the legion called *Rapax*, left behind him a son, then a boy, who afterwards being under *Galba*, inrolled in the seventh legion called *Galbiana*, happened in this battle to engage his father and killed him; but being known by his parent just expiring, as he was rifling him, and knowing him again, he embraced with a flood of tears his pale corpse; charged with a sad and doleful voice the public with the crime of parricide; and lifting up the body, dugged a grave, and, under the utmost affliction, discharged towards his parent

parent the last duty. Those who were nearest observed what passed, and in a moment the tragical accident was divulged throughout the whole army, with many lamentations and bitter execrations upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous; yet they continued to butcher and spoil their kinsmen, their relations, nay, their brethren, at the same time relating what a crying iniquity had been committed, and committing it themselves¹.

They at-
tack the
enemy's
camp.

As the conquerors approached *Cremona*, they found the enemy incamped quite round the walls, and defended by a deep ditch, which had been dug in the war against *Otho*, and since strengthened with fresh works. To proceed to the assault with an army already weary with the continued toil of a day and a night, seemed to the leaders an enterprise full of danger and difficulty; but the soldiers, more apt to brave perils than bear delays, demanded to be forthwith led on to the attack; and *Primus*, yielding to this humour, ordered them, in the form of a ring, to invest the intrenchments, and begin the assault; which they did with a fury hardly to be expressed, raising their shields over their heads, and thence forming a testudo, under the shelter of which they advanced to the foot of the ramparts. But *Vitellius's* men, by hurling down upon them huge stones, loosened the testudo, beat to the ground the men beneath, and made a dreadful havock of them, thus naked, and exposed to volleys of stones and arrows. The onset began to slacken, when the leaders, finding their men exhausted and unmoved by exhortations, pointed to *Cremona* as the price of their victory. Thus encouraged, they renewed the assault, all obstinately combined to succeed or die: regardless of wounds and blood, they strove to demolish the rampart, battered the gates, stood upon the shoulders of one another, and upon the testudo now restored, and thence seized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, and the hands too which held them; so that the hale and the maimed, such as were half-dead, and such as were just expiring, tumbled headlong together and perished. When *Vitellius's* men were no longer able to sustain the shock, and found that all the discharges from the balista were rendered ineffectual by the testudo below, they at last hurled down the engine itself, huge and ponderous as it was, which failed not to crush those upon whom it fell; but at the same time drew with it the battlements, the upper part of the rampart, and the adjoining tower. In this confusion, *Caius Volusius*, a soldier of the third legion, having mounted the rampart, pushed down all who resisted, and cried aloud, That the camp was taken. The rest then having broke the gate with their swords and axes, burst in, *Vitellius's*

And force
it.

¹ Idem, c. 15—25. Dio. l. lxx. p. 740.

men being utterly dismayed, and leaping with great hurry from the battlements. The whole space between the camp and *Cremona*, whither the enemy retired, was covered with dead bodies. And here again was presented a new scene of difficulties, the walls of the city very high, strong towers of stone, the gates secured with vast bars of iron, the garison numerous, the inhabitants devoted to the party of *Vitellius*, and at this time a great part of *Italy* assembled in the town on occasion of a fair. *Primus* ordered fire to be immediately set to the most sumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the city, hoping by that means to oblige the people of *Cremona* to abandon the party of *Vitellius*. At the same time, he conveyed all his bravest men into such houses as stood near the walls, from whence, with volleys of darts, arrows, and stones, they drove away all who made opposition, while the legions, forming a *testudo*, advanced to the foot of the walls. *Vitellius's* men sustained the attack with great intrepidity, till their officers, fearing that, were the city taken by storm, all the fury of the conquerors would vent itself upon them, began to deliberate about surrendering. Having therefore agreed to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquering army, they razed the name and defaced the images of *Vitellius*; then discharging *Cæcina* from his bonds, besought him to plead in their behalf. Thus were so many brave men reduced at length to implore the aid and protection of a traitor. At his request *Primus* granted them their lives, ordering them to surrender their arms and march out of the town; which they did accordingly, *Cæcina*, who was then consul, walking before them, attended by his lictors, and arrayed with the ensigns of the consular dignity. This the conquerors could not bear; they upbraided him in bitter terms with his pride, with his cruelty, nay, and with his treason, and would have proceeded to violence, had not *Primus* checked them, and furnishing *Cæcina* with a guard, sent him away to *Vespasian*^m. For the city of *Cremona*; as it had, even in the war against *Otho*, supported the cause of *Vitellius*, and ever shewed a passionate zeal for his interest, both *Primus* and his army were highly incensed against it; but nevertheless the general did not think it adviseable to deliver it immediately up to be plundered, great part of the wealth of *Italy* being at this time lodged in it on occasion of the fair. In a speech therefore which he made to his soldiers after the surrender of the place, he commended their bravery, exhorted them to use mercy towards their fellow-soldiers, who had submitted; but purposely avoided making any mention of the city, or its inha-

Cremona
attacked.

It surren-
ders.

^m TACIT. c. 16—31.

bitants.

bitants. Having ended his speech, and dismissed the troops, he went to a bath to wash off the blood with which he was still stained; for he had, during the several engagements and attacks, commanded as a general, and fought like a common soldier. In the bath he happened to drop a word, which was remarked and quickly divulged; for finding the water somewhat too cool, he complained of it, adding, It will soon prove abundantly hot. This saying, though pleasantly uttered to his slaves, was instantly spread all over the camp, and by the soldiery, greedy of plunder, interpreted as the watch-word for setting fire to *Cremona*. Accordingly forty thousand soldiers rushing into it, and a greater number of servants and retainers to the camp, more abandoned to acts of cruelty and licentiousness than the soldiers themselves, pillaged, murdered, ravished, &c. without restraint, for four days together, and then setting fire to the empty houses, reduced them to ashes. Such was the end of *Cremona*, two hundred and eighty-six years after its foundation (W). *Primus*, ashamed of the barbarities committed by his soldiers, issued an order, that no one should presume to hold captive any citizen of *Cremona*. Hereupon such as had any began to murder them; which inhumanity obliged their relations to redeem them. Soon after, such of the inhabitants as had outlived the general massacre, returned to *Cremona*, and rebuilt the city, being therein countenanced by *Vespasian*. *Josephus* tells us, that of *Vitellius's* men there fell in the battle thirty thousand and two hundred, and four thousand five hundred on *Primus's* side ^a; and *Xiphilinus* writes, that, what in the field, what in the city of *Cremona*, there perished fifty thousand persons. The conquerors, not able to bear the stench of the putrified carcases, having lodged one night on the ruins in which the city was buried, retired the next day three miles from thence. The soldiers of *Vitellius*, scattered and dispersed

*Is pillaged
and burnt.*

^a JOSEPH. bell. l. iv. c. 41.

(W) *Cremona* was founded, according to *Tacitus* (58), *Polybius* (59), and *Livy* (60), in the consulship of *Tiberius Sempronius* and *Publius Cornelius*, when *Hannibal* was ready to invade *Italy*, as a barrier against the *Gauls* on the other side of the *Po*, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the *Alps*. It grew and flourished by the convenience of rivers, the richness of its territory, and affinities with other nations of *Italy*. In no foreign war it had ever been hurt, but, in the civil dissensions, suffered more than any other city.

(58) *Tacit. c. 3.*
l. xii.

(59) *Polyb. l. iii. c. 40.*

(60) *Liv. epit.*

over

over the country, were assembled again, placed under their former banners, and, as the war still subsisted, sent into *Illyricum*. Messengers were immediately dispatched into *Britain* and both *Spains*, to acquaint the troops there with the victory, as was *Julius Calenus*, a tribune, into *Gaul*, and *Alpinus Montanus*, commander of a cohort, into *Germany*, two officers chosen for ostentation, as the latter was of *Treves*, the former an *Æduan*, and both partizans of *Vitellius*. At the same time, guards were posted upon the passes of the *Alps*, to cut off all communication between *Germany* and *Italy*; for it was reported, that the *Germans* were arming with a design to assist the vanquished party°. Let us now return to *Vitellius*.

HAVING dismissed *Cæcina* in the manner we have related, *Vitellius* and a few days after ordered *Fabius Valens* to take the field, *resigns himself up to voluptuousness.* he buried himself in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, striving to smother all his cares in voluptuousness and all manner of excesses. From *Rome* he retired to the grove at *Aricinum*, where, while he passed his time intirely resigned to sloth and gluttony, he was alarmed with tidings of the defection of the fleet at *Ravenna*. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that *Cæcina* had revolted, but was by the army put in irons. Hereupon he returned to the city, and in a full assembly extolled the fidelity of the soldiery; but ordered *Publius Sabinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to be cast into bonds, on account of his intimacy with *Cæcina*, and named in his room *Alphenus Varus*. The senate, informed of the defection of *Cæcina*, inveighed against him in a style of indignation well studied; for not a man dropped a bitter expression against the leaders of the opposite party, and all with great circumspection avoided mentioning *Vespasian*. Though one day only remained of *Cæcina's* consulship, he was deposed, and *Roscius Regulus* named in his room, who, upon the last day of *October*, began his magistracy, and with the day ended it. In the mean time, *Valens*, who was upon his march to join the troops at *Hostilia* and *Cremona*, being informed, that the fleet at *Ravenna* had revolted to the enemy, instead of quickening his march, halted, and wrote to *Vitellius* for succours. The emperor immediately dispatched after him three cohorts, with the squadron of horse from *Britain*. These *Valens* sent forward to *Ariminum*; but he himself turning aside, bent his course to *Umbria*, and from thence to *Hetruria*. Having there learnt the issue of the battle at *Cremona*, he conceived a design, which, had it been put in execution, would have been attended with very dreadful consequences: he proposed to imbarque for *Nar-* *Valens retires to Hetruria. Designs to raise Gaul.*

° TACIT. c. 35, 36.

bonne Gaul, and landing upon any part of that coast, rouse those powerful provinces and all the *Roman* forces there, as also the several nations of *Germany*, and thence renew the war. With this design he imbarqued in the port of *Pisa*; but was, by contrary winds, forced to land at *Monaco*, where he was kindly received by *Marius Maturus*, procurator of the maritime *Alps*, who, though all the country round espoused the opposite party, had never swerved from his allegiance. By him *Valens* was informed, that *Valerius Paulinus*, procurator of *Narbonne Gaul*, an officer of known bravery and *Vespasian's* intimate friend, had declared for him, and held with a strong garison the city of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, which commanded all access from the sea. Upon this intelligence *Valens* returned directly to his vessels, with four soldiers of the prætorian guards, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving to *Maturus* and the rest full liberty to stay, and swear, if they pleased, fidelity to *Vespasian*. As he roamed about, hovering on the coasts of *Gaul*, he was, by contrary winds, driven upon the *Stæchades*, islands near *Marseilles*, and there by some galleys belonging to *Paulinus* taken prisoner; which was no sooner known, than first the neighbouring, and soon after the more distant, provinces, espoused, without hesitation, the cause of the conqueror.

Is taken prisoner. In *Spain*, the first legion, named *Adjutrix*, which had served under *Otho*, declared for *Vespasian*, and drew over with it the tenth and the sixth. In *Britain* the second legion, which *Vespasian* had commanded there in the reign of *Claudius*, acceded to his party, though not without some opposition from the other legions, in which many centurions and many soldiers had been promoted by *Vitellius*. However, they were all brought at length to acknowledge *Vespasian* ^p.

Gaul, Spain, and Britain declare for Vespasian.

Vitellius smothers all bad tidings.

IN the mean time, the dismal tidings of the overthrow at *Cremona* reaching *Rome*, *Vitellius*, instead of deliberating with his friends about the most proper measures in so critical a conjuncture, with a stupid dissimulation, smothered the news of the calamity, feigning that all his proceedings prospered, and by such false representations leaving his condition quite desperate. About his person was observed a wonderful silence concerning the war; and through the city all discourses about it were prohibited, which for this very cause grew more frequent. However, he privately sent persons, in whom he could confide, to view the enemy's camp; but upon their return, when he had secretly examined them, he caused them all to be murdered, that they might not divulge what they had seen. *Julius Agrestis*, a centurion, having attempted in vain to awaken the

emperor out of his lethargy, at last prevailed with him, that he himself might be sent to survey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the transactions at *Cremona*. *Agrestis* did not assume the behaviour of a spy, nor attempted to escape the notice of *Primus*; but declaring to him the instructions from the emperor and his own design, he demanded to view the whole in person. *Primus* readily sent certain persons with him to shew him the field of battle, the desolation and remains of *Cremona*, and the legions taken prisoners. *Agrestis* having carefully examined the whole, returned to *Rome*; but as *Vitellius* gave no credit to his accounts, nay accused him of corruption and infidelity; Since then, said he, some remarkable confirmation is necessary, and since neither my life nor my death can avail you, I will furnish you with an evidence which you may credit. Having thus spoken, he left his presence, and fell upon his own sword at the gates of the palace^a. In the mean time, some of *Vespasian's* troops, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, advancing as far as *Ariminum*, besieged that place, and possessed themselves of the plains of *Umbria* and the territories of *Picenum*, all along the *Adriatic* sea. Thus between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* all *Italy* was shared, and the ridges of the *Apennine* become the common boundary. As winter approached and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the *Po*, *Primus* sent the legions back to *Verona* with the aged and wounded; and passing the *Po* at the head of the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry, advanced as far as the temple of *Fortune*, at present a city on the *Adriatic* gulph, known by the name of *Fano*. There he halted, upon intelligence, that the prætorian cohorts had already left *Rome*, and that guards were posted upon the *Apennine* to oppose his passage. And truly *Vitellius*, roused at length, as it were, out of a profound sleep, had ordered *Julius Priscus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with fourteen prætorian cohorts, a legion of marines, and other forces, to seize the passes of the *Apennine*. They were all chosen men, and able to have made an offensive war, had they been under the command of a different general. They encamped at *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, in the neighbourhood of *Toligno*; but *Vitellius*, without departing in the least from his wonted course of debauchery, continued at *Rome*, where he settled a succession of consuls for ten years, discharged some nations from all tribute, conferred upon others fresh immunities, and, in short, without any regard to futurity, rent and exhausted the empire with such wild bounties, as could neither be granted nor accepted by men of sense, but were highly applauded by the unthinking herd. At length, moved by the re-

A remarkable instance of the fidelity of Julius Agrestis.

Vitellius sends an army to secure the passes of the Apennine.

^a Idem, c. 54.

He arrives
at the
camp.

The fleet
at Misen-
um re-
volts.

Vitellius
takes the
title of
Cæsar.

peated solicitations of the army, he left *Rome*, and repaired to the camp at *Mevania*, attended by a great number of senators, which only served to expose him to public contempt and derision (X). For as he was quite unacquainted with the military art, he was continually applying for information how to draw up the army, how to procure intelligence, by what measures he might defeat the designs of the foe, &c. Upon every flying report of the approach of the enemy, he was sure to betray great fear, and never failed to get drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp and learning the revolt of the fleet at *Misenum*, he returned to *Rome* in the utmost consternation. The fleet was drawn to revolt by *Claudius Faventius*, who was only a centurion, and had been degraded by *Galba* with marks of ignominy. By forging letters from *Vespasian*, and in his name tempting the officers with great rewards, he prevailed upon them to change their allegiance. To reclaim them, *Vitellius* made choice of *Claudius Julianus*, who had lately commanded the fleet, and was highly esteemed by the marines. But he, without hesitation, went over to the party of *Vespasian*; and, putting himself at their head, took the city of *Terracina*. Hereupon *Vitellius* dispatched messengers to the army, with orders to retire from *Mevania*, and drawing nearer *Rome*, to encamp at *Narnia*, now *Narni*. From it he detached six cohorts and five hundred horse, whom he sent under the command of his brother *Lucius*, to make head against the soldiers of the fleet. He himself remained at *Rome*, where he assembled the people by their tribes, and to all, who desired to be listed, administered the oath of fidelity. As he moved compassion by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and many tears, and was liberal, nay extravagant, in his promises, vast multitudes gave in their names; and to this dastardly crowd, only daring in words, he gave the awful name of legions. To himself he assumed, at this juncture, the title of *Cæsar*, which he had hitherto rejected, as if the *Cæsars* alone were destined to hold the sovereign power^r.

^r Idem, c. 55—58.

(X) *Tacitus* says, that while he was discoursing to an assembly of the soldiers soon after his arrival in the camp, there flew over his head a flock of ravenous birds, so numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. He adds, that a bull escaped from the altar; and overturning the utensils for the sacrifice, was at last slain at a distance from thence, and not in the place where it was customary to kill the victims. This the superstitious pagans looked upon as the worst of omens (61).

(61) *Tacit. c. 56.*

THE

THE army no sooner left *Mevania*, than the *Samnites*, the *Pelignians*, and the *Marfians* embraced the cause of *Vespasian*. At the same time, *Primus*, informed of the enemy's motions, hastened to pass the *Apennine*, where, while his troops were forely annoyed with the cold, and struggling with difficulty out of the deep snow, he considered what dangers he must have undergone, had not *Vitellius's* army abandoned their post. *Primus*, having past the *Apennine*, encamped at *Carfulæ*, between *Mevania* and *Narnia*, and there waited the arrival of the legions from *Cremona*, which were in full march to join him. As the forces of *Vitellius* were only ten miles distant, the troops which *Primus* had with him were for attacking them before the legions arrived, whom they considered rather as sharers in the prey, than partakers in the peril. But *Primus* found means to calm their fury, and in the mean time the legions arrived, and soon after their arrival possessed themselves of *Interamna*, now *Terni*; which so terrified *Vitellius's* army, that they began to fly over to the enemy in whole companies and troops, being encouraged thereunto by their tribunes and centurions. However, some of the common soldiers persisted inflexible in their adherence to *Vitellius*; and a report was industriously spread all over the camp, that *Valens* had escaped into *Germany*, and was there assembling a mighty army. To confute this rumour, and prevent their cherishing any farther hopes, *Valens* was put to death at *Urbium*, where he was detained in prison, and his head sent to the camp, and displayed to the view of *Vitellius's* troops. At this sight, they sunk into utter despair; and seeing themselves on all sides bereft of hope, passed over in a body to the party of *Vespasian*. Upon this general defection, *Primus* and *Varus* neglected not, by repeated messages, to make offers to *Vitellius* of safety to his person, of revenues, of any private retirement in *Campania*, or elsewhere, if he would resign the sovereignty and submit to *Vespasian*. *Mucianus* likewise sent him letters with the like offers; to which he would have yielded, had he not been dissuaded by his friends from ever leading a private life, after he had been emperor. To him now remained only the city of *Rome*, which *Flavius Sabinus* might have easily raised against him; but he, either out of a natural abhorrence to the spilling of blood, or because he envied the grandeur of his brother's fortune, neglected to act with any warmth or alacrity. It is true, he often conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of restoring public peace, but could not be prevailed upon to use violence. In one of these conferences, he agreed to resign the empire upon certain conditions, which *Sabinus* assured him should be ratified by his brother *Vespasian*; which was no sooner known, than his followers exerted their utmost

*Primus
passes the
Apennine.*

*Valens put
to death.*

*The whole
army passes
over to
Vespasian.*

*Vitellius
designs to
abdicate.*

efforts to divert him from his resolution; representing to him, how ignominious, how insecure the terms of peace were, since the performing them entirely depended upon the wanton humour of the conqueror. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours to rouse him to some attempt daring and brave, having learnt on the eighteenth of *December* the defection of his army at *Narnia*, he went forth from the palace in deep mourning, attended by his domestics, with his little son, a helpless infant; and passing in this forlorn condition through the streets of the city, arrived at the place where the people used to assemble; and there to the multitude, which had flocked from all quarters, declared his resolution in a few words, such as suited his present condition, that he voluntarily withdrew for the sake of the public peace and the good of the commonwealth; and that he only desired they would remember him, and to his brother, to his wife, and to his innocent and tender children, shew compassion and mercy. At the same time, extending his arms, with his little son in them, he recommended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At last, bursting into tears, he ungirt his sword from his side, and presented it to the consul *Cacilius Simplex*, who stood just by him, as thus resigning the power of life and death over the citizens. As the consul refused to receive it, and the assembly with loud clamours opposed his resignation, he departed, declaring, that he intended to divest himself of the badges of the imperial dignity in the temple of *Concord*, and thence to seek a private retirement in his brother's house. But the people, sensibly affected with this doleful scene, declared with one voice against his withdrawing to a private dwelling, called him back to the palace, and even shut up every other way. Hereupon, not knowing what to do, nor how to proceed, he returned to the palace³. But as the rumour had already flown all over the city, that *Vitellius* had abdicated the empire; all the principal senators, great numbers of knights, with the city guards and those of the night-watch, crowded to the house of *Flavius Sabinus*. Thither news was brought them, that *Vitellius*, encouraged by the people and his *German* guards, was returned to the palace. As *Sabinus* had advanced too far to retreat, all who were about him advised him to take arms, and force *Vitellius* to stand to the treaty he had made. *Sabinus*, though of himself hesitating and backward (Y), yielded

But is not
permitted.

Flavius
S. inus
takes arms,
but is de-
feated.

³ TACIT. c. 60—69. SUET. c. 15. DIO. l. lxxv. p. 740.

(Y) The nobility of *Rome* did all that lay in their power to rouse *Flavius Sabinus*, and encourage him to share with the other generals of the party, the glory of placing his brother upon the throne. As he

yielded to their advice; but some of the boldest of *Vitellius's* men meeting him as he advanced to the palace, attacked with great resolution, and put him to flight. *Sabinus* under this distress *He retires* had no other resource but to shut himself up in the capitol; *to the ca-* which he did accordingly, with a small number of soldiers, some *pitol.* senators, and a few *Roman* knights. The soldiers of *Vitellius* immediately invested the capitol, but with stations so loose and ill-guarded, that *Sabinus*, during the dead of the night, found means to acquaint *Primus* with his danger, and to cause his own children *Sabinus* and *Clemens*, and his brother's son *Domitian*, to be brought to him. The next morning, as soon as day began to dawn, before hostilities were committed on either side, *Sabinus* sent *Cornelius Martialis*, a centurion of the first rank, to put *Vitellius* in mind of the treaty, and expostulate with him about his thus violating such solemn stipulations. *Vitellius* threw the whole fault upon the soldiers, whose ardour he said, it was not in his power to restrain. He even warned *Martialis* to retire by a private way, that he might not be assassinated by the soldiers, as the mediator of a peace which they abhorred. He was scarce returned to the capitol, when *Vitel-* *The capitol* *besieged.* *lius's* soldiers approached, and began the attack with great fury. The besieged, with showers of stones and tiles, strove to overwhelm the aggressors; but the latter, advancing boldly to the

he was governor of *Rome*, the cohorts there immediately depended upon him, and consequently would not fail to join; and most of the senators offered to assist him with their slaves. The cohorts remaining with *Vitellius* were few, and those quite disheartened with dismal tidings, from all quarters. The populace were wavering; and from them, if he once presented himself as their head, he would find the same flattery and zeal, which they had shewn for *Vitellius*, instantly turned upon *Vespasian*. With these and the like reasonings, the grandes of *Rome* strove to rouse *Sabinus*, but could not by any means prevail upon him to take arms; and hence some entertained private suspicions against him, as if through malignity and emulation he studied to thwart the designs formed in behalf of his brother. For *Flavius Sabinus* was both elder than *Vespasian*, and greatly surpassed him in wealth and reputation. He was even believed to have upheld his brother's credit otherwise sinking, and for the money lent him to have received in pledge his house and possessions. Hence, though between them an appearance of unanimity subsisted, private grudges were apprehended to remain. But our historian is of opinion, that *Sabinus*, naturally merciful and gentle, abhorred all slaughter and spilling of blood; and therefore frequently conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of restoring public peace, and laying down arms by mutual agreement and treaty (62).

(62) *Idem*, c. 64.

very

And burnt
to the
ground.

very gates of the citadel, set fire to them, and must have entered, had not *Sabinus* pulled down the statues on all hands, and, with these glorious monuments of antiquity, raised in the very entrance a new wall. Then they strove to force a passage from the opposite avenues of the capitol, climbing over the contiguous buildings, which, during a long peace, had been suffered to be raised to the height of the foundations of the capitol. Here the assault was close and fierce; and the adjoining roofs being set on fire, whether by the assailants or the besieged is uncertain, the flame spread from thence to the porticoes of the capitol; and being there nourished by the timber, which was very old, spread every way with terrible impetuosity; nor did the conflagration cease, till that glorious and stately edifice was burnt to the ground and laid in ashes; the most deplorable misfortune, says *Tacitus*, that had happened since the founding of the city, and to the *Roman* people the most reproachful, since by them, and not by a foreign enemy, the sacred seat of the great *Jupiter*, reared by their ancestors with solemn benedictions and auspices, as the pledge and centre of future empire, was thus impiously profaned and reduced to ashes¹.

Sabinus
taken pri-
soner.

WHILE the capitol was yet burning, *Vitellius's* bands, bursting in, put all who opposed them to the sword: of these the most signal were *Cornelius Martialis*, *Æmilius Pacensis*, *Casperi Niger*, and *Didius Scæva*. *Flavius Sabinus* and *Quintius Atticus* the consul, were taken and loaded with irons. The rest, by divers stratagems, escaped, having learnt the word by which the soldiers of *Vitellius* were distinguished by one another. Young *Domitian* was saved by the contrivance of one of his freedmen, under the disguise of a linen robe, as if he had belonged to the tribe of the priests who offered sacrifices in the capitol (Z). *Sabinus* and *Atticus* were carried to *Vitellius*, who did all that lay in his power to appease the fury of the populace

¹ TACIT. c. 70—72.

(Z) *Domitian* passing among the sacrificers undiscovered to the house of *Cornelius Primus*, a dependent of his father's, near the place called *Velabrum*, lay there concealed, till *Rome* was taken by *Primus*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, demolished the house where he had lain concealed, and raised upon the place a small chapel dedicated to *Jupiter the protector*, with an altar, and the account of his adventure engraved upon marble. When he arrived at the sovereignty, he erected a vast temple sacred to *Jupiter the guardian*, with himself held in the arms of the god (63).

(63) *Idem*, c. 74.

and

and soldiery, crying aloud for their execution. They were chiefly incensed against *Sabinus*; and therefore, instead of *And mur-* hearkening to the emperor's intreaties, they run him through *dered.* in his presence; then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk through the streets to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, where the bodies of malefactors were usually exposed. He had, for the space of five-and-thirty years, carried arms for the common-wealth, had governed *Mæfia* seven years, and *Rome* twelve, bearing both in peace and war a signal reputation. The only failing, which even his enemies could object to him, was his talkativeness. As to the innocence of his life and justice of his actions, he was altogether blameless. All agree, that before *Vespasian* became emperor, *Sabinus* was looked upon as the chief ornament of the *Flavian* family, and the support of *Vespasian* himself, who was his younger brother: when the people demanded the doom of the consul *Atticus*, *Vitellius* persisted in opposing them, being entirely reconciled to him, in regard of his openly confessing, that he had set fire to the capitol; and by thus assuming the odium of the crime, though the whole was by some thought a fiction, acquitted as innocent the party of *Vitellius*. About the same time, *Lucius Vitellius*, the emperor's brother, defeated in *Campania* the marines, who had declared for *Vespasian*, and retook *Terracina*. Six small galleys escaped, and in one of them *Apollinaris* commander of the fleet. All the other vessels were seized by the shore, or, surcharged by the flying crowd, sunk to the bottom. *Julianus*, who had been sent by *Vitellius* to reclaim the fleet, and had gone over to *Vespasian*, was taken prisoner, and by *Lucius's* orders first inhumanly scourged and then executed. Had *Vitellius's* men, now elated with success, proceeded directly to *Rome*, a dreadful struggle must have ensued; nor could it have been decided without the destruction of the city. But while *Lucius* was deliberating, whether he should return forthwith to *Rome*, or pursue the reduction of *Campania*, the troops of *Primus*, informed of the danger of *Sabinus*, hastened to his relief. *Petilius Cerealis*, one nearly allied to *Vespasian*, and a commander of no mean character, upon the first news that the capitol was besieged, was sent forward with a thousand horse, and ordered to cross the *Sabine* territories and enter *Rome* through the *Salarian* way. *Primus* himself advanced along the great *Flaminian* road, and when the night was far spent, arrived at a place called the *Red Rocks*. There he received dismal tidings, that *Sabinus* was murdered, the capitol reduced to ashes, the city under dreadful consternation, the populace and slaves all under arms for *Vitellius*,

*Lucius
Vitellius
takes Ter-
racina.*

*Primus
marches to
Rome.*

Vitellius
sends em-
bassadors
to treat of
an accom-
modation.

Primus's
answer.

&c. (A). *Petilius Cerealis*, meeting not far from the city a party of the enemy, attacked them briskly, but was by them received with equal resolution, and, after a long and bloody contest, put to flight and pursued as far as *Fidenæ*. This success heightened the zeal and partiality of the people for *Vitellius*; they betook themselves to arms, most of them snatching up whatever fell first in their way, and, thus armed, demanded to be led out against the enemy. *Vitellius* commended their zeal, but at the same time sent ambassadors both to *Cerealis* and *Primus* to renew the former treaty. The soldiers of *Cerealis* insulted the deputies, and even wounded the prætor *Arulenus Rusticus*, a man of great merit and distinction, and slew his principal licitor, for daring to open a passage through the croud. Those who went to *Primus* were better received. They were attended by the *Vestal* virgins, who brought letters from *Vitellius* to *Primus*, wherein the emperor desired, that the battle, which was to be the last, might be suspended for one day, since during that interval all things might be easily accommodated. *Primus* dismissed the virgins with all demonstrations of honour; but to *Vitellius* returned answer, that, by the murder of *Sabinus* and the burning of the capitol, all means of ending the war by

(A) *Primus's* forces might have reached *Rome* before the capitol was besieged; but, instead of pursuing their march to the city after they had left *Narnia*, they diverted themselves at *Otriculum*, now *Otricoli*, in celebrating the annual feast of *Saturn*, which lasted many days. There were not wanting some, who on this occasion entertained suspicions of *Primus*, and charged him, as if, through treachery, he thus lingered, in consequence of the letters secretly sent him from *Vitellius*, with offers of the consulship and of his daughter then marriageable, and with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from *Vespasian*. Others alledged, that all this charge was no more than a fiction, and that it was a resolution concerted amongst all the leaders, rather to terrify the city with a terrible display of war, than to carry the war thither, since the chief strength of the prætorian bands had already deserted *Vitellius*, who was likewise precluded from receiving any reinforcements; so that it was presumed he would quietly yield up the empire. But the true cause of so preposterous delay was, according to our historian, their waiting the coming of *Mucianus*, who was advancing full march with the forces of the east, and by frequent letters retarded the motion of the conquering army, being stung with envy at the success of *Primus*, and thinking that he should be deprived of all share in the glory of the war, were he not present at the entry into *Rome*. But the news, that the capitol was besieged, roused *Primus*, and put the whole army in motion (74).

(74) *Idem*, c. 78).

treaty

treaty were cut off (B). The ambassadors were scarce gone, when the whole army moved, advancing in three bodies to the walls of *Rome*, where the forces of *Vitellius* expected them, divided likewise into three bodies. The weak and unwarlike populace was routed at the first onset; but *Vitellius's* other troops, rallying out against the enemy as they approached the walls of the city, attacked them with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Primus's* men stood their ground with equal resolution and intrepidity; so that the most cruel and bloody battle ensued that the *Romans* had ever sustained. The conflict lasted several hours with various success; but in the end proved favourable to *Primus's* men, as superior in the abilities of their leaders. The *Vitellians* were with great slaughter driven into the city, where they assembled again; and, though vanquished and routed, renewed the battle with fresh vigour, and continued it to the close of the day. The people gathered about the combatants as spectators; and as if they had been only attending the representation of a fight exhibited for public amusement, they sometimes favoured one party, sometimes another, with theatrical shouts and clappings: nay, as often as either side turned their backs, or particulars fled into houses, or concealed themselves in shops, they insisted upon their being dragged out and slain. The people, as *Tacitus* observes, were so little affected with this tragical spectacle, that at the same time were seen in one place cruel conflicts and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious banqueting and voluptuous revellings; every-where streams of blood and heaps of carcases; and hard by wanton debauchees and lewd harlots: in short, all the abominations of a most dissolute and riotous peace, and all the barbarities of a most dreadful and cruel captivity. *Primus's* men, having in the end prevailed and made themselves masters of the city, marched in the next place to storm the camp of the prætorian guards, whither the most determined amongst the enemy had retired. As they considered the camp as their last hope and resource, they exerted their utmost efforts in defending it; and, though in number inferior, often repulsed the aggressors; and at length, when the gates, in spite of all opposition, were burst open, uniting together,

*Vitellius's
men driven
into the
city;*

*Which is
taken with
the camp.*

(B) *Musonius Rufus*, by rank a *Roman* knight, by profession a *Stoic*, joining himself to the ambassadors, endeavoured, by philosophical discourses about the advantages of peace and the dangers attending war, to quell the fury of men in arms; but was derided by some, outrageously insulted by others, and at last, partly by menaces, partly by the persuasions of the more moderate, prevailed upon to forbear his unseasonable lessons of wisdom (75).

(75) *Idem*, c. 81.

U u 2

they

they made a last effort ; but being overpowered by numbers, they all fell, facing the enemy and wounded only before ^u.

Vitellius
abandons
the palace,
but returns
to it.

Vitellius, seeing the city taken, caused himself to be conveyed in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's house upon mount *Aventine*, with a design to lie there concealed during the day, and fly by night to his brother, then at *Terracina*. But as to one who is under dread, and fears all things, the present affairs seem most dangerous, he soon changed his mind and returned to the palace. *Suetonius* writes, that he altered his resolution upon a groundless and uncertain report, that a treaty and a peace was concluded. Be that as it will, he found the palace now quite desolate and abandoned ; all his slaves and domestics having slipped away, or carefully avoiding to meet him. Terrified with the dismal solitude and silence, he tried to enter several apartments ; but finding them all shut, and being at last weary with such miserable and solitary wandering to and fro, he thrust himself into the porter's lodge, and concealed himself behind the bed. In the mean time, a party of *Primus's* men entering the place, searched all places and corners, till at last they discovered the emperor and dragged him out. As they knew him not, they inquired who he was, and whether he could acquaint them what was become of *Vitellius*. He deceived them at first ; but being soon known by *Julius Placidus*, tribune of a prætorian band, he pretended to have matters of the utmost importance to impart to *Vespasian*, and with great earnestness begged to be kept, though it were in prison, till his arrival. But the tribune and soldiers, deaf to all intreaties, tied forthwith his hands behind him, threw a halter about his neck, rent all his apparel, and dragged him half-naked into the forum through the great street called the *Sacred Way*, forcing him, with their swords pointed at his throat, to hold up his head, and present his face to the indignities offered him by the rabble, who now reviled him in a most outrageous manner. They forced him to behold his own statues thrown down, and to view the place where *Galba* had been murdered. While he was thus haled along, a *German* soldier meeting him, drew his sword and discharged a violent blow, whether at *Vitellius* to revenge some former injury, or at the tribune, or to release the emperor from insults and derision, is uncertain. The tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himself instantly slain. *Vitellius* they pushed forward, the populace the whole time upbraiding him with his gluttony, his target of *Minerva*, his lewdness, and even the imperfections of his body ; for he was enormously

He is discovered,

Insulted by
the populace,

^u Idem, c. 73—87. DIO. l. lxy. p. 742. SUT. c. 15. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

tall, corpulent, and somewhat lame, having been hurt by a chariot, while he was attending *Caligula* at the races in the circus. He bore all the insults and indignities offered him without uttering a single word, except to the tribune, to whom, while he treated him in a manner altogether unbecoming, he answered, that nevertheless he had been his emperor. They dragged him at last to the *Gemonia*, the common charnel of malefactors, where the body of *Flavius Sabinus* had lain exposed, and there with many wounds put an end to his unhappy life. His head was cut off, and carried on a pole through the chief streets of the city. His body was dragged with a hook, and with all possible ignominy thrown into the *Tiber*, but afterwards buried by his widow *Galeria Fundana*. Thus died *Aulus Vitellius*, the ninth emperor of *Rome*, according to some in the fifty-fourth, according to others in the fifty-eighth, year of his age, after having reigned a year, wanting ten or twelve days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Cologn*, and eight months and a few days after the death of *Otho*. He was raised to the first dignities in the state by no parts or merit of his own, but in regard of the lustre of his family, which was one of the most conspicuous in *Rome*. By his extravagant bounties and largesses, he gained the affections both of the soldiery and people. Of the former, many adhered to him with unshaken fidelity to the last, tho', in the opinion of our historian, he had not one good quality to recommend him to such as wished well to the republic, having been stained, even from his tender years, with all manner of crimes and most infamous and abominable iniquities^w. The day being already far spent, the senate could not be assembled, the senators and magistrates having either privately withdrawn from the city, or concealed themselves in the houses of their dependents. *Domitian*, apprehending now no further danger, presented himself to the leaders of the party, and was by the soldiers thronging about him saluted *Cæsar*, and by them conducted in a kind of triumph to his father's house. And executed.

In the mean time, *Lucius Vitellius* was with his cohorts advancing from *Terracina* to the relief of his brother. The cavalry was therefore sent forward to *Aricia*, and the legions ordered to advance to *Bovillæ*. But *Lucius* was no sooner informed of the unhappy doom of the emperor, than he surrendered himself and his bands to the pleasure of the conquerors. The soldiers were disarmed and led through the city, guarded on each side by files of armed men, without betraying a suppliant look, or dropping a mean expression, though outrageously Domitian saluted Cæsar.

^w TACIT. c. 85, 86. SUET. c. 4, 5, 15, 18. DIO. p. 743.

The miserable condition of the city.

The sovereignty of Vespasian acknowledged by the senate.

The Dacians in arms are quelled by Mucianus

insulted by the mocking and petulant vulgar. They were all committed to prison, but soon after released. As for *Vitellius*, he was put to death; a punishment which he well deserved, being no less addicted to all kinds of vices than his brother. But for all his vices, he wanted neither courage nor activity, and supported the cause with great resolution and vigilance*. By the death of the emperor and his brother, war was rather seen to cease, than peace to commence; for the conquerors, continuing in arms, hunted all over the city after the conquered, filling with carnage and mangled bodies the streets, the places of public resort, the temples, and even the private houses, which they burst open and pillaged, pretending, that there some *Vitellians* were concealed. The indigent part of the populace failed not to join the soldiers in the general violence and spoil; so that on all hands nothing was heard but dismal complaints and outcries, and nothing seen but the dreadful calamities of a city stormed and sacked. *Domitian*, who already enjoyed the name and residence of *Cæsar*, instead of striving to check the insolence of the soldiery, attended his infamous pleasures, and only by his dissolute life shewed himself the son of an emperor. *Primus*, in whose hands the whole power was lodged, made use of it only to plunder more freely, being wholly taken up in conveying from the palace treasure, moveables, and domestic slaves, as if he were still seizing the spoil of *Cremona*. When the fury of the soldiers began to abate, the senate met, and confirmed the sovereignty of *Vespasian*, decreeing to him with great alacrity all the titles and prerogatives ever invested in former princes. They declared him consul, giving him his son *Titus* for colleague in that dignity: *Domitian* they honoured with the prætorship and consular authority: they presented *Primus* with the consular ornaments, and *Cornelius Fuscus* and *Arrius Varus* with those of the prætorship. All these decrees were passed at the motion of *Valerius Asiaticus*, consul elect†.

DURING these commotions in *Italy*, the *Batavians* revolted, under the conduct of the celebrated *Claudius Civilis*; but of the causes and events of this war, which continued long, we shall speak in the following reign. The people of *Dacia* too rose up in arms; a people never well-affected to the *Romans*, and then by no forces restrained, since the army was withdrawn out of *Mæsia*. They stormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary cohorts, passed the *Danube*, and were proceeding to demolish the entrenchments of the legions, when *Mucianus* happened to march through *Mæsia* with the forces of the east. As that commander was already apprised of the victory at *Cremona*, he

* TACIT. l. iv. c. 2.

† Idem ibid.

detached the sixth legion to oppose the barbarians, and appointed *Fonteius Agrippa* governor of *Mæsia*, with part of the troops which had surrendered at *Cremona*, and which it was thought adviseable to engage in a foreign war, that they might not disturb domestic peace. *Agrippa* obliged the enemy to repass the *Danube*; and, to prevent any farther attempts of the like nature, built a great number of forts on the banks of the *Danube*, and strengthened them with numerous garisons. In *Pontus* likewise great disturbances were raised by one *Anicetus*, formerly freedman to king *Polemon*, under him in great power, and commander of the royal navy. As he was highly provoked against the *Romans* for changing the kingdom into a province, which happened in the reign of *Nero*, and by that means depriving him of all his authority, he laid hold of the present opportunity, and, levying forces under colour of assisting *Vitellius*, seized the city of *Trebizond*, burnt the fleet which guarded the coasts, and, entering into an alliance with the neighbouring barbarians, scoured the sea with scorn and insult, and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of *Asia*. Against him *Vespasian* sent a choice body of legionaries, under the command of *Viridius Geminus*, an officer distinguished in war; who, attacking the enemy while they were roving about in quest of booty, drove them into their vessels; then, with some galleys built with great expedition, chased *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he relied upon the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, a people of *Colchis*. That prince seemed at first determined to defend his ally; but, as soon as a reward for his treachery was proposed and a war threatened, he betrayed *Anicetus* and all his followers to the conqueror. Thus ended that servile war; and *Vespasian* received an account of the success which had attended his arms, a few days before the joyful tidings were brought him of the great victory gained by his forces at *Cremona*^z.

^z TACIT. l. iii. c. 46, 47.

C H A P. XIX.

From the death of Vitellius, to the death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars, in whom ended the Flavian family.

The descent, birth, and actions of Vespasian, before he attained the sovereignty.

THE Flavian family, now raised to the highest pitch of grandeur, was no-ways conspicuous, either for its lustre or antiquity. *Titus Flavius*, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, in the country of the *Sabines*; and in the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, served under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of *Pharsalia*; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himself to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His son, *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, followed the same profession, and acquitted himself in it with such integrity, that by several cities of *Asia*, where he was collector of the tax called *quadragesima*, statues were erected to him with this inscription, *To the honest publican*. Afterwards he withdrew into the country of the *Helvetii*, where he acquired a considerable fortune by lending money upon interest. He married *Vespasia Polla*, whose father had been military tribune and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, *Sabinus*, of whom we have spoken above, and *Vespasian*, who was born on the seventeenth of *November* of the ninth year of the common christian æra; that is, five years before the death of *Augustus*; so that he was raised to the empire in the sixtieth year of his age. He was, amongst many other new men chosen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the senate by the emperor *Caligula*. He indeed at first declined that dignity, but was at last, in a manner, constrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards served in quality of military tribune in *Thrace*, was quæstor of the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Crete*, ædile, and prætor. He attended the emperor *Claudius* into *Britain*, where he distinguished himself, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner, as we have related in the reign of that prince. He was consul during the two last months of the eleventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and by *Nero* appointed governor of *Africa* in quality of

of proconsul he married *Flavia Domitilla*, a native of *Africa*, at first slave to *Statilius Capella*, but afterwards manumised and made free of the city. By her he had two sons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named *Domitilla*, who died, as did also her mother, before his accession to the empire. *Vespasian* was, as *Tacitus* observes, of all the emperors the only one by power changed for the better. While he was in a private station, he used to court the favour of the princes by the meanest flattery. During his prætorship he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary sports in honour of *Caligula*, on account of the pretended victory in *Germany*. He was one of the few sycophants who were of opinion, that those who were said to have conspired against that prince should be publicly executed, and that their bodies should be left unburied. In the presence of the whole senate he returned *Caligula* thanks for having done him the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to *Narcissus*, the freedman of *Claudius*, for the consulship, and the two sacerdotal dignities which he enjoyed; what dignities these were, we are no-where told. After the death of *Narcissus*, his great patron, he withdrew and led a private life, dreading the violent spirit of *Agrippina*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to that minister and all his friends. It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by *Nero* appointed proconsul of *Africa*, in which government he acquitted himself, according to *Suetonius* ^a, with honour and integrity; according to *Tacitus* ^b, with ignominy and public hatred. The former writer acknowledges, that, during a sedition at *Adrumetum*, he was outrageously insulted by the populace; and, on the other hand, it is well known, that no province espoused the cause of *Vitellius*, and opposed the preferment of *Vespasian*, with more ardour than that of *Africa*; a manifest proof that his government had not been popular. Soon after his return from *Africa*, his affairs being in a bad condition and his credit at stake, he was obliged to mortgage his house and possessions to his brother *Sabinus*, and in the mean time to support himself and his family with the mean gain he earned by selling and changing horses, nay, and by other means still more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces, for employing his interest in procuring him a place in the senate, against the inclination and express will of his father. He attended *Nero* into *Achaia*, where he incurred that prince's displeasure, and was forbid the court, for his inattention while the emperor was singing; a crime, which had nigh cost him his life

^a Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.^b Tacit. l. ii. c. 37.

His character as a general.

at *Rome*, as we have related elsewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every moment his last doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by *Nero* to command in the war against the *Jews*, as a person of great military abilities, and one, who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage. He was therefore sent into *Judæa* with three legions, eight squadrons of horse, and ten auxiliary cohorts, his son *Titus* serving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the course of that war, which proved so fatal to the *Jewish* nation, *Vespasian* acquired signal reputation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a soldier, he was indefatigable: it was he who always led the march; he who always chose the ground for incamping. Upon consultations and dispatches he spent nights and days, and was ever ready upon any exigency to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and dress he varied little from a common soldier. In short, had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equalled the most famous commanders of antient times. With that vice he is charged by most writers; among the rest by *Tacitus*, who owed to him his first promotion in the state; but nevertheless declares, as becomes an impartial historian, against admitting personal hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*, while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the sovereignty, he began to cherish hopes of obtaining it himself, relying on several prodigies, prophecies, and propitious responses of oracles (C). Of the many predictions,

(C) The antients take notice of many prodigies presaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, says *Tacitus* (10), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypress-tree, signally tall, fell suddenly; but the day following rose again, and resumed fresh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring testimonies of the soothsayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the state; yet at first the whole presage seemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments, which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of consul, and by his renown in vanquishing the *Jews*. But when he had passed through those honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing presaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the answer returned him by *Basilides*, priest of the god *Carmel*, so called from mount *Carmel*, on which stood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* observes, not distinguished by any statue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Vespasian* offered sacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Basilides* the priest, having diligently sur-

(10) *Tacit. l. ii. c. 78.*

ons, that of *Josephus* the historian is the most famous, who saluted *Vespasian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero's* reign, and assured him, he should be soon invested with the sovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himself ^c, but likewise by *Suetonius* ^d, who tells us, that *Josephus*, being by *Vespasian's* orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a short time he should by him be set at liberty; but that he should be emperor first. However, that the empire was by the dark laws of fate, by predictions, and prophecies, foretold and ordained to *Vespasian* and his sons, was, says *Tacitus*, what we believed, after we had seen them emperors ^e. *Vespasian*, being encouraged by *Mucianus*, governor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not to neglect the present opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the most unworthy, were contending for the empire, he at length yielded, as we have already related, and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the first of *July* of the sixty-ninth year of the christian æra; on the third of the same month in *Judæa*, where he then was; on the fifteenth in *Syria*; and a few days after in all the provinces of the east. He was not in himself any-ways changed by so sudden and so mighty a turn of fortune: no loftiness appeared in his aspect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour, under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raising some to military commands, others to be governors of provinces, several to the rank of senators, most of them men of signal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the highest honours in the state. As he thought it below him to court the soldiers by largesses, he promised them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he established at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was resolved, that *Titus* should pursue the war against the *Jews*, and

Is acknowledged emperor in the eastern provinces.

^c JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. ^d Suet. c. 5. ^e Tacit. l. i. c. 85. & l. ii. c. 78.

veyed the intrails, addressed him thus: Whatever design it is which you meditate, O *Vespasian*, whether to build a house, or extend your domains, or to enlarge your train of slaves, to you is granted a mighty and large settlement, infinite bounds, and multitudes of men. These mysterious words were immediately spread abroad by fame, and by all explained as presaging the empire to *Vespasian*. Many responses of oracles and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (11), and *Dion Cassius* (12); but we shall not trespass upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(11) Suet. in Vesp. c. 5. (12) Dio. l. lxvi. p. 744.

Receives
news of
the fate of
Vitellius.

Mucianus march with part of the forces against *Vitellius*. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*, with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Mucianus*, made himself master of *Rome* and all *Italy*, and caused the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which transactions we have already related at length. In the mean time, *Vespasian*, having passed some time at *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he hastened to *Alexandria*, with a design to distress *Rome* by famine, since from *Egypt* chiefly the city was supplied with corn. He was at the same time preparing to invade *Africa* by sea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their provisions, the calamity of hunger, with that of dissension. But, in the mean time, many persons of all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of *Vitellius*; which were no sooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithstanding it was then winter, to court the favour of the new emperor; insomuch, that *Alexandria*, the greatest city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too small for the vast numbers of ambassadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, &c. who flocked thither. Among the rest, ambassadors arrived from *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*, who offered to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse. *Vespasian* returned him thanks, and, desiring he would send ambassadors to the senate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-established in peace^f. The news of the death of *Vitellius* made *Vespasian* alter his measures; for instead of distressing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he dispatched thither a great number of vessels laden with corn; which arrived very seasonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public stores above ten days provision of grain^g. As the winter-season was far advanced, *Vespasian* continued some months at *Alexandria*, waiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer.

Mucianus
arrives at
Rome.

His cha-
racter.

In the mean time, *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Josephus*^h, the day after the death of *Vitellius*, and in a moment drew to himself, as he had been invested by *Vespasian* with an uncontrouled power, the whole sway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a strange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complais-

^f Idem, l. iv. c. 51. JOSEPH. ibid. l. iv. c. 42. ^g DIO. VAL. p. 702. TACIT. ibid. ^h JOSEPH. bell. l. iv. c. 42.

ance;

ance; when unemployed, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when business required them. Hence his equal share of praise and reproach; as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. He was a great master in the several arts of engaging, an able orator, well versed in civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dexterous at concerting schemes, mighty in credit with those who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in short, such a man as could easier create an emperor than be one. *Vespasian*, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, invested him with an unlimited power, and is even said to have trusted him with his signet, as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's colleague, than as a subordinate minister. Quite sunk was the power of *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus*, whom *Vespasian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well dissemble his animosity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addresses were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but incircled with guards, and attended with an equipage becoming a sovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions of sovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he caused *Asiaticus*, the late emperor's freedman, to atone for his late wicked sway, by suffering the death of a slave. His doom was by every one expected and even wished for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occasioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the son of *Caius Piso*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aspired at the sovereignty; but had himself no share in that conspiracy, nor had ever offered to disturb the state. However, as he was of an illustrious family, of a graceful person, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the custody of a band of soldiers, sent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins opened¹.

He bears
universal
sway.

He causes
Calpur-
nius Gale-
rianus to
be murder-
ed.

WHILE *Mucianus* was thus ruling with absolute sway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war against the *Romans* with stupendous success in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we shall here, as in its proper place (for it was happily concluded this year, the first of *Vespasian's* reign), briefly recount the causes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the same people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being

¹ TACIT. l. iv. c. 11. JOSEPH. l. v. c. 42.

The Batavians revolt from the Romans, under the conduct of Claudius Civilis.

driven thence by a domestic insurrection, settled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an island formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*. According to this description, the *Batavians* possessed *South Holland*, part of the country of *Utrecht*, and the island of *Betaw*, in the dukedom of *Guelderland*. They were not subjects, but allies, of the *Romans*, being obliged to assist them only with troops commanded by men of the first rank amongst them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exercised in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. These *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great share they had in the victory at *Bebriacum*; but proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviseable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. The former was slain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falsely charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons and sent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and set at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treason: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen against them. However, as he was a man of great address, lest the *Romans* should look upon him as a public enemy, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to stop and drive back the forces summoned to succour *Vitellius*. *Civilis* therefore, determined to revolt, but, concealing for the present his main drift, contented himself with diverting the *Batavian* youth from lifting themselves, pursuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he assembled the chiefs of the nation and the most daring amongst the populace, in a sacred grove, where, when they had caroused till far in the night, and were warmed and bold, he acquainted them with his real design, displayed the praises and renown of their nation, enumerated the insults they had suffered, the oppression they groaned under, and all the miseries attending upon a state of servitude. As he was heard with great applause, he bound them all with many barbarous ceremonies in a combination. He then dispatched messengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the island, to engage them in the same cause and association. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his measures; and chusing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and being joined by the *Frisians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter incampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the strong-holds in the island, and massacred all the *Roman* victuallers

Civilis is joined by the Caninefates and Frisians.

victuallers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the mask, and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Frisians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilius*, had retired to the upper part of the island. The conflict was scarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who served under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the same time, the *Roman* fleet, consisting of twenty-four vessels, the rowers being for the most part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's shore. By this means the *Roman* forces were easily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the *Germans* immediately dispatched embassadors to *Civilis*, with offers of succours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Lupercus* to march out forthwith against the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a squadron of *Batavian* horse, men long since debauched in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning great zeal for their cause, purposely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly the two armies having joined battle, the *Batavian* cavalry, deserting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to *Civilis*; then instantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, through pressed on all sides, still kept their ranks and stood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themselves to a scandalous flight, dispersing all over the fields. Against them the *Batavians* bent their fury and pursuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with safety to the old camp, which, as we have observed in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by most geographers near the present city of *Stanten* in the dutchy of *Cleves*. About the same time, the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen and the advantages by them already gained, returned and took their rout towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppose the passage of the *Batavians* at the head of three thousand legionaries and some cohorts hastily raised; but was by them defeated with great slaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologne*, pursued their march, without committing any hostilities, and joined *Civilis*, who seeing himself now at the head of a regular army, but still dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to swear allegiance to *Vespasian*, and dispatched embassadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take

Puts the
Romans to
flight.

Eight Ba-
tavian co-
horts go
over to
Civilis.

the

Civilis be-
sieves the
old camp.

Defeats
Vocula
the Roman
command-
er, and is
defeated by
the Vas-
cones.

the same oath. The answer they returned was, That they would not follow the counsels of a known traitor, nor those of a public enemy ; and that a *Batavian* fugitive must not interfere in the affairs of the *Roman* state, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this answer, roused to arms the whole *Batavian* nation, and, being joined by the *Brueterans* and the *Teneterans*, attacked the camp with a numberless multitude and a fury hardly to be expressed. But the *Romans*, though scarce five thousand men, made so vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, despairing of success by the method of force and storming, changed his measures, and blocked them up on all sides, not doubting, but they would be soon constrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, understanding that the camp was besieged, immediately dispatched *Dillius Vocula*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful succours to the relief of the two legions. But while these two commanders were still incamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a small village near *Ordingen*, in the territory of *Cologn*, news was brought him of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremona* ; whereupon the officers immediately declared for *Vespasian*, forced the soldiers to swear allegiance to him, and sent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and desire him to lay down his arms and disband his troops, if with them he meant to assist *Vespasian*, since they all had already acknowledged him emperor. But *Civilis* had something else in view, and therefore openly declared, that he would never sheath his sword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans* ; and that instant dispatched against *Vocula* the veteran cohorts and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus* and *Claudius Victor*, husband to his sister. These coming upon the *Romans* quite unprepared, put them to flight and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in the mean time, some *Gasccon* bands, lately raised by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilst earnestly pursuing the defeat, filled them with dismay, and inspired the *Romans* with fresh courage ; so that they returned to the charge, and, with the assistance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the bravest men of the *Batavian* infantry were cut off ; but their horse escaped with the *Roman* standards and prisoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this success, marched against the enemy besieging the old camp, and, after a most bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall of his horse,

horse, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerously wounded, or slain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, instead of pursuing the enemy, when broken and in disorder, applied himself to fortify the old camp; and, having strengthened it with some new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Novesium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay incamped with part of the army. But *Vocula* was scarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid siege to the old camp, and advancing with a strong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himself master of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Novesium*. But, in the mean time, the soldiers began to mutiny, and claim present payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money was already sent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but distributed the money in the name of *Vespasian*. The soldiers no sooner received it, than they abandoned themselves without controul to debauchery and good cheer, to nocturnal revellings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their antient fury and rage against *Hordeonius*, who was by them suspected of favouring *Civilis*, because, from a mind well disposed towards *Vespasian*, he had not opposed his first attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage they violently burst into the bed-chamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have undergone the same fate, had he not made his escape in the disguise of a slave. They then restored the images of *Vitellius*, tore those of *Vespasian*, and committed, during that night, innumerable disorders. But their rage being appeased upon the return of day, dread and consciousness took place; the first, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were easily reclaimed by *Vocula*, and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Vespasian*, against *Civilis*, who had laid siege to *Moguntiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival the besiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans* coming up with them, as they marched carelessly and apprised of no danger, fell upon them sword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the dispersed and disorderly multitude ^k.

In the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both these nations rushed into open hostilities against the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Cattans*, *Usipians*, *Mattiaccians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying hold of the present op-

The Roman soldiers mutiny.

Murder of Hordeonius Flaccus their general.

The Gauls revolt.

^k TACIT. l. iv. c. 12—36.

portunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by such successive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, being strongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the dissolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they said, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but the mansion of *Jupiter* having escaped, the empire had thence continued to subsist. The *Druids* too animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the empire of the world was portended. The chief sway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Classicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Treverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. These three, having in private conferences sounded the minds of the rest, and engaged in their designs such as they judged proper, came at length to a resolution of throwing off all disguises, and openly declaring against *Rome*. The only hesitation which occurred was, how to dispose of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for massacring them all, others for putting to the sword only their commanders, since the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be easily inticed into the confederacy. The latter opinion prevailed; and this was the substance of their first consultation. The conspirators then dispatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouse them to war; but, in the mean time, feigned great obsequiousness and respect to *Vocula*, who was well apprised of their designs; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to dissemble in his turn, and to pursue the same artifices which were pursued against him. With this view he repaired to *Cologne*; but *Classicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horse, incamping by themselves and separating the first time from the legions, he returned back, and with the legions alone proceeded to *Novesium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place. To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hostilities were not yet begun on either side, daily resorted great numbers of *Roman* soldiers; and there, as they found themselves surrounded with terrors on all sides, they agreed to purchase their own safety, by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*, which was to swear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and promise either to murder or deliver up in chains their officers. *Vocula* was not unapprised of what passed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, assembled the soldiery, and having in vain attempted to divert them from so monstrous an iniquity, he retired with a design to put a present period to his life; but being restrained by his freedmen and slaves, he was soon after murdered by *Æmilius Longinus*, a deserter from the first legion, sent by *Classicus* for that purpose. His lieutenants, *Herennius* and *Numisus*, were only

The Roman legions murder *Vocula*, and swear allegiance to the *Gauls*.

only put in irons. After this, *Classicus*, assuming the badges of a *Roman* magistrate, entered the camp, and administered the new oath to the legions there, every one swearing allegiance to the sovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Classicus* was shared the charge of managing the war. The former laid siege to *Cologn*, and forced the inhabitants to take the same oath, as he did all the soldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Classicus* strove to gain over by fair promises the two legions that were shut up in the antient camp, and were obliged, for want of provisions, after having consumed in food their horses and other beasts of burden, to support themselves by plucking shrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which sprouted amongst the stones of the walls. But at length, upon so much glory and patience, they brought a foul stain, by sending deputies to *Civilis* to beg their lives. Neither were their supplications received, till they had sworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reserved the plunder of the camp to himself, appointing guards to secure the money, slaves and baggage, and others to convoy the soldiers thus departing divested of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* rushed upon them out of an ambush, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in fire-brands, set on fire, so that such of the unhappy *Romans*, as had survived the late slaughter, were now all to a man consumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the success of his arms, soon reduced all the neighbouring cities, some of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power¹.

*Cologn
and other
cities take
the same
oath.*

In the mean time, *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*; and, leading a huge host of his countrymen the *Lingones*, suddenly invaded the adjacent state of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but being by them put to flight, in order to raise a report that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means saved his life yet for nine years. We shall have occasion to speak of him in the sequel of this history. By this victory of the *Sequanians* the fury of the war was stayed in *Gaul*. The several states began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, the rest following the example of the people of *Rheims*, who published all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for assembling their several deputies, to consult which conduced most to the good of the whole, war or peace. The assembly was held at *Rheims*,

*Julius Sa-
binus de-
feated.*

¹ TACIT. c. 67. JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 11.

The Gauls
resolve up-
on peace.

where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the embassadors of the *Treverians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was opposed by *Julius Auspex*, one of the chiefs in the state of *Rheims*, who displayed at length the power of the *Romans* and the blessings of peace. They all extolled the courage and resolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counsel of *Auspex*, most of them being deterred from pursuing a general confederacy, by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several provinces. It was asked, Where must be the head of the war? whither must they recur for supreme authority? and, should all their pursuits prosper, what place would they chuse for the seat of empire? Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all these each claimed superior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately dispatched in the name of the states of *Gaul*, advising them to lay down their arms, while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if they shewed remorse. But *Valentinus*, a better speaker than commander, opposed this counsel, and shut the ears of the nation against it. What chiefly disposed the *Gauls* to peace was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march against them, consisting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two signal commanders, *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had dispatched from *Rome* to put a stop to the further conquests of *Civilis* and *Clasficus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having at the head of some auxiliary cohorts forced a passage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themselves the twenty-first legion, and the squadron of horse surnamed the *Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*; but hated by his uncle, and hating him. With these forces *Felix* attacked and routed the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen*, and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercetians*, and the *Nemetians*, to desert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himself master of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the present city of *Basel*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Vespasian*; and leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Metz*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time, *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Moguntiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was posted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigel*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever soldiers he found at *Moguntiacum*, with the forces he had

The Tre-
verians
routed by
Sextilius
Felix;

had brought over the *Alps*; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' inclosed by the mountains and the river *Moselle*, and strengthened with deep trenches and barricades of huge stones. The *Treveri*ans fought for some time with great resolution; but were in the end forced to abandon their camp, and save themselves by flight over the mountains. The *Romans* pursued them, and in the pursuit took many persons of great distinction, and amongst them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves*; which city the soldiers were passionate for razing, as the birth-place of *Classicus* and *Tutor*; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his soldiers to licentiousness and cruelty, checked their rage; for since the civil wars had ceased, the soldiery were more tractable in such as were foreign. Their attention was likewise diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions which had sworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared sad and dejected, keeping their eyes immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by silence and weeping, till *Cerealis* comforted them, ascribing their desertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and assuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their past offences. At the same time he caused an order to be published throughout the camp, that no one should, upon any dispute, reproach his fellow soldier with mutiny or desertion ^m.

And by
Cerealis,
who takes
Valenti-
nus their
general.

The return
of the legi-
ons which
had sworn
allegiance
to the em-
pire of the
Gauls.

IN the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Classicus*, having from different quarters assembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and seized the bridge of communication over the *Moselle* in the midst of the city. News of this general rout and havock being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, nay in his bed, (for he passed not the night in the camp) he started up, and, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, strove with his own hand to stop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and heading such as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and secured it by a guard of armed men. Then hastening to the camp, and there rallying the dispersed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the same day forced their intrenchments, and recovered the city of *Cologne*, where he found the wife and sister of *Civilis* with the son of *Classicus* ^o. *Civilis*, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, posted himself in the old camp, where he was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the accession of three legions. But as the fields round about were na-

The Ro-
man in-
trench-
ments sur-
prised and
taken.

The gal-
lant con-
duct of
Cerealis.

^m TACIT. C. 71—77.

^o TACIT. C. 78.

Civilis receives a total overthrow.

He surprises the Romans in their camp.

But is obliged in the end to abandon his own island, and submit to the Romans.

turally marshy, and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the course of the *Rhine*, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the *Romans* were easily repulsed, and their cavalry put to flight by some *German* squadrons sallying out against them. By the issue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the issue of a general battle; *Civilis* eager to pursue his good fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his dishonour. Accordingly the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and resolution. After the conflict had lasted many hours, the *Germans* were in the end put to flight, and the war had been finished that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching and a sudden storm, from pursuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis* withdrew to the island of the *Batavians*: *Classicus*, *Tutor*, and a hundred and thirteen senators of *Treves* crossed the *Rhine* to raise new forces; wherein they were attended with such success, that soon after they returned with a vast multitude, and at the same time made a fourfold assault upon the *Roman* forces posted at *Arenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wageningen*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerstede*. They were every-where repulsed with great slaughter, and forced to cast themselves precipitately into the river. Notwithstanding this disappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the *Roman* soldiers, while, apprised of no danger, they were reposing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half awake and almost naked, escaped through a mistake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ship, distinguished by its flag, from a belief that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had passed that night elsewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Cologn*. The centinels borrowed an excuse for their negligence from the dishonour of their general, alledging, that they were enjoined to keep silence for fear of interrupting his repose; so that, as speaking was restrained, they had dropped asleep. But, notwithstanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own island, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the island of the *Batavians*; but, through policy usual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the same time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promise of pardon, which he resolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the desolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to punishment. Having therefore desired a conference, the bridge upon

upon the river *Wahal* was broken down in the middle; and the two generals stepping forwards on each side, stood upon the opposite extremities. The issue of this conference was, as we learn from *Josephus*, the rest of *Tacitus's* history being lost, an entire submission on one side, and an unreserved pardon on the other. The *Batavians* remained in the same condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to supply the *Romans* with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty ^P.

DURING these transactions in *Germany*, *Vespasian* and *Titus* commenced consuls, the former the second time, and both absent. The senate was therefore assembled on the first of *January* by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks should be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having espoused with so much zeal the cause of *Vespasian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorship, for having forsaken his legion, when it was about to declare for *Vespasian*, and transferred that dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Vespasian's* freedman, they conferred the equestrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* resigned, for what motive we are no-where told, his office, which was assumed by *Domitian*, whose name was prefixed to all letters and edicts, but the whole sway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the instigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will ^Q. Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that in one day he disposed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces; and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his son, returned him thanks for not having displaced him too, and sent one to succeed him. But *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the soldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was besides reported to have solicited *Scribonianus Crassus*, the brother of *Piso* whom *Galba* had adopted, to assume the sovereignty. *Mucianus* therefore, seeing he could not openly crush *Primus*, pretended a great friendship and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praises upon him in the senate, made him great promises in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hither Spain*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he dismissed the seventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter-quarters, at a great distance from *Rome*; and at the same time sent the third legion back into *Syria*, and

^P JOSEPH. bell Jud l. ii. c. 11.

^Q TACIT. l. iv. c. 39.

the rest of the forces into *Germany*, to serve there under *Cerealis*. Having by this means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and disburdened the city of those who were apt to raise tumults and disorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws resumed their force, and the magistrates their wonted functions^r.

Domitian
goes the
first time to
the senate.

Domitian, appearing now for the first time in the senate, spoke, in few words and with great modesty, of the absence of his father and that of his brother, and also concerning his own youth and insufficiency. Then he proposed, that all the honours which had been bestowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, should be restored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that some public honour should be likewise paid to the memory of *Piso*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piso* nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commissioners, who were to cause restitution to be made of whatever had been usurped by violence during the war, and to restrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as soon as it was known that he had fled to *Vespasian*, the office of prætor was restored; but *Griphus* still retained the ensigns of that dignity. Before the assembly broke up, one of the senators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made suit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the senate the registers of the late emperors, that they might thence discover who had solicited to be admitted accusers, and against whom. But the young prince judiciously replied, that in an affair of this sort the sentiments of the emperor must be first learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuser of the celebrated *Sorranus Borea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impressions of all resentment, and forget the grievances arising from the necessity of the late times, all further prosecutions were dropt^s. This year *Mucianus* ordered the son of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil discord would never cease, unless

Mucianus
speaks in
behalf of
the accus-
ers.

Antonius
Primus re-
pairs to
Vespasian.

the seeds of war were utterly extinguished. He treated *Antonius Primus* with such haughtiness, that he forced him to retire from *Rome* and recur to *Vespasian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendship or disfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of that commander, by whose conduct the war was accomplished, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the same time combined to disgrace him, charging him with arrogance, over-bearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raise to himself new enemies by his haughty car-

^r Idem, c. 11.

^s Idem, c. 40—44.

riage; for with excessive ostentation he used to recount his own exploits and deserts, treating the other commanders with the utmost contempt, especially *Cæcina*, whom he used to revile as a captive, and a man of no spirit, who had tamely submitted. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character; but from the emperor retained to the last some appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by the antient writers. *Mucianus* likewise displaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and to make him some amends for the loss of this employment, bestowed upon him another, that of supplying the city with grain, which had been formerly discharged by persons of the first quality. To soften *Domitian*, who had a great kindness for *Varus*, he bestowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the house of *Vespasian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had discharged the same trust with great credit under *Caligula*, whence his name was well-pleasing to the soldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a *Roman* knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a senator¹.

Vespasian, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, where he is said to have worked some miracles. A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, prostrating himself at his feet, implored a cure for his want of sight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beseech him, that with his spittle he would condescend to wash his cheeks, and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the same god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Vespasian* at first derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one side the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes, through the intreaties of the suppliants, and the arguments of flatterers. At length, considering himself as an instrument chosen by the gods to accomplish the cure, he undertook the task with a chearful countenance, before a vast multitude intent upon the issue. Instantly the lame hand recovered full strength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. *Tacitus* assures us, that even in his time both these events continued to be recounted and averred by those who had been eye-witnesses of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Vespasian* was hence seized with an eager desire of visiting the residence of the deity, in order to consult him about the state and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himself. While he was there, he suddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Baji-*

*Vespasian
works some
miracles.*

¹ Idem, c. 68.

lides, standing by him, though he knew him to be then at a great distance from *Alexandria*, and confined by sickness. However, he examined the priests, whether *Basilides* had that day entered the temple; asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the city; then by horsemen, purposely dispatched, he fully learnt, that *Basilides* was at that instant eighty miles from thence^u. *St. Austin*, without questioning the truth of these facts, attested by several writers of great authority, observes, that *Vespasian*, according to *Tacitus's* account, ordered the physicians to examine first, whether such lameness and blindness were curable by human aid; who reported, that in the one the power of sight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obstacles removed; and in the other the joints were only distorted, and might be restored with regular pressure. Hence *St. Austin* concludes, that such cures were not above the power of men, and much less above that of the evil spirits, endowed with a superior knowledge, and on this occasion exerting it, to eclipse, if possible, the miracles wrought by the apostles and their disciples^w. As for the vision in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and strong imagination.

Arrives in
Italy.

Vespasian, imbarquing at last in the port of *Alexandria*, sailed for *Italy*; and, having visited in his passage the island of *Rhodes* and several cities of *Asia Minor*, landed, according to *Josephus*, on the south side of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brundisium* he was met by *Mucianus* and a great number of senators and *Roman* knights; and at *Beneventum* by his son *Domitian*. On his rout to *Rome*, he was received everywhere with loud shouts of joy, with applauses, and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one sent by the gods to restore the empire to its former lustre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the streets through which he passed being strewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raised, and victims slain, with supplications to the gods, that *Vespasian* might rule the empire many years, and his son *Titus* after him; that the sovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flourish under them^x.

How re-
ceived at
Rome.

GREAT things were expected of *Vespasian* by all ranks of men, and no one was disappointed in his expectation: for he

^u TACIT. l. iv. c. 81. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 748. SUET. in Vesp. c. 7. ^w S. AUG. civit. Dei, l. x. c. 10. ^x JOSEPH. ibid. l. vii. c. 20.

made it his whole business to re-establish the commonwealth, and restore the empire to its former grandeur; to conform to the laws, and see that all others conformed to them; to consult the good of the whole and of particulars; to prevent oppression, and to punish it; to promote virtue, and reward it; to enforce the observance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people by his faithful care of them. His first care was, to revive *Reviews the antient discipline.* the antient discipline in the army; for the soldiery had abandoned themselves to all manner of licentiousness, and committed innumerable disorders, not only in the colonies and municipal towns, but in *Rome* itself. He therefore discharged great numbers of them, especially of such as had served under *Vitellius*, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiousness; in the others he punished the least transgressions with the utmost severity, not sparing even those to whose valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the antient discipline; of which *Suetonius* gives us the following instance: A young nobleman, to whom he had given a considerable command, waiting upon him to return him thanks, and smelling fragrant of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expressing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had smelt of garlick*, and took away the commission, which he had given him a few days before. He was no less severe with the marines, who were appointed to carry letters and dispatches from *Puteoli* and *Ostia* to *Rome*; for upon their petitioning him to have some allowance besides their usual pay for shoes, instead of complying with their request, he ordered, that for the future they should discharge their duty bare-foot, and caused this ordinance to be immediately put in execution^y. He scarce ever *His conduct towards the senate,* failed to assist at the debates and deliberations of the senate, without assuming to himself any authority above the other senators, whom he frequently exhorted to speak their sentiments with freedom, telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, to trust, and to follow it. Having taken upon him, soon after his arrival at *Rome*, the office of censor, he degraded such of the senators and knights as he found unworthy of their dignities; and supplied their places with such persons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increased the number of senators to a thousand, which by infinite massacres had been exhausted and reduced to two hundred^z. He likewise strictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed in-

^y Suet. c. 8.^z Idem, c. 9. Dio. l. vi. p. 666.

*Imbellishes
the city.*

*His clemency, good
nature,
and other
commend-
able qua-
lities.*

numerable abuses and grievances, appointed new judges, and caused the laws to be reduced and digested into a far less compass. He frequently administered justice himself in the forum, with great impartiality and universal applause. As *Rome* had lost much of its splendour by the late conflagration, and many houses lay still in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, allowing any one to take possession of the ground, if the edifices were not raised within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Vestinus*, a *Roman* knight, to direct and oversee the work. By him were assembled the soothsayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple should be removed into the marshes; that upon the same foundations the new ones should be raised; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, should be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raised in a short time; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had destroyed many public records, he restored three thousand tables of brass, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains found out their true copies. In these were recorded all the decrees of the senate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any person or city, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. In these and the like works, he expended vast sums. He was so far from seeking the destruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many sighs and tears, even the greatest criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing persons of every rank to accost him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept constantly open. He was so far from concealing the meanness of his former condition, that he frequently discoursed of it himself, and used to deride those who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate*, and the companions of *Hercules*. He despised titles, and with much ado was prevailed upon to accept that of *the father of his country*; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having wrote to him thus; *Arsaces, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasianus*; he, without finding fault with the title, or resenting it as an affront, directed his answer thus; *Flavius Vespasianus, to Arsaces, king of kings*; shewing thereby in what contempt he had such titles. He was so far from taking delight in public honours, that when he triumphed with his son *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say, that he deservedly suffered for having at his age desired a triumph, as if such an honour had ever been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by himself.

himself. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philosophers, whom he had banished the city. One of these, by profession a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a most outrageous manner; but the good emperor, instead of chastising him for his insolent behaviour, contented himself with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed! He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any one to death, whose crimes were not notorious and plainly proved. His friends having one day admonished him to beware of *Metius Pomposianus*, who was born, they said, under a constellation that promised him the empire, he immediately named him consul, adding pleasantly, *When he is invested with the sovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn and requite it.* Tho' several conspiracies were formed against him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to punish the conspirators with death, saying, that they deserved rather pity than punishment, since they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower. He never sought to revenge the affronts which he had suffered in the reign of *Nero*, but generously forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourse to *Phæbus*, the emperor's freedman, asking him, whither he should go. *Phæbus* returned him no other answer, but that he might go hang himself, and thrust him out of his room. The freedman coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Vespasian* was provoked no farther than to bid him be gone in the same terms. Tho' *Mucianus* assumed far greater authority than was suitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with great haughtiness towards the emperor himself, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely bestowed it upon *Vespasian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with these remarkable words, *Yet I myself am but a man, and consequently not free from blame*^a.

THE only fault with which he is charged by the antients is, *Is general-* his immoderate love of money, which he was not ashamed to *ly charged* procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He *with avarice.* not only revived the old impositions and taxes, which had been suppressed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes, bought commodities, that he might sell them to advantage, and

^a SUET. C. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.

descended to some very low and unusual imposts, laying one even upon urine, which gave occasion to his son *Titus* to remonstrate to him the meanness of such an imposition; but he presenting to his son the first money that thence accrued to him, asked him, whether the smell offended him? Neither did he scruple the selling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a sum of money redeem himself from the deserved punishment. He is said to have preferred to the most profitable employments such of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciousness, and to have made use of them as sponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and squeezing them when they were wet* ^b. He often strove to disguise his shameful avarice by some humourous joke. Thus certain ambassadors having acquainted him, that, by the council of their nation, a considerable sum of money was decreed for erecting him a statue in the form of a colossus, *Here is the basis*, said he, stretching out his hand; *lay the money down here, and the statue is reared*. One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the superintendence of his household for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the present; and sending afterwards for the person whom he had recommended, he received of him the sum which was to have been paid to the other for his interest, and bestowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to solicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You must find out another brother*, answered the emperor; *for the person, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours*. One day while he was travelling in a litter, the muleteer stopped, under pretence of having his mules shod, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accosting the emperor and craving some favour. Of this *Vespasian* was apprised, and therefore having pleasantly asked the muleteer what he had received for shoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the sum ^c. Some writers think, that he was covetous by nature, and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdsman, who earnestly intreating the emperor, upon his accession to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ransom, and being denied it, cried out so as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities*. But other authors excuse him on account of the urgent necessities of the state, and the emptiness of the exchequer when he first came to the government; for he then publicly declared in the senate, that the republic could not possibly subsist without a supply of a hundred and forty millions of se-

Several instances of it.

Is by many cleared from that blame.

^b SULT. c. 16.

^c Idem ibid.

sterces. This is by the generality of writers thought the most probable opinion, because he always employed his revenue to great and noble purposes, and laid it out with uncommon generosity. His public works and edifices were very expensive; his presents and pensions numerous; his feasts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, &c. He supported a great number of poor senators; allowed five hundred sesterces a year to every decayed consular; restored to their former lustre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, &c. He was likewise a great encourager of learning, and the first who settled salaries upon the professors of rhetoric, both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the most celebrated poets, but such artificers and workmen as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one, well skilled in mechanics, having offered to convey certain columns of vast weight into the capitol at a very small charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, saying, We must not debar the common people from earning their livelihood ^d. Such was in general the conduct of *Vespasian*. We shall now proceed to the most remarkable actions of his reign, digested according to the order of time.

*Instances
of his ge-
nerosity.*

THOUGH *Vespasian* had, during his first consulship, restored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not resign the fasces on the first of *January*; but chusing for his colleague *M. Cocceius Nerva*, afterwards emperor, continued to discharge that office till the kalends of *March*, when he was succeeded by his son *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Castus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jerusalem*, quite reduced the *Jewish* nation, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and soon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the senate both to him and his father; for *Vespasian* had begun that war with great success. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, displaying on that occasion all the wealth of the *Jewish* nation. To *Titus* was likewise decreed a triumphal arch, describing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almost intire, as a lasting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no sooner over, than *Vespasian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be shut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after the temple of *Peace* was begun, but not finished, or at least not consecrated, till four years after; that is, till the year seventy-five of the christian æra, when the

*Triumphs
over the
Jews with
his son
Titus.*

^d Idem, c. 17, 18.

To whom
he imparts
the tribu-
nitial
power.

rich spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were deposited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his colleague in the tribunitial power; so that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he discharged all the functions of sovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* observes, the most honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from several antient inscriptions, that *Vespasian* this year built some aqueducts, repaired the streets of *Rome*, and at a vast charge made high-ways in *Spain* ^c.

Coma-
gene re-
duced to a
Roman
province.

The Alani
invade
Media and
Armenia.

THE following year, *Cesennius Pætus*, whom *Vespasian* had appointed governor of *Syria* in the room of *Mucianus*, having wrote to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and his son *Epiphanes*, had held private conferences with *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, and were disposed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Josephus* suspects to have been quite groundless, allowed *Pætus* to take what measures he thought most proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore some private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in a hostile manner; and, being joined by *Aristobulus*, king of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* king of *Emesus*, seized *Samosata* the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two sons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himself to take shelter in *Cilicia*, where he possessed some domains. The young princes found a safe asylum at the court of *Vologeses*, who entertained them in a manner suitable to their rank; but *Antiochus* was by *Pætus*'s orders seized in *Cilicia*, and loaded with chains; which *Vespasian* no sooner knew, than he commanded him to be set at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a *Roman* province, known by the name of *Augusteuphratesiana*, or *Euphratesiana*, because it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed soon after to *Rome*, where both he and his two sons, whom *Vespasian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were supported suitable to their rank at the public charge ^f. The same year, the *Alani*, a people dwelling between the river *Tanais* and the *Palus Mæotis*, made a sudden irruption into the territories of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. *Tiridates* king of *Armenia* narrowly escaped being taken, while he attempted to oppose them; and *Pacorus* king of the *Medes* was obliged to abandon his kingdom to the mercy

^c VOREBURG. hist. Rom. Germ. p. 350. ONUPH. in fast. p. 207.
^f JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. SULT. l. viii. c. 8. Chron. Alexand. p. 587.

of the barbarians, who carried off an immense booty and a great number of captives; among the rest the wife of *Pacorus*. *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, alarmed at this sudden irruption, wrote to *Vespasian*, begging succours against so formidable an enemy, and desiring one of the emperor's sons to command them. *Domitian* earnestly solicited his father for that command; but the emperor did not think it adviseable to succour the *Parthians*, who rivaled the *Romans* themselves in power; and the barbarians retired of their own accord, without offering to invade the *Parthian* dominions. However, the refusal of the emperor occasioned some misunderstanding between the two powers; and on this occasion it was, without all doubt, that *Vologeses* wrote to *Vespasian*, styling himself *king of kings*, as we have hinted above, without deigning to give *Vespasian* even the title of emperor^a.

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul, the second *Vespasian* time, with *Valerius Messalinus*, *Vespasian* reduced *Greece*, reduces which *Nero* had declared free, and likewise *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to Roman provinces, *Lycia*, &c. alledging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, since they only made use of it to undo themselves by their intestine provinces. dissensions. *Pausanias* seems to acknowledge the truth of this charge^b. *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other islands were made one province, called, *The province of the islands*, or, *of the Cyclades*, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Eusebius* speaks of a sedition, which, according to him, was raised at *Alexandria*, in the beginning of this year, by some *Jews*, who had fled from *Jerusalem*. *Vespasian* treated the authors of it with great mildness; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demolish the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Heliopolis*^c. This same year, *Vespasian* condemned *Helvidius* to banishment the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*. He was a native of *Terracina*, and the son of a centurion; but, by his bright and signal parts, soon distinguished himself in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himself to the study of philosophy, not, as many did in those days, to disguise indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all disasters. Ere he had risen higher than the quæstorship, he was chosen by the famous *Thrasea Pætus* for a husband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing so studiously, as his undaunted liberty in speaking his sentiments, never to be shaken by fear, and ever unmoveable

^a JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 29. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 757. ^b PAUS. in Acha. p. 222. ^c EUSEB. in chron.

in what he judged conducing to the public welfare. When *Thrasea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Vespasian* in the first year of his reign with the prætorship. As he was a zealous stickler for liberty, he spoke with great freedom in the senate against the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he spare *Vespasian*, but inveighed against him with as much bitterness as his father-in-law had ever done against *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to solemnize the birth-day of *Brutus*, and that of *Cassius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty; then *Vespasian* caused him to be seized, but soon after dismissed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindness the emperor had shewn him, pursued his former course; and was thereupon again accused and condemned to banishment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterness against the emperor, he was at length by the senate sentenced to death. *Vespasian* strove to save him, and sent to countermand the executioners; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the messengers, under various pretences, till the sentence was put in execution*. *Helvidius*, notwithstanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly cried up by *Tacitus*^k, *Pliny* the younger^l, and *Juvenal*^m. As many other philosophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, strove to stir up the populace to sedition, they were all driven out of *Rome*ⁿ.

The last
census.

THE following year, *Vespasian* was consul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, except the census, which was performed by them in quality of censors, the emperor having assumed his son for his colleague in that dignity. This is the last census we find mentioned in history°. They both retained the fasces till the kalends of the *April* of the following year, when *Vespasian* resigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor consecrated the temple of *Peace*, and raised a colossus of brass one hundred and ten feet high, which had been designed for *Nero*; but instead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the sun^p. The

* DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. SUET. c. 15. JUVENAL. satir. 5. PLIN. l. vii. ep. 19. ^k TACIT. l. iv. c. 4. ^l PLIN. l. iv. ep. 21. ^m JUVENAL. sat. 5. ⁿ SUET. c. 8. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 751. ^o CENSORINUS de die natali. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ONUPH. in fast. p. 208. ^p SUET. c. 19. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. DIO. ibid.

two following years, *Vespasian* being consul the seventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and sixth, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. We read indeed in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that in the eighth consulship of *Vespasian*, a woman, by name *Alcippe*, was delivered at *Rome*, of an elephant; and in the chronicle of *Eusebius*, that a plague raged in the city with such violence for some time, as to sweep away above twenty thousand persons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of so dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the antients, not even by *Pliny* the elder, who flourished under *Vespasian* and was in great favour with him.

THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priscus* being consuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was sent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we shall have frequent occasion to speak of this renowned commander, we shall here briefly recount his course of life and pursuits, before he distinguished himself by his mighty exploits in this island. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equestrian order. His father, *Julius Græcinus*, was a senator, famous for his eloquence and philosophy, but put to death by *Caligula*, for refusing to accuse *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modesty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he studied philosophy and law in the city of *Marseilles*, with more avidity, as he himself used to declare, than became a *Roman* and a senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; so that he contented himself with a limited measure of philosophy. He learnt the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was distinguished with particular marks of friendship and esteem. He was not one of those young men who turn warfare into riot, but studied to acquaint himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command; neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, or to absent himself from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profession of arms. As *Paulinus*

Julius
Agricola
sent into
Britain.

His birth,
education,
&c.

His prefer-
ment.

nus was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we have spoken in the reign of *Nero*, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himself in the knowledge of military affairs under so great a master. Departing from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was first sent into *Asia* as quæstor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconsul. But neither the province, in itself very rich, nor *Titianus*, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the smallest encouragement, to have purchased a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but passed the year of his tribuneship in repose and inactivity, being well apprised, that under *Nero* sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorship, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public sports, according to the measure of his wealth, and in a manner no-ways favouring of prodigality, but still deserving popular applause. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to survey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent search he procured full restitution of all, save what had been sacrilegiously taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the soldiers of *Otho*, upon her estate at *Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*; and the estate itself plundered, with great part of her treasure, which had proved the cause of the murder. As *Agricola* hastened from *Rome*, to pay her the last duty and solemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Vespasian* had assumed the title of emperor, and instantly espoused his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and soon after, as he discharged that trust with great uprightness and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them and keep them to their duty. *Vettius Bolanus*, was at that time governor of *Britain*; but as he ruled with great gentleness, *Agricola* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was succeeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who at his first entrance attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the most powerful people of the whole island; and, after many encounters, some of which proved very bloody, held most part of their country as his conquest, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to display his valour and abilities. For trial of his skill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and sometimes, according to the measure of his success, set him at the head of forces still larger, sharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was so far from vaunting his own exploits,

exploits, that, on the contrary, he ascribed to his general, as to the author of all, his success and good fortune ⁹.

UPON his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which trust he discharged with great uprightness and general satisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the consulship; which office he discharged during the two last months of the preceding year. While he was consul, it was generally said, that for his province *Britain* would be assigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but because he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well observes, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his consulship, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the historian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as soon as he had resigned the fasces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of *Britain*, and at the same time honoured with the pontifical dignity ^r. He succeeded *Julius Frontinus*, who had not only maintained the conquests made by *Petilius Cerealis*, his predecessor, but had himself fought with great success, having intirely reduced the warlike nation of the *Silures*, though, besides the bravery of the enemy, he had been likewise obliged to struggle with the difficulties of places and situation. *Agricola* arrived in *Britain* about the middle of summer, when the *Roman* soldiers, supposing the service of the season to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repose, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to harraß the *Romans*. The *Ordovices*, that is, the inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horse stationed upon their confines, and by so notable an essay roused to arms the whole province. The summer was already near over; the *Roman* troops were severed, and lay dispersed over the province; and the soldiers had assured themselves of rest for the remaining part of the year. But, notwithstanding these discouragements, and the remonstrances of some, who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, *Agricola* resolved to march against the enemy without delay. Having therefore drawn together the flower of the legions and a small body of auxiliaries, he led them against the *Ordovices*. But, as the enemy kept themselves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not descend into equal ground, *Agricola*, in order to inspire his men with equal courage, by sharing with them equal danger, marched in person at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the ascent.

His exploits in
Britain
during his
first
campaign.

⁹ TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4—9.

^r Idem ibid. c. 9.

*Recovers
the island
of Angle-
sey.*

*Redresses
the griev-
ances com-
plained of
by the Bri-
tons.*

The soldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great resolution, put them to flight, and made such a dreadful havock of them, that almost the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this success, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to strike the enemy at once with general terror, he resolved to reduce the island of *Anglesey*, which had been formerly conquered by *Paulinus*, but lost again by the general revolt of *Britain*. As this counsel was suddenly concerted, and consequently ships were wanting, he detached a chosen body of auxiliaries, such as knew the fords, and, according to the usage of their country, were dexterous at swimming, and able to manage in the water themselves, their horses, and arms. These unincumbered with baggage, made a descent and onset so sudden, that the enemy were quite struck with consternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and transports, and believed no enterprise difficult and unfurmountable to men, who began the war with such resolution. Thus they sued for peace, and immediately surrendered the island to *Agricola*, whom they already considered as a renowned commander, since at his first entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to spend in show and parade, he had achieved such feats, and under so much toil and danger, with amazing success. *Agricola* was so far from being elated with this conquest, that he would not so much as bestow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms, in the recovery of an island which had been formerly subject to *Rome*. But, by thus suppressing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation, than if he had studied to divulge them, every one considering how vast must his views be, since he thus smothered in silence such great exploits already performed. As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had also learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to settle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppressions, he resolved to cut off all the causes of war. Beginning therefore with himself and those about him, he regulated his own household; a task which to many proves no less difficult than that of governing a province. By none of his domestics was transacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the soldiers to a higher rank, he was swayed by no personal interest or partiality, nor by the recommendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that passed; but would not punish all that was amiss. He readily pardoned small faults; but such as were great, he punished with proportionable severity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather chose men who would not transgress, than such as he must

must afterwards condemn for transgressing. Tho' the tribute had been augmented, yet he softened it by a just and equal distribution of all public burdens, and utterly abolished whatever exactions had been devised for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itself. For the publicans used, under colour of securing the tribute, to seize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchase their own grain at a high price, and afterwards sell it back again to them at a low rate: besides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies, and carry grain cross the several countries to places extremely distant; insomuch, that several communities, instead of supplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furnish such as were remote, unless they redeemed themselves from that trouble with considerable sums. All these grievances were utterly suppressed by *Agricola* in his first year; by which means the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to live in a state of peace; a state which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no less dreaded than that of war*. The other exploits of *Agricola* in this island, we shall relate in their proper places.

*Reconciles
them to the
Roman go-
vernment.*

THE following year, *Vespasian* being consul the ninth time, and *Titus* the seventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had stirred up the *Gauls*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, was at length discovered, seized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country-dwelling, and set it on fire, in order to raise a report, that he had perished: and truly he was there believed to have suffered a voluntary death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treasures (for he was immensely rich) in a cave which he had caused to be dug in a solitary place, and which was known only to two of his freedmen, upon whose fidelity he could depend. He might have easily withdrawn into *Germany*; but could not prevail upon himself to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved. She is called by *Dion Cassius*, *Peponilla*; by *Tacitus*, *Epoenia*; and by *Plutarch*, *Empona*; which name, according to that writer, in the antient language of the *Gauls*, signified a heroine. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for some time even undeceive his wife, who solemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at last, no longer able to bear the loss of a husband whom she so tenderly loved, resolved not to outlive him, and began to abstain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freedmen, informed her, that he was still alive, and ac-

*The ad-
ventures of
Julius Sa-
binus.*

* Idem, c. 10—20.

quainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the same time to suppress her joy, lest the secret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmost transports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, passed great part of the night with him, and sometimes whole weeks, pretending business in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave, *Empona* concealing the whole with exemplary fidelity and wonderful address; nay, she found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, so well disguised, that he was by no one known. But after he had passed nine years in this condition, he was at length discovered by some persons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently absenting herself from her own house, and followed her to the cave, without being discovered. *Sabinus* was immediately seized and sent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who throwing herself at the emperor's feet, and presenting to him her two tender children, strove with her tears and intreaties to move him to compassion. *Vespasian* could not forbear weeping at so moving an object; but nevertheless condemned both her and her husband, and caused them to be soon after executed. The two children were saved, and with great care brought up at the public expence. One of them died some time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he saw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delphos*, while he was writing his book of *love*, in which he has inserted this adventure^t. That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more displeasing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Vespasian*, than the death of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unseasonable severity, he ascribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his usual clemency and goodness, when he might have done it with general applause and universal satisfaction we are no-where told.

Cæcina
and *Mar-*
cellus con-
spire a-
gainst *Ves-*
pasian,
but are put
to death.

NOT long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, of whom we often spoke in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Eprius Marcellus*, an abandoned accuser in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conspiracy against the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conspiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the speech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the soldiers after the assassination, written with his own hand. This was sufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this discovery,

^t TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 67. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 752. PLUT. amat. having

having invited *Cæcina* to sup with him, caused him, without any farther inquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banqueting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the senate; but prevented the execution of the sentence, by cutting his throat with a razor ^u. Before *Vespasian* resigned the consulship, he was seized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutylia*, his paternal estate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he usually visited every summer, in order to drink certain waters, in great request on account of their extreme coldness. Here he was seized first with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occasioned by the immoderate use of the cold waters, which brought him to such weakness, that all about him began to despair of his recovery. However, he still attended the dispatch of business, received ambassadors, and gave audience to his ministers. Once, as he found himself ready to faint away, *If I am not mistaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the custom of the *Romans*, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worship. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his usual bravery and resolution, *An emperor ought to die standing*: but, while he endeavoured to rise, he expired in the hands of those who sustained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *June*, in the seventy-eighth year of the *Christian æra*, after he had lived sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days, and reigned ten years wanting six days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*. His death was universally lamented; and his memory gratefully preserved, by such as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæsar*, and to *Augustus* in peace; and seemed to have been by providence raised on purpose to preserve so vast an empire from utter destruction. Greatness and majesty, says *Pliny*, worked no alteration in him, save that of making his power of doing good answerable to his will. He was the second *Roman* emperor, if not the first, who died a natural death; and the first who was succeeded by his son. And here we cannot help observing the rashness of some blind zealots, in ascribing to divine vengeance the fate of such as slew *Cæsar* the dictator. Not one of the assassins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæsar*, who destroyed the state, nor any of his successors, except *Augustus*, of whom it is also doubted, to the present emperor. *Tiberius* was smothered by *Macro* his favourite, *Caligula* was slain by the officers of his guards, *Claudius*

*The death
of Vespasian.*

His character.

^u SUET. in Tit. c. 6. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 752. TACIT. l. iv. c. 6.

was poisoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* stabbed himself, *Galba* was murdered by the soldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Augustus* was thought to have been poisoned by his wife *Livia* ^w. Such was the end of these usurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their foot-steps! *Vespasian* is said to have been so confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate destined to him and his posterity, that he affirmed in the senate, he should, in spite of all plots and conspiracies, retain the sovereignty to his death, and be succeeded in it by his two sons. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus*. The *Romans* were at this time so preposterously fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of persons of quality, when the pantomimes used to personate the deceased, counterfeit their speech, and imitate their actions. At the obsequies of *Vespasian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, personating the deceased emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thousand sesterces, *Give me the money*, said he, stretching out his hand and 'counterfeiting the emperor's speech, *and throw my carcase, if you please, into the Tiber* ^x. *Vespasian* founded various colonies in different parts of the empire, viz. one at *Emmaüs*, about sixty furlongs from *Jerusalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or the city of victory; one at *Cæsarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the first in dignity of all the cities in *Palestine*. *Develte*, or as some call it, *Deülte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobriga* in *Spain*, now *Bilboa*, are by some writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Vespasian* ^y. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sychem*; *Samofata*, the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, *Chalcis* and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumenea* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence some writers conclude *Roman* colonies to have been settled in all these cities, either by *Vespasian* himself, or one of his children ^z. Several writers flourished in *Vespasian*'s time, but of them we shall speak in our notes (D).

Vespasian

^w Vide TACIT. annal. i. sub init. & DIO. l. lviii. ^x Suet. c. 19.
^y Vide SPANH. l. vii. & BAUD. p. 291. ^z Vide BAUD. p. 769, & NORIS de epoch. Syro-Macedon.

(D) These were, *Suctonius Paulinus*, of whose warlike exploits we have spoken in the reign of *Nero*, when he governed *Britain*. He likewise distinguished himself in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, and was without all doubt one of the best commanders of his age.

His colonies.

Vespasian was succeeded in the empire by his eldest son *Titus*, Titus
who was born the thirtieth of *December*, about the time of the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year forty of the *Christian* declared
era; so that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was emperor.
brought

age. He left behind him an account of an expedition, which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year forty-one of the *Christian* era, and the last of *Caligula's* reign, against the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times, but is quoted by *Pliny* (9). He outlived *Otho*, whose cause he had espoused; but from *Pliny* it appears he was dead in the year seventy-seven, that is, in the eighth year of *Vespasian's* reign (10). Some writers, through a strange mistake, have confounded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the historian, who served only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (11). *Licinius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the history and geography of the eastern countries (12). In the year seventy-five, the seventh of *Vespasian's* reign, he was busy in collecting the discourses and letters of the antient *Romans*, and had already published eleven volumes of speeches, and three of letters (13). He is supposed to have died in the eighth year of *Vespasian's* reign. *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about him a living fly, which he superstitiously looked upon as a preservative of the sight (14). *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the persons introduced in the dialogue of orators, commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Asiaticus*, and promised the lives of other illustrious persons. He likewise published some speeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (15). In the same dialogue, *Vipsanius Messala* acts the chief part. He was tribune of the seventh legion, sprung from an illustrious family, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* upon worthy designs. He pleaded with great eloquence in the senate, though not yet arrived at the age of a senator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilius Regulus*, charged as the accuser and destroyer of many illustrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (16). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (17), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*; and is supposed to have published some other histories (18). *Modycratus*, the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadix*, lived about this time, and published several philosophical tracts (19). *St. Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (20); and *Ori-*

- (9) *Plin. l. v. c. 1.* (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Vide Voff. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 26.* (12) *Plin. l. v. c. 27.* (13) *Tacit. orat. c. 37.* (14) *Plin. l. xxviii. c. 2.* (15) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.* (16) *Tacit. l. iv. c. 42.* (17) *Tacit. orat. c. 14.* (18) *Voff. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 28.* (19) *Jonsius de script, hist. philosoph. c. 5.* (20) *Euseb. chron.*

His educa-
tion, stu-
dies, &c.
before his
accession to
the empire.

brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is said to have tasted the poison which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an astrologer being consulted by *Narcissus*, the celebrated freedman of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned answer, that by the laws of fate the empire was not destined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to stand by him. He lived in great friendship with *Britannicus*; whence, soon after his accession to the empire, he erected two statues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his orders publicly carried among other statues at the *Circensian* games. *Titus*, from his tender years, attended with great application the study of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progress in both, being commended by the antients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent speaker upon any subject whatever, and without premeditation. He served first in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*; and in both provinces gained no less reputation by his modest and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himself to the bar, and pleaded some causes of great importance with uncommon applause. While he was yet very young, he married *Arpicidia Tertulla*, whose father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon

gen, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (21), perused with attention his writings, and improved by them. *Curatius Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flourished under *Vespasian*, and wrote several tragedies; one of which, intitled *Cato*, made a great noise, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Vespasian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, speaking in defence of poetry (22). *Sabinus Bessus* wrote several poems in the reign of *Vespasian*, which were highly esteemed by *Quintilian* and *Vespasian* himself, who countenanced and with great generosity rewarded the poet (23). *Cluvius* wrote the history of *Nero's* reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Vespasian* (24), and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Most writers take him to be the same person with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* observes, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and had acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (25). He was, as the same writer observes, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (26). None of the writings of these authors have reached our times, except some sentences quoted by the antient grammarians.

(21) *Idem* hist. eccl. l. vi. c. 19. (22) *Tacit. orat.* c. 2. 3. 11.
(23) *Tacit. ibid.* c. 5. *Quint.* l. x. c. 1. (24) *Tacit. annal.* xiii.
c. 20. (25) *Tacit. l. iv. c. 49.* (26) *Idem, l. i. c. 8.*

her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, descended of an illustrious family, but divorced her after he had one daughter by her, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæstorship, which he discharged with great applause, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa* in quality of his lieutenant. In that war, he distinguished himself, as appears from *Josephus*, in a very eminent manner; reduced, while he served under his father, some strong holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being sent by *Vespasian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his accession to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the prosecution of the war against the *Jews*, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administered, as *Tacitus* observes, by the condition of the emperor, antient and childless, and the great character of *Titus*, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But having received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father, and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for between *Vespasian* and him, as the one ruled over *Judæa* and the other over *Syria*, great animosities reigned, occasioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces^a. He was left by his father in *Judæa* to prosecute the war against the *Jews*. *Is left by his father to carry on the war against the Jews.* Upon their parting, *Titus* gave a signal instance of his goodness and affection towards his brother *Domitian*. For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* had already abandoned himself to all manner of debauchery, and assumed more authority than was suitable to a son only, was highly incensed against him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection and earnestness in favour of his brother, warning the emperor to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence from such as brought criminal representations. *To your own son, said he, it is but just you should bear a spirit of gentleness, free from all prejudice. Not from fleets, not from legions, are such powerful bulwarks found for the support of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous issue in the imperial house. The number of our friends is diminished with time; they often desert us to follow fortune; or because we cannot gratify their desires. But from our own blood we may always promise ourselves ready assistance, and unshaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with us, but our nearest in kindred alone will bear us company in our adversities. Even between brothers, added he, concord and unanimity will not prove last-* *His kindness to his brother Domitian.*

^a TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 77. SUET. in Tit. c. 1, 2, 3, 5. PHILOSTR. in vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

ing, if their common parent sets them not first an example. *Vespasian*, who by this reasoning was not so much reconciled to *Domitian*, as charmed with the tender affection of *Titus*, desired him to be of good cheer, and to study how to aggrandize the commonwealth by war and the exercise of arms; adding, that it should be his task to insure the public peace, and that of his family ^b. Of the conduct and warlike achievements of *Titus*, during the war which he carried on with stupendous success against the *Jews*, we have spoken at length in our history of that nation. After the reduction of *Jerusalem*, instead of returning to *Rome*, he went to *Alexandria*, where he assisted at the consecration of the ox *Apis*, wearing a diadem; which, together with his putting off from time to time his journey for *Italy*, and his giving a private audience at *Zeugma* to the ambassadors of the *Parthian* king, occasioned a report, as if he designed to revolt from his father, and make himself emperor of the east. This rumour obliged him to hasten his departure for *Rome*, where he was received with loud shouts of joy, and a few days after honoured with one of the most magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the senate with the title of *Cæsar*, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his colleague in the empire; for with him he exercised the censorship, the tribunitial power, seven consulships, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts in his father's name. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was more strict and reserved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, says the latter writer, gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the least umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or trial. In administering justice, he was easily biased by presents, sold several employments of great trust unknown to his father, and indulged himself in festivity and pleasures, spending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the most dissolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and prostitutes. His passion for *Berenice*, the daughter of *Agrippa the great* and sister of *Agrippa II.* king of *Ituræa*, was highly censured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a second *Nero*; so that scarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more sullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace ^c. But, upon his accession to the empire, all these accusations turned to his praise and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation,

Returns to
Rome, and
triumphs.

Is charged,
while yet
a private
man, with
pride, cru-
elty, and
avarice.

Governs
with great
modera-
tion.

^b TACIT. l. iv. c. 52. ^c SÜET. c. 6, 7. TACIT. ibid.

humanity,

humanity, and good-nature. Soon after his father's death, he dismissed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her father *Agrippa*, the last king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from *Italy*, tho' he was passionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaisance to the senate and people, who were displeased to see their emperor thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman ^d. *His conduct towards his brother.* Tho' his brother *Domitian* pretended to an equal share in the government, and raised great disturbances in the city, by giving out and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him partner in the empire, but that the will had been falsified; yet he could not prevail upon himself either to punish or banish him, but on the contrary treated him as his colleague in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother, who bore him a sincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due share in the administration ^e. *Pliny* observes, that *Julius Bassus* dreaded *Titus* on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was banished by the latter. The emperors, ever since the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predecessors granting to cities, or particular persons, privileges, immunities, or exemptions, till such grants were confirmed by themselves; which they did with great reserve, causing the charters to be first carefully examined, as if they had been first granted by themselves. But *Titus*, *Confirms all the grants of his predecessors.* without suffering any one to apply to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed by most of his successors. He could not prevail upon himself to dismiss any who applied to him dissatisfied, or without some hopes of success; whereupon, being admonished by some of his friends, that he promised more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man should depart dissatisfied from the presence of a prince. It is well known, that being told one night he had bestowed no favour that day, he expressed his dissatisfaction and regret, with that memorable saying, *My friends, I have lost a day.* He *His complaisance to the people.* treated the people with extraordinary kindness and complaisance: having designed to exhibit a show of gladiators, he signified by a proclamation, that it should be exhibited, not according to his own taste and pleasure, but that of the people; and he was so far from refusing what they desired, that he earnestly solicited them to declare what they liked best, complying with their taste, tho' disagreeing with his own. He allowed free access to him, even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condescension, yet so as to

^d Suet. c. 7.^e Idem in Dom. c. 2 & 9.

His clemency.

Abolishes the law of majesty.

His severity towards the informers.

maintain the dignity of his rank and the majesty of an emperor. No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refused the usual presents and such contributions as were due to him: and nevertheless, of all his predecessors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger sums in private bounties, in shows, in buildings, &c. After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finished with incredible expedition certain baths close to it, he exhibited, at an immense charge, a show of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thousand wild beasts of all kinds. When he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to preserve his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was accessory to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great justice: but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himself, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following instance: two patricians having conspired against him, were discovered, convicted, and sentenced to death by the senate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admonishing them only in private, that in vain they aspired to the empire, which was given by destiny, exhorting them to be satisfied with the rank in which by providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing else which it was in his power to grant. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great distance, and under great concern about the fate of her son, to assure her, that her son was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the same night to his table, and having the next day placed them by him at a show of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to custom, presented to him; he desired them to survey them*. The law of majesty he utterly abrogated, and would not suffer any person to be prosecuted for speaking disrespectfully of himself, or the other emperors his predecessors, saying, *If they blacken my character undeservedly, they ought rather to be pitied than punished; if deservedly, it would be a crying piece of injustice to punish them for speaking truth. As for my predecessors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries done them, and stand in no need of my assistance and power*†. The accusers were the only persons against whom he proceeded with unrelenting severity, causing them to be publicly whipt, to be exposed to public view, and to the insults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and

* SUET. C. 9

† DIO. l. lviii. p. 354.

the circus, and then to be either sold for slaves, or banished to desert islands ^g. In short he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the allay of one single vice.

TOWARDS the end of the year 79 of the christian æra, and first of *Titus's* reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a most dreadful and almost incredible eruption of mount *Vesuvius*, which laid waste the country to a great distance, and utterly consumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and amongst the rest *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had suffered much by an earthquake in the year 63 of the christian æra; but had been rebuilt and imbellished with several stately edifices, especially a theatre, in which the people were assembled, and intent upon the public shows, when the city was swallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were greatly damaged, what by the earthquake, what by the burning ashes; which, if the antients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned suddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Misenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having discovered this cloud on the first of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it issued, went immediately on board one of the galleys, and sailed towards mount *Vesuvius*. He was soon met by great numbers of persons, who, in small boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheless, prompted by his curiosity, he pursued his course, tho' stones, ashes, and earth began already to shower down upon his vessel; nay, we are told, that, to his great surprise, he found a new cape formed by the earth, and huge stones thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity, and reaching *Stabiæ* between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, passed the night there, the better to observe, during the darkness, the mountain, which seemed all on a blaze. The same night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiæ*, and such a huge quantity of stones fell, that *Pliny* resolved to put to sea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to save himself by flight; but, tho' supported by two of his domestics, he soon fell, suffocated, as is supposed, by the thickness of the air and the insupportable stench of sulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Misenum*, and narrowly escaped the same fate, as he himself relates at length in his epistles ^h.

*Adreadful
eruption of
mount Ve-
suvius.*

*The death
of Pliny
the elder.*

^g SUET. C. 10.

^h PLIN. l. vi. epist. 16, 20.

On this occasion the poet *Cesius Bassus* was consumed, with his house, by the flames; and likewise *Agrippa*, the son of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judæa*, and of *Drusilla*, daughter to *Agrippa*, the last king of the *Jews*ⁱ. This is the first eruption of mount *Vesuvius* we find mentioned in history.

*Agricola's
second
campaign
in Britain.*

THE same year, *Titus* assumed the title of emperor with the usual solemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain*, during his second campaign in that island; for having applied himself in the winter with great care to the redressing of the grievances, of which the *Britons* but too justly complained, in the beginning of the summer he assembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending such of his men as in marching observed duty and rank, and checking such as were loose and straggling. He himself always chose the ground for incamping; the friths and woods he himself always first examined; and to the enemy, in the mean time, allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever harrassing them with sudden incursions. Then having sufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he used to spare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the sweets of peace. By this conduct se-

*Several
communi-
ties submit,
and give
hostages.*

veral communities, which till that day had held out upon equal terms, and maintained themselves in a state of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hostages, and suffered fortresses to be erected in their territories; which was done with so much care and skill, that no part of *Britain* conquered by the *Romans* till that time escaped being annoyed by them^k. This is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of what *Agricola* performed in the second summer's expedition; but as he speaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no easy matter to determine through what part of *Britain* *Agricola* marched his army, and how far into the country; what friths he passed over, what communities submitted and gave hostages, and in what places the fortresses were erected which *Tacitus* mentions.

*Through
what part
of Britain
he march-
ed.*

However, a modern writer^l, whom our readers may consult, endeavours by many learned conjectures to prove, that *Agricola* in his second campaign marched directly from *Anglesey* into *Scotland*, and penetrated as far as the frith of *Edinburgh*; that he bent his rout through the county of *Annandale* and the adjacent counties, where remains of antient *Roman* camps are still to be seen, some of which the learned antiquarian concludes, from *Tacitus's* account of them, to have been made by *Agricola*; that the friths he passed were those of *Dee*, *Ribble*, *Liverpool*, and *Salloway*; and finally, that the communities or

ⁱ JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 5. ^k TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 20, 21. ^l GORDON. itiner. septentrion.

cities, which suffered themselves to be begirt, as *Tacitus* expresses it, with garisons and fortresses, were those on the isthmus between *Clyde* and *Forth*. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer for a more distinct explanation of these particulars.

THE following year, *Titus*, now consul the eighth time, *Titus repairs the instances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the losses which the unhappy inhabitants of Campania had suffered by the late eruption of mount Vesuvius.* He sent into *Campania* two consulars with large sums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned, and applied to the relief of the poor sufferers the goods and estates of such, as had perished on this occasion and left no heirs; nay, went in person into *Campania*, and with his own hand distributed immense sums among those, who seemed most worthy of his compassion^m. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which lasted three days and as many nights, and reduced to ashes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Augustus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no sooner informed of this calamity, than he hastened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loss should fall upon him, and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage suffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for tho' many cities and foreign princes, by whom he was no less beloved than by the *Romans*, offered to bear their share in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occasion; but chose rather to sell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houses, in order to raise money wherewithal to defray the immense charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the most dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dion Cassius* ascribes its rise to the ashes of mount *Vesuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great distanceⁿ. *Titus* left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the distemper, exerting at the same time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderness and compassion of a father, comforting the distressed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties^o. Towards the end of this year he finished the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly described by *Martial*^p, who

pairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Vesuvius.

And by a fire at Rome.

Exerts his good-nature during a plague at Rome.

Finishes the amphitheatre.

^m Suet. c. 8. ⁿ Dio. l. lvi. p. 756. ^o Idem ibid. Suet. c. 8. ^p Mart. lib. de spect. epigr. 1.

likewise mentions the baths that were ended about the same time. The amphitheatre, whereof the stately remains are still to be seen, had been begun by *Vespasian*, and stood, as we learn from *Dion Cassius*, in the midst of the city, tho' its ruins lie in the outskirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, when he dedicated, according to custom, that noble and stately edifice, exhibited most magnificent shows, which lasted an hundred days, and raised the spirits of the people, ready to sink under the calamities they had suffered^a.

*Agricola
brings the
Britons to
love the
Roman
customs.*

IN the mean time, *Agricola* employed his second winter in measures extremely advantageous and salutary; for to the end that the people, wild and dispersed over the country, and thence easily stirred up to war, might, by a taste of pleasures, be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted, and then publicly assisted, them, to build temples, houses, and places of public resort, reprimanding such as were slow, and commending those who were assiduous and forward in such pursuits. He took care to have the sons of their chiefs instructed in the liberal sciences, finding their genius superior to that of their neighbours the *Gauls*; and such was his success, that those, who had lately scorned to learn the *Roman* language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to assume the *Roman* apparel, and the use of the gown grew frequent amongst them. Thus by degrees they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, elegant entertainments, &c. all which things were, as *Tacitus* judiciously observes, by the unexperienced, styled politeness, but at the bottom were nothing but baits of slavery. In the beginning of the summer, *Agricola* took the field again, and in pursuit of his conquests discovered new people, and continued his devastations through the several nations quite to the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tay*. Whence such terror seized the enemy, that they durst not attack him, though his troops were sorely harrassed by terrible tempests; so that he had time to secure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was observed of *Agricola* by men of experience, that no commander ever chose his posts with more skill, in regard of their situation and convenience, and that no place of strength founded by him was ever taken by storm, or abandoned as not defensible. From these strong-holds frequent excursions were made; and, as they were supplied with provisions for a year, the *Romans* passed the winter in them without the least apprehension, every single fort defending itself; so that

*He extends
his con-
quests to
the Taus
or Tay.*

^a DIO. p. 757. & MARC. VELSER. monument. August. lapid. 35.

the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to despair, not being able, as formerly, to repair by their success in the winter, the losses they had sustained in the summer. In these expeditions *Agricola* never assumed to himself the glory of exploits performed by others; but to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praise which was due to his achievements. By some he is said to have been too severe and sharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courtesy towards those who readily complied with their duty, so to the slothful and negligent he appeared stern and severe. But his anger was easily appeased: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foster secret hatred¹. The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth consulship, and consequently this year, repaired some antient aqueducts, and at a vast expence paved with large stones the road from *Rome* to *Ariminum* cross the *Apennines*, where is still to be seen, not far from the present city of *Fossombrone*, a huge rock cut through on this occasion².

THE next consuls were *Sex. Annius Silvanus* and *T. Annius Verus Pollio*. The latter is by some writers supposed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raised by *Vespasian* to the rank of a patrician, discharged twice the office of consul, and governed *Rome* with general satisfaction. This summer, the fourth since *Agricola's* arrival in *Britain*, was by him employed in settling and securing the places which he had already conquered, viz. all the countries on this side the *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Clyde* and *Forth*, into which rivers the tide from the opposite sea flows so far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over. This isthmus the *Romans* secured with forts and garisons, and penned up the inhabitants, as it were, in another island; so that they might have made the two rivers *Glota* and *Bodotria* the boundaries of their conquests, and suffered the nations beyond them to live undisturbed³. But the ambition of the *Romans*, which they disguised under the specious name of glory, knew no bounds; hence *Agricola* pursued his conquests the next and the following summers, as we shall relate according to the order of time. In the east, one *Terentius Maximus*, passing himself upon the people for *Nero*, raised great disturbances in that province, and likewise in the countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*; but, being pursued by the *Roman* troops, he took refuge in the territories of the *Parthians*, where he was entertained by king *Artabanes*, who

¹ TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 22. ² ONUPH in fast. p. 210. GOLTZ. p. 56. ³ TACIT. ibid. c. 25.

was then at variance with the *Romans*; but nevertheless, upon the approach of their army, thought it adviseable to abandon the cause of the impostor ^u.

New hon-
ours con-
ferred upon
Titus.

Is taken
ill, and
leaves
Rome.

His death.

THIS year, the senate, not out of flattery, but a sense of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus*. What honours these were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being suddenly snatched away, to the inexpressible grief of the *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain shows, during which he shed many tears in the presence of the multitude, and retired, as soon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, because the victim, while he was sacrificing, had broke loose, and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be seen. The first night he lay out of *Rome*, he was seized with a burning fever; but nevertheless pursued his journey in a litter, being desirous to end his days in the same house where his father died. We are told, that finding himself on the road greatly indisposed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigour of his age, when, during the whole course of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which seemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dion Cassius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conspired against him, when, by inflicting upon him the deserved punishment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities, which the excellent emperor was well apprised his brother, when invested with the sovereignty, would bring upon the state ^w. Others think, that the criminal conversation he was said to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aspersions, upon the solemn protestation of *Domitia* herself, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as she did in all other crimes, than denied it ^x. *Titus* having with much-ado reached *Cutylæ*, his paternal estate, expired there soon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the forty-first year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. *Philostatus* tells us, that he was poisoned by his brother *Domitian*^y. *Plutarch* ascribes his death to the immoderate use of baths^z, and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaisance, used to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that

^u ZONAR. p. 195.

^w DIO. l. lxvi. p. 758.

^x SUET. c. 10.

^y PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vi. c. 14.
p. 2. 4.

^z PLUT. de sanit.

Domitian,

Domitian, who had ever sought the destruction of his brother, caused the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordering all those who could afford him any assistance to withdraw ; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence ^a. He far excelled, in the opinion of the antients, all his predecessors, even *Vespasian* himself, in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his successors. He knew no purpose of being higher than others, but to do good to all. He was a stranger to all parade and ostentation, chusing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with subjects ; whence he was deservedly styled, *the love and delight of mankind*. What pity that such princes, such friends to the world, and protectors of men, should ever die ! His death was no sooner known, than a general sadness, an universal consternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a short time spread all over the provinces, to the most distant bounds of the empire. The senators, without being summoned according to custom, hastened to the palace, and having caused the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be shut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and in the presence of the multitude heaped more praises upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongst them ; a plain proof of the sincerity of their esteem and affection. *Domitian* caused him to be ranked among the gods, and was the first who paid him divine honours ; but at the same time studied both in private and in public to revile his memory, and lessen the esteem and veneration, which all orders of men had for so worthy and deserving a prince ^b. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the following reign.

Titus was succeeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the least opposition or contradiction, was immediately acknowledged emperor, notwithstanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of *October* of the year fifty-one of the christian æra, his father being then consul elect, and appointed to discharge that office the month following. He is styled on several medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus* ^c. He passed his youth in great poverty, and is said to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who succeeded him, for hire, and likewise to one *Clodius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note under *Domitian's* own hand, by which he bound himself, for a sum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and

His character.

Is universally lamented.

Domitian acknowledged emperor.

^a SUET. in Domit.
SUET. C. I.

^b Idem ibid.

^c GOLTZ. p. 58.

unnatural desires. He did not apply himself from his tender years to the study of history, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or science; hence in all his speeches and harangues he made use of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery, in which he was so wonderfully expert, that he was frequently seen to shoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domestics, whom he placed at a great distance with his hand expanded, telling before between which fingers the arrow would pass, and never missing his aim^d. He was naturally cruel, suspicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the least toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided exposing himself to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occasioned by his timorousness, and no-ways natural to him. Being at *Rome* when his father assumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheless have easily escaped, several messengers having, by various disguises and shifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and shewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and security depend; nay, even those who guarded him, offered themselves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence that they designed to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his escape^e. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himself in the room of one of the ministers of the temple, and the next morning was conveyed by his freedman beyond the *Tiber*, in the disguise of one of the priests of *Isis*. When *Primus* had made himself master of the city, and all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, he discovered himself to his father's generals, and was by the soldiers thronging about him saluted *Cæsar*^f; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the senate. From that time to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief sway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himself to all manner of voluptuousness, and making use of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her husband *L. Ælius Lamia*, married her some time after, and had a son by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæsar*, but died an infant, and was by *Domitian* ranked among the gods^g. That he had other children, though not mentioned by any historian, appears from the epitaph of one *Pierius*, still to be seen at *Rome*, who is styled *the emperor's*

^d Suet. c. 19.^e Tacit. hist. l. iii. c. 59.^f Idem, c. 74^g Suet. c. iii. Spanh. p. 650.

freedman, and preceptor to his children. The monument was raised by *Flavia Nicea*, wife to *Pierius*, with the permission, as is expressed in the inscription, of *Hermas*, the chief freedman of *Domitia Augusta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina* in the second year of his reign ^b. In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the Jewish war, he resolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed against *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from such a resolution; but *Domitian* continuing obstinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* resolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour, lest, following the impetuosity of his age, and instigated by evil counsellors, were he once master of an army, he might disconcert all measures, whether for peace or war. After many procrastinations and delays, they both set out at length; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own sentiments upon the present occasion, what he had long proposed and concealed, viz. that since, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's son to venture his person in battle; but to contend with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lyons*, and from thence display the power and fortune of the empire at hand, neither engaging in small hazards, nor failing to meet such as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lyons*. From thence *Mucianus* was believed to have tried by secret inter-agents to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis*, and to have proposed, whether he would commit to him the army and empire, if he came in person. It remained uncertain what designs he fostered, whether he meditated a war against his father, or intended to arm himself with power and forces against his brother; for *Cerealis*, by several evasions, eluded his suit, as that of one, who, with a childish fondness, longed for things to which he was not equal. *Domitian* perceiving, that *Cerealis* despised his youth, relinquished all functions of government, even the smallest; and, burying himself in solitude, feigned a zeal for learning, especially for poetry, thence to conceal his ambition and other passions, and to escape the jealousy of his brother ⁱ. Some writers tell us,

*Here resolves
to head
the army
against
Civilis.*

*He at-
tempts to
corrupt
Cerealis.*

*Retires,
and feigns
a love for
learning
and poetry.*

^b Vide SPANH. p. 12. & SUET. c. 3.
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ⁱ TACIT. l. iy. c. 86.

Has some
thoughts of
revolting.

that on this occasion he applied himself in earnest to the study of poetry, and with wonderful success. *Pliny* the elder seems to have admired his poetical compositions ^k, and likewise *Quintilian* ^l; for both cry them up, not through flattery, says *Vossius*, as is manifest from the translation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian* ^m. *Lactantius* ascribes to him the learned comment on that translation ⁿ; but *Vossius* is of a different opinion ^o. *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flourished under *Vespasian*, speaks of a poem written by *Domitian* on the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* ^p. He likewise wrote a book in prose about the means of preserving the hair, which is quoted by *Suetonius* ^q. But while he pretended to place his whole delight in these studies, and affected a fondness for solitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded succours against the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earnestly solicited his father for the command of those troops; and when he found the emperor no-ways inclined to assist the *Parthians*, he applied to the eastern princes, soliciting them with promises and presents to desire supplies, and himself to lead them. But *Vespasian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to trust him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himself, whether he should openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promised them; but his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of *Cæsar, prince of the Roman youth*; a title now peculiar to the presumptive heir to the empire ^r. His brother no sooner expired, than he hastened to *Rome*; and repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there by the soldiery, after having promised them the usual donative, saluted emperor. At the same time he assumed, as appears from several antient inscriptions, all the other titles annexed to the sovereignty, which other emperors had taken successively ^s. Some medals, which have reached our times, give us room to suppose, that, in the first year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lyons* during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the least colour for assuming that surname or title ^t.

^k PLIN. in præfat. ^l QUINTIL. l. x. c. 1. ^m VOSS. poet. Lat. c. 3. ⁿ LACT. l. i. c. 22. ^o VOSS. hist. Lat. p. 115.
 ^p VAL. FLAC. l. ii. ver. 12. ^q SUET. c. 18. ^r Idem, c. 2.
 ^s ONUPH. in fast. p. 210. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Vide BIRAGI numis. p. 131, 132.

Domitian, now invested with the sovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed in the first place the obsequies of the deceased emperor, and pronounced himself his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loss of a brother so dear to him, and by whom he was so tenderly beloved; but that his grief was only assumed, he made soon appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and persecuting all those whom he had distinguished with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the senate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire, and that they had only restored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he studied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He shewed such an abhorrence to all manner of cruelty, that he once resolved, by an express edict, to forbid the sacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was so far from betraying any bias to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily instances of a temper truly princely and magnificent, presenting his officers and ministers with large sums, in order to raise them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods fordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept such inheritances as were left him by persons who had children; and because one *Ruscius Capio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain sum to every new senator, he declared the will void, and would not suffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years standing, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely forgave; and after the division of lands amongst the veterans, restored the remainder to the antient proprietors, though he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himself. He forbid, on pain of banishment, all the officers of the treasury to sue any one for debts, that were not clear and undoubted^u. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done, all the grants made by his predecessors, increased the pay of the soldiers, and finished, at an immense charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he expended above twelve thousand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheless each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that stately temple in magnificence^v. To the antient edifices, which he either repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones, having a great passion for building, and seeming desirous, as *Plutarch* expresses it^x, to change every thing into stones and gold. He

*He reviles
the memory
of his brother.*

*His conduct
in the beginning of
his reign.*

*His magnificence in
public
buildings.*

^u Suet. c. 9.

^v Plut. vit. Public.

^x Idem ibid.

*Repairs
the public
libraries.*

was assiduous and quite unbiassed in the administration of justice, punished with the utmost severity such judges as were convicted of having received bribes, and kept the magistrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in such awe, that they were never known to have behaved with so much modesty as in his time, though, after his death, many of them abandoned themselves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion¹. Though, after his accession to the empire, he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have perused any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign, procuring copies of such as had been consumed in the flames, and sending persons to *Alexandria* to transcribe those that were lodged in that famous library². Authors observe, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he used to retire every day for some time into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a sharp bodkin; which custom gave occasion to *Vibius Priscus*, when he was asked, whether any body was with the emperor, to answer pleasantly, *Not so much as a fly*³.

*Enacts
several
wholesome
laws.*

Domitian, in the first year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the consular dignity, and chose for his colleague *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his cousin-german, the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of *Rome*, who was put to death in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told, and assumed the title of censor, which office he discharged with great applause, restraining, with several edicts, the licentiousness, which generally prevailed amongst all ranks of men. He enacted severe laws against the authors of such writings as any ways reflected on persons of distinction; degraded a senator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reason, but because he took great delight in dancing. From such women as led scandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He struck a *Roman* knight out of the list of judges, for taking his wife again after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freedmen having erected a monument for his son, with the stones which were designed for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he caused it to be demolished, and the bones and ashes of the deceased to be thrown into the sea. He would not suffer the comedians and

¹ Suet. c. 8. ² Idem, c. 20. ³ Idem, c. 3. AUR. VICT. DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 766.

pantomimes to act on the public stage; but confined them to private houses and gardens. Many persons of both sexes convicted of adultery he punished with death, &c^b. These regulations and acts of justice were received with great applause; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, caused an universal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, caused him to be assassinated, for no crime of his own, but only because the public crier had, by mistake, instead of consul, proclaimed him emperor in the assembly of the people^c. *Sabinus* had married *Julia* the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; which marriage proved the source of *Domitian's* jealousy, if *Philostratus* is to be credited^d, and the chief cause of *Sabinus's* death. In the mean time, the brave *Agricola* vigorously pursued his enterprizes in *Britain*. In the first year of *Domitian's* reign and the fifth of the *British* war, he passed the frith himself in the first ship that landed, subdued in many successful encounters nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of *Britain* which fronts *Ireland*, not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that island, but because he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it lies between *Britain* and *Spain*, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of *Gaul*, *Agricola* considered, that it would prove of infinite use in linking together those powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domestic dissension, was already received into protection by *Agricola*, and, under the appearance of friendship, reserved for a proper occasion^e. For these conquests *Domitian* assumed the title of *imperator* the fourth time, having taken it three times before^f, for what victories we find no-where recorded.

*Puts Fla-
vius Sa-
binus to
death.*

*Agricola
pursues his
conquests in
Britain.*

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ninth consulship, having *Q. Petilius Rufus* for his colleague, whom *Onuphrius* calls *Virginus Rufus*, and takes for the celebrated *Virginus Rufus*, who so often refused the empire offered him by the soldiery^g. But *Phlegon*, speaking of a woman, who was, according to him, delivered of several serpents at *Trent*, tells us, that this happened during the ninth consulship of *Domitian*, and the second of *Petilius Rufus*^h. He is likewise styled *Petilius Rufus* in an antient inscription in *Greek* discovered at *Smyrna* in the year 1679. and from thence con-

^b SUET. c. 7, 8. DIO. p. 765. PLIN. panegy. ZONAR. p. 197. ^c SUET. c. 10. ^d PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. ^e TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 24. ^f GOLTZ. p. 58. ^g ONUPH. in fast. p. 211. ^h PHLEG. mir. c. 24.

Domitian
enacts
other ex-
cellent
laws.

Punishes
some ve-
stals con-
victed of
incest.

Agricola's
further
conquests in
Britain.

veyed to *Rome* *. This year *Domitian* enacted a law, forbid-
ding, under severe penalties, the castrating of children, and
regulating the prices of such as were eunuchs already; for they
were all slaves and brought from foreign countries ⁱ. *Philo-
stratus* tells us, that *Domitian* was chiefly prompted to enact
this law by a secret envy to the memory of *Titus*, who was
greatly addicted to eunuchs, and had constantly many of them
about him. Be that as it will, the law was generally applaud-
ed, and continued in force in the time of *Justin* the martyr ^k.
The same year, according to *Eusebius* ^l, he punished four ve-
stals convicted of incest, viz. two sisters of the family of the
Ocellates, *Varonilla*, and *Cornelia*. The three former he al-
lowed to chuse the manner of their death; but *Cornelia*, who
had been pardoned before, he caused to be buried alive, and her
accomplices to be whipt to death in the midst of the comitium.
Those who had debauched the other three were only condemn-
ed to banishment ^m. In the mean time, *Agricola* continued
his conquests in *Britain*, or rather *Caledonia*. On the sum-
mer which began the sixth year of his administration, as it was
apprehended, that the nations beyond *Bodotria*, or the frith of
Edinburgh, would all take arms, and that all the ways and pas-
sages were beset with the enemy's forces, his first step was to
coast, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large commu-
nities beyond the frith, probably those of the counties of *Fife*,
Angus, *Mernes*, and *Aberdeen*, which lie beyond *Edinburgh*
frith. As the fleet constantly attended the army, the same
camp often contained the foot and the horse and the marines,
all intermixed, and severally magnifying their own feats, ha-
zards, and adventures. The soldiers boasted their laborious
marches over steep mountains and thick forests; the sailors their
dangers amidst the tempests and waves, all vying together ac-
cording to the usual vaunts and ostentation of soldiers. As for
the *Britons*, upon the sight of the fleet, they were seized, as
from the captives was learnt, with consternation and dismay,
finding the recesses of the sea now discovered, and the last re-
fuge of the vanquished cut off. The several people therefore in-
habiting *Caledonia* had immediate recourse to arms, and advanc-
ing with great parade, still made greater by common report,
boldly attacked the *Roman* forts, and caused no small terror and
alarm amongst the soldiers; inasmuch, that there were some,
who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of pru-
dence, advised *Agricola* to return to this side of *Bodotria*, see-
ing it was less shameful to retire back of their own accord, than

* *NORIS*. epist. consul. p. 55, 56. ⁱ *SUET.* c. 7. ^k *JUSTIN.*
apol. ii. p. 71. ^l *EUSEB.* in chron. ^m *SUET.* c. 8.

to be repulsed and driven by force. As *Agricola* was informed, that the enemy designed to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent their surrounding him; for they surpassed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country. Hereupon the *Caledonians* changed their measures, and in one body fell upon the ninth legion, as the weakest of all. As the attack was in the night, they slew the guards, entered the trenches, and were already pursuing the slaughter in the camp itself, when *Agricola*, having learnt from his scouts what rout the enemy had taken, and following their track, commanded the lightest of his foot and cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty shout. Thus the *Caledonians* were dismayed with double distress, and to the *Romans* their courage returned; so that they fell upon the enemy with great resolution, and drove them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter ensued, the *Romans* who were come to the relief of their companions pressing them in the rear, and those who were in the camp in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to shew that they brought relief, the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At last the *Caledonians* were routed; and had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted aboveⁿ, was fought in the county of *Fife*; for *Agricola's* army was at that time, as is evident from *Tacitus*, on the north side of *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*; and the remains of a *Roman* camp are still to be seen in that county, at a place called *Lochore*. To the south of the camp is a large morass, in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence strengthens his conjecture, that the ninth legion was attacked there; for *Tacitus* tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not served for shelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war. The *Roman* soldiers, elated with this success, and thinking nothing could now prove unsurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of *Caledonia*, and to the utmost limits of *Britain*, which they hoped to find out by a constant course of victories. Thus those, who a little before had been so wary and so wise, were now after victory full of boasts and intrepidity. Instead of returning to this side of *Bodotria*, they were for penetrating to the utmost bounds of *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Caledonians*, ascribing the victory gained by the *Romans*, not to their superior courage,

The Caledonians attack the ninth legion, but are repulsed.

The Roman soldiers demand to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

ⁿ GORDON. itin. septent. p. 36.

but

Britain discovered to be an island.

Domitian attacks the Cattans, and for his mock victory is honoured with a triumph.

but to the skill and address of their general, lost nothing of their spirit and resolution, but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of security, and, in general assemblies of their several communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by solemn sacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both sides equally irritated and bent upon war and revenge^o. The same summer a cohort of *Ufipians*, levied by the *Romans* in *Germany*, and thence transported to *Britain*, having slain the centurion and some *Roman* soldiers, placed among them to teach them the discipline, imbarqued in three vessels, with a design to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them. But one of these forsaking them and making his escape, or bringing them back, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, to *Britain*, they suspected, and therefore killed the other two, and abandoned themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long tossed them hither and thither, carried them quite round about *Britain*; insomuch, that, departing, according to *Dion*, from the eastern, they returned to the western, coast, where the *Roman* army was then encamped^p. *Tacitus* tells us, that having sailed quite round the island, they were driven on the coasts of *Germany*, where, their vessels being lost, they were seized as pirates by the *Suevians* and *Frisians*; and being sold for slaves, some of them by change of masters were brought over to the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*, where they became famous by relating such an extraordinary adventure, and by discovering that *Britain* was an island. Their provisions had soon failed them; so that they were obliged to make frequent descents, and engage with several of the *British* nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were sometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to such straits, as to feed upon one another, first upon the weakest, then upon whomsoever the lot fell. This happened in the eighty-third year of the christian æra, and the second of *Domitian's* reign. The same year, the emperor undertook an expedition against the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* describes as the most polite and most warlike nation in *Germany*. *Domitian* attacked them, without the least provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waste part of their country, took a small number of peasants prisoners; and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, hastened back, and returned to *Rome* with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror^q. The senate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph, in

^o *TACIT.* *ibid.* c. 24. ^p *DIO.* l. lxvi. p. 754. ^q *Idem*, l. lxvii. p. 760.

which



which were led before his chariot great numbers of slaves by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occasion of this mock victory, he promised to increase the pay of the soldiers; but, not having wherewithal to discharge his promise, and at the same time supply his other extravagances, he soon after betook himself to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward, *Domitian* constantly wore in the senate, and all public assemblies, the triumphal robe^r.

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul the tenth time, with *Appius*, or, as others call him, *Oppius Sabinus*, the brave *Agricola* pursued his conquests in *Caledonia* with wonderful success. In the beginning of the summer, he lost, to his great grief, his son, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an ostentation of firmness and constancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Against this affliction war proved his chief remedy. Having therefore sent forward his navy, in order to spread a mighty terror, by committing devastations in several places, he put himself at the head of his army lightly equipped; and to it added some of the bravest *Britons*, whose fidelity had been well proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the *Grampian* hills, upon which the enemy were already encamped. For the *Caledonians*, nothing daunted by the issue of the late battle, and boldly waiting, either to take revenge or to suffer bondage, had, by embassies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thousand; and their youth from every quarter were still continuing to flock in, as were also such of their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had signalized themselves in war, carrying with them their several ensigns of honour formerly gained in the field. Upon the approach of the *Roman* army, the *Caledonians* with great eagerness prepared for battle; and *Galgacus*, who surpassed all their other leaders both in valour and descent, is said to have encouraged them with the following speech, which the learned *Lipsius* looks upon as one of the finest pieces of eloquence ever committed to the *Roman* language^s. “When
“I consider the causes of the war and the necessity to which
“we are reduced, great is my confidence, that this day and
“this your union will give a happy beginning to the liberty of
“the whole island. Bondage we have never borne; and we
“are so beset, that beyond us there is no further land, nor any
“security left us from the sea, while the *Roman* fleet is hovering upon our coasts. Thus what brave men covet for glory,

The Caledonians draw together thirty thousand men.

Galgacus's speech to them.

^r Idem ibid. Suet. c. 12. Zonar. p. 196. vit. Agr. c. 31. not. 46.

^s Lips. in

“ is to cowards become the safest expedient of all others, I mean
 “ present recourse to battle and arms. The other *Britons*, in
 “ their former conflicts with the *Romans*, had still a remaining
 “ source of hope and succour in this our nation: for of all the
 “ people of *Britain*, we are the most noble, placed in its remotest
 “ regions, and at a great distance from those nations that are
 “ held in bondage by the enemy; so that our eyes are yet un-
 “ polluted with the sight of lawless and usurped power. To us,
 “ who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth and the last who
 “ enjoy liberty, this extremity of the globe, this remotest re-
 “ cess, unknown even to common fame, has proved the only
 “ protection and defence. At present, the utmost boundary of
 “ *Britain* is laid open; beyond us no more people are found,
 “ nor aught but seas and rocks; and already the *Romans* have
 “ advanced into the heart of our country. Against their pride
 “ and ambition you will in vain seek a remedy or refuge from
 “ any obsequiousness or humble behaviour. These plunderers
 “ of the earth, these ravagers of the universe, finding countries
 “ to fail them, endeavour to rifle the wide seas and the ocean.
 “ If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor,
 “ their ambition. Neither the eastern world, nor the western,
 “ vast as they are, can satiate these general robbers. Of all
 “ men, they alone thirst after acquisitions, both poor and rich,
 “ with equal avidity and passion. Devastations, murders, and
 “ universal destruction, they by a lying name style *empire* and
 “ government; and when they have spread a general devasta-
 “ tion, they call it peace. Dearest to every man, by the instinct
 “ of nature, are his children and kindred. These are snatched
 “ from us to supply their armies, and doomed to bondage in
 “ other parts of the earth. Our wives, daughters, and sisters,
 “ however they escape violence from them as from open ene-
 “ mies, are debauched under the appearance of friendship. Our
 “ goods are their tribute, our corn their provision, our bodies
 “ and limbs their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through
 “ woods and drains in bogs, under continual blows and out-
 “ rages. Other slaves, whom nature and fortune have destined
 “ to servitude, are but once sold, and thenceforward nourished
 “ by their lords. The *Britons* are daily paying for their servi-
 “ tude, are daily maintaining and feeding their imperious lords
 “ and oppressors. Moreover, as in a tribe of domestic slaves,
 “ he who comes last is scoffed by his fellows, and serves for
 “ sport to them; so in this antient state of slavery, to which
 “ the world is reduced, we, as the latest slaves, and thence
 “ held the most contemptible, are now destined to destruction.
 “ For we have no fields to manure, no mines to dig, no ports
 “ to make; works for which they might be tempted to reserve

“ us. Besides, magnanimity and a daring spirit, in subdued na-
“ tions, is always distasteful to jealous and arbitrary rulers. And
“ truly our situation, so solitary and remote, the more security
“ it affords to us, the greater jealousy it raises in them. Since
“ therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouse
“ your courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The
“ *Brigantes*, even under the conduct of a woman, burnt their
“ colony, stormed their intrenchments, and, had not such aus-
“ picious beginnings degenerated into sloth, might have with
“ ease cast off the yoke and recovered their former liberty. Let
“ us, who are yet unsubdued, who still preserve our forces in-
“ tire, and want not to acquire, but only to secure, liberty,
“ shew at once, in the very first encounter, what kind of men
“ *Caledonia* has reserved for her own vindication and defence.
“ Do you believe the *Romans* to be equally brave in war, as
“ they are vicious and dissolute in peace? No; not from their
“ valour they have derived their renown, but from our quarrels
“ and divisions, which they have dexterously converted to the
“ glory of their own army; an army compounded of a motly
“ multitude of different nations, which by success alone are
“ held together, and consequently cannot fail to dissolve upon
“ any misfortune or disaster: unless you suppose the *Gauls* and
“ *Germans*, and many of the *Britons*, whom with shame I
“ mention, to be attached to them with any real affection:
“ they have been all longer their enemies than their friends; and
“ what restrains them at present is, nothing but awe and terror;
“ which once removed, those who cease to fear will imme-
“ diately begin to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can
“ incite men to victory, is found on our side. The *Romans*
“ have no wives to encourage and urge them; they have here
“ no fathers or mothers to upbraid them for flying. In
“ number they are but few, ignorant of the country, and
“ thence struck with dread, whilst whatever they behold around
“ them is wild and strange, even the air and the sky, with the
“ woods and the sea; so that the gods seem to have delivered
“ them up inclosed and fettered into our hands. Let not the
“ vain show and glare of gold and silver terrify us; this is what
“ can neither wound nor save. In the very army of the enemy
“ we shall find many on our own side: the *Britons* will own
“ and espouse their own cause, and abandon one foreign and
“ unnatural to them: the *Gauls* will remember their former
“ liberty: what the *Uspians* have lately done, the other *Ger-*
“ *mans* will do, and abandon the *Romans*. And what else have
“ we to fear? their forts are ungarisoned; their colonies peo-
“ pled with the aged and infirm; the municipal cities are weak-
“ ened and rent into parties and factions, while the people are

“averse to obedience, and the magistrates rule with injustice.
 “Here you see a general, here an army; there tributes and
 “mines, with a long train of calamities and curses, ever at-
 “tending a state of slavery. Whether all these are to be for
 “ever imposed and borne, or we forthwith avenge ourselves
 “for the attempt, this very day must determine. As there-
 “fore you advance to battle, look back upon your ancestors,
 “who lived in the happy state of liberty; look forward to your
 “posterity, who, unless you exert your valour in this very
 “field, must live for ever in a miserable state of servitude.”

This speech was received with songs, according to the custom which then prevailed among the *Caledonians*, with joyful shouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, while the most resolute were running to the front. As the army was forming in battle array, *Agricola*, tho’ he saw his men full of alacrity and hardly to be restrained, yet chose to discourse them in the following strain:

*Agricola’s
 speech to
 his men.*

“It is now the eighth year, my fellow soldiers, since, through
 “the auspicious fortune of the *Roman* empire and by your own
 “valour, you have been pursuing the conquest of *Britain*. In
 “so many marches, in so many battles, you have had constant
 “occasion to exert your bravery against the enemy, or your
 “patience against the obstacles of nature. During all these
 “struggles, we have found no cause of mutual regret, I to
 “have conducted such soldiers, or you to have followed such
 “a captain. We have both passed the limits which we found,
 “I those known to antient governors, you those of former
 “armies. The utmost bound of *Britain* is found, not by fame
 “only and report: but we possess it with our arms and camps.
 “*Britain* is intirely discovered, and intirely subdued. While
 “we were marching, and fatigued with passing mountains,
 “rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remarkably
 “brave cry out, When shall we see the enemy? when be led
 “to battle? Already they are come, roused from their fast-
 “nesses and lurking-holes. Here you see the end of all your
 “wishes; here is room for all your valour, and all things pro-
 “mising and propitious, if you conquer; but equally disastrous,
 “should you be overcome. To have thus marched over a tract
 “of country so immense, to have passed through thick and
 “gloomy forests, to have crossed arms of the sea, is matter of
 “great glory and applause, while we advance against the enemy;
 “but if we fly from them, whatever is now most to our advan-
 “tage, will prove most to our disadvantage and ruin. We are
 “not so well skilled in the country as the enemy, nor have we

‘TACIT. *ibid.* c. 30—32.

“ the like store of provisions; but we have hands and weapons,
 “ and in these all things. For myself, I have been long since
 “ convinced, that neither for the soldiers, nor for the general,
 “ is there any safety in turning their backs upon the foe.
 “ Hence an honourable death is far preferable to a life with re-
 “ proach; and security is inseparable from renown. Neither
 “ would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this utmost verge
 “ of the world and nature. Were people unknown to you
 “ now arrayed against you, were you to engage men never
 “ before tried, I would animate you by the examples of other
 “ armies. At present only recollect and enumerate your own
 “ exploits, only ask and consult your own eyes. These are
 “ the same men, who, but the last year, trusting to the dark-
 “ nefs of the night, attacked by stealth a single legion, and
 “ were by the terror of your shouting utterly overthrown.
 “ These, of all the *Britons*, are the most timorous and most
 “ prone to flight; and therefore have thus survived all the rest.
 “ As in forests and woods, beasts of the greatest strength are
 “ driven thence by superior force, and the timorous and spirit-
 “ less are scared even at the cry of the pursuers; so all the
 “ bravest *Britons* are long since fallen by the sword, and only
 “ the most fearful and dastardly remain, whom at length you
 “ have found, not because they intended to stay and make head
 “ against you, but because they are overtaken and surprised.
 “ They stand in the field, struck with dread and bereft of all
 “ spirit; whence you may without much danger gain over
 “ them a glorious and memorable victory. Here conclude
 “ your warfare; here complete your expeditions and efforts,
 “ and put an end to a struggle of fifty years, with one great
 “ and important day; so that the army may not be charged
 “ either with protracting the war, or with any cause for reviving
 “ it.” *Agricola* had scarce ended his speech, when the sol-
 diers, transported with joy, flew to their arms. *Agricola*, see-
 ing them sufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in
 battle array, placing the auxiliary foot, to the number of eight
 thousand men, in the centre, and three thousand auxiliary horse
 in the wings. The legions he would not suffer to advance, but
 commanded them to stand in battle-array close to the intrench-
 ments; for the victory, he thought, would be the more glori-
 ous, were it, by sparing them, gained without spilling any *Ro-*
man blood; and, on the other hand, they were still a sure suc-
 cour, should the rest be repulsed. The *Caledonians* were ranged
 upon the rising grounds in such manner, that the first band
 stood upon the plain, and the rest rose successively upon the

*He engages
 the Cale-
 donians
 under the
 command
 of Galga-
 cus.*

^a Idem ibid. c. 33, 34.

brows of the hills, one rank close above the other, as if they had been linked together. The enemy's chariots of war and cavalry filled the interjacent field. Then *Agricola* fearing, as the enemy far surpassed him in number, lest he should be attacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak, many advised him to bring on the legions; but he, in all difficulties more prone to hope than to fear, without hearkening to their advice, dismissed his horse, and advanced on foot before the ensigns. The onset was begun at a distance, wherein the *Britons* displayed great courage and equal skill, eluding, with their huge swords and small bucklers, the missive weapons of the *Romans*, whilst of their own they poured a torrent upon them, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* cohorts and two of the *Tungrians*, to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand, as what to the veteran soldiers by a long practice was become familiar, but proved to the enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they were armed with little targets and with swords of enormous size; for the swords of the *Britons*, as they were blunt at the end, were quite unfit for a close encounter. Hence the *Batavians* doubled their blows, wounded the enemy with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their faces, and beating down all who withstood them in the plain, were already carrying the attack up to the hills; insomuch, that the other cohorts, encouraged by their example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havock of all who opposed them; nay, such was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the enemy behind them but half dead, and others not so much as wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the battalions of foot, and intangled with the unevenness of the place, occasioned in the plain a general disorder and confusion. The engagement had not the least appearance of a combat of cavalry; for standing obstinately foot to foot, they pressed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horses, besides, the chariots, abandoned and straggling, and likewise the horses destitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running to and fro just as the next fright drove them; insomuch, that all of their own side who met them, or crossed their way, were beaten down by them. In the mean time, the *Britons*, who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no share in the encounter, looking with scorn upon the small number of the *Roman* forces, began to descend slowly, and to surround them in the rear, while they were pursuing their victory. But *Agricola*, who had apprehended this very design, detached
against

against them four squadrons of horse, which he had reserved near him for the sudden exigencies of the field. These falling upon the enemy, with great vigour and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great disorder: then turning against the *Caledonians* their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in the rear. Hereupon the *Caledonians* began to retire in great confusion, and nothing was to be seen all over the open fields but pursuits, wounds, and captivity, and the present captives always slaughtered when others occurred to be taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a smaller number who pursued them; others, quite unarmed, rushing into danger, offered themselves through despair to instant death. On all sides lay scattered arms, and carcases, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquished still fought with incredible resolution and bravery; and when they drew near the woods, they rallied, and surrounded the foremost pursuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors must have suffered some notable disaster, had not *Agricola*, who was constantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the bravest cohorts lightly equipped to invest the enemy on all sides, and some of the cavalry to dismount and enter the narrow passes, while the rest of the horse advanced into the more open and passable parts of the wood. The *Caledonians*, perceiving the *Romans* to continue the pursuit with regular and close ranks, betook themselves to flight, not in united bodies as before, but quite scattered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the utmost confusion making toward the deserts and the most remote places. The *Romans* followed them close; and the pursuit was not ended but with night and a satiety of slaughter. Of the enemy, ten thousand were slain; of the *Roman* army, three hundred and forty, among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and also by a fiery horse, was hurried into the midst of the enemy ^w (E).

THE

^w Idem, c. 35—38.

(E) We will not take upon us to ascertain the precise place of this memorable action, our antiquaries being greatly divided in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help observing, that the chief argument, which the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* makes use of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes against his own. For he approves of no place, but where some vestiges are still to be seen of a *Roman* camp capable of containing the army which *Agricola* had with him at this battle.

Hence

THE following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and spoil. But the *Caledonians*, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in despair; some dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling

Hence he rejects the opinions of those who pretend, that the battle was fought in the *Mearns*, or at the *Blair of Athol*, because no remains of a *Roman* camp are to be seen in either of these places. Against such as maintain *Ardoch* in *Strathallan* and *Innerpeffery* to be the spot on which the fate of *Caledonia* was determined, he alleges, that the camps, which are to be seen there, were not capable of containing the army which *Agricola* led out against the *Caledonians*. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers his own, which is, that the real place where the battle was fought, is in *Strathern*, half a mile south of the kirk of *Comerie*, there being still to be seen in that place a *Roman* incampment, divided into two partitions or squares, which are joined together with a vast rampart of stone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that having calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by *Polybius* for every foot-soldier, he was most agreeably surpris'd to find it contained the precise number of foot which *Tacitus* says *Agricola* had along with him at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. eight thousand auxiliaries, and that the other square, where he supposes the horse lay, contained exactly three thousand horsemen. For *Tacitus*, says he, plainly informs us of the number of *Agricola's* army at that battle; for, speaking of his disposing of the troops, he says thus; *Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur*: that is, Thus encouraged and rushing forward, *Agricola* formed them so, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thousand men, compos'd the centre, and three thousand horse were placed in the wings. But were these eight thousand auxiliary foot and three thousand horse all the troops *Agricola* had with him at this battle? Does not *Tacitus* to the words we have just quoted subjoin, *Legiones pro vallo sistere, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, Et auxilium, si pellerentur*: that is, The legions stood just without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without Roman blood; and that the legions might be ready to succour the auxiliaries, if repuls'd. Hence it is evident, that *Agricola*, besides the eight thousand auxiliary foot and three thousand horse, had some legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above-mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, without leaving room to any reply, his own opinion, as must evidently appear to every reader. Besides, to us it seems quite absurd to suppose, as that writer does, that some vestiges must still remain of all the *Roman* camps in this island, and indeed elsewhere, notwithstanding the innumerable changes and alterations that must have happened, unknown to us, in the course of so many ages.

How

calling their lost friends; all abandoned their houses, and some in rage even set fire to them: not knowing where to shelter themselves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to consult, and from their counsels gathered some hope; sometimes, at the sight of their dearest pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, sometimes to resolution and fury: nay, some, out of compassion and tenderness, murdered their children and wives. The next day displayed more fully the greatness of the victory; on all sides a profound silence, solitary hills, a thick smoke rising from the houses on fire, and not a living soul to be found by the scouts. When from these, who had been dispatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be discovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, *Agricola*, considering that the summer was already far spent, and consequently that he could not pursue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the *Horestians*, that is, as is commonly supposed, into *Angus*. Having there received hostages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to sail round *Britain*, furnishing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accomplished; and thence proved *Britain* to be, as it was thought before, an island. On this occasion were discovered and subdued the isles of *Orkney*, till then unknown. *Thule*, now called *Iseland*, or, as others will have it, *Shetland*, was likewise found, hitherto hid, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, by winter, under eternal snow. In the mean time, *Agricola* himself led on the foot and horse with a slow pace, that the minds of these new-conquered nations might be awed and dismayed by prolonging his march through them. He then put his army into winter-quarters. Soon after the fleet, having sailed round the island, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed. That port is called by *Tacitus*, *Trutulensis*, which is utterly unknown. Some, instead of *Trutulensis*, read *Rhutupensis*, supposed to be *Sandwich* haven. But from *Tacitus* it is manifest, that the fleet

*He orders
his fleet to
sail round
the island.*

*Puts his
troops into
winter-
quarters.*

How many camps were made by the *Romans* in *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities have been overturned and utterly destroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; insomuch, that antiquaries are at a loss about the places where they stood. But, admitting our author's supposition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thousand foot and three thousand horse; besides which, *Agricola* had with him several legions, as is plain from the words of *Tacitus* (18).

(18) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 35.*

Britain
intirely re-
duced.

at that time attended *Agricola* in *Caledonia* or *Scotland*; and consequently must have sailed from some port of that kingdom. Thus, after many struggles and contests, *Britain* was at length intirely reduced; but the *Romans* did not long continue masters, at least of *Caledonia*, what *Agricola* won being soon after lost by *Domitian*. The poet *Juvenal* speaks of a *British* king, by name *Arviragus*, who was at war with the *Romans* in *Domitian's* reign ^x; and all the *Scots* historians tell us, that, upon the departure of *Agricola*, the *Caledonians* possessed themselves of the castles and forts raised by him in their country. As for the *Roman* historians, they scarce take any notice of the *British* affairs till the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*, who came over into *Britain*, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to separate the *Romans* from the barbarians, as *Spartianus* styles them ^y.

Domitian
is stung
with envy
at the
news of his
conquests.

Agricola immediately acquainted *Domitian* by letters with the success that had attended his arms in *Britain*, and the situation of affairs there. The account he conveyed to him was plain and modest, without all ostentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart, being well apprised, that his late mock triumph over the *Germans* was held in public derision; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every-where sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course upon this occasion, to smother his rancour, till the fame of these conquests, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were somewhat abated. To him, therefore, he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and whatever else is bestowed instead of a real triumph, heightening these honours with many expressions full of esteem and respect. But, in the mean time, he resolved to recal him; and that this might not be ascribed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to *Agricola* was destined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of consular dignity, since the same was reserved only for men of the first rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much

Yet causes
triumphal
honours to
be decreed
to him.

He recalls
him.

^x JUVEN. sat. iv. v. 38. ^y SPART. in vit. Hadriani.

trusted with the secret designs of his master, was by him dispatched to carry the instrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he still in *Britain*, for he had already named him a successor; that the freed-man met *Agricola* crossing the chanel, and, without so much as speaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already surrendered to his successor, probably *Sallustius Secundus*, the province, now settled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular distinction and concourse of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace, where he was received by the emperor with a short embrace, without a word said, and then passed undistinguished amongst the croud of courtiers. From this time forward, to lessen the reputation he had acquired of a military man and a gallant commander, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to inactivity and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at most two, of his friends: insomuch, that many, especially such as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and observed *Agricola*, could not conceive, whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithstanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accused in his absence before *Domitian*, and as often in his absence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing else, save the glorious character of the man, and the perverse disposition of the emperor, hating all excellence and every virtue. With these causes concurred the worst sort of enemies, such as extolled him in order to destroy him. Besides, such times afterwards ensued, as would not suffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; so that he was in constant danger of being sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor, but nevertheless lived nine years longer²; whence we shall have occasion to speak of him again in the course of this reign.

THE same year, *Carionerus*, king of the *Cheruscans*, a German nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, because he had submitted to the *Romans* and delivered hostages to them, had recourse to *Domitian* for assistance. But the emperor, not

Agricola
leads a re-
tired life.

² TACIT. *ibid.* c. 38—42

caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himself with conveying to his friend and ally a sum of money, instead of troops, which, he said, he could not at that juncture well spare ^a. About the same time, one *Ganda*, a German virgin and prophetess, and revered in Germany as a deity, arrived at Rome; and being there well received by *Domitian*, after some private conferences with him, returned to her own country ^b.

The Suevians invaded the Roman territories.

Domitian puts many persons of distinction to death.

THE year following, *Domitian* was consul the eleventh time, and had for his colleague one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Nismes*, twice consul and governor of Rome. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times, but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dion Cassius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mæsia*, solicited *Domitian* for succours, who sent them only an hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Suevians*, that joining the *Iazygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced with a design to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the Roman territories ^c. *Dion Cassius* does not acquaint us with the issue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance against Rome ^d, adds in another ^e, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the Romans lost intire armies in *Mæsia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly or fool-hardy. From several medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to Rome from some expedition, of which not the least mention is made by the historians: perhaps he marched in person against the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at least several medals were stamped this year in memory of a signal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans* ^f. The emperor, after his return to Rome, abandoning himself to all manner of cruelty, caused the nativity to be cast of all the illustrious persons in the city, and put such of them to death, as were said by the astrologers to be destined to the empire. *Metius Pomposianus*, against whom some ill-designing persons had on the same account endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor *Vespasian*, was on this occasion banished Italy, and confined to the island of *Corfica*, where he was soon after by *Domitian's* order put to death. *Nerva*, who succeeded him in the empire, would have suffered the same doom, had

^a DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 760.

^b Idem, p. 761.

^c Idem ibid.

^d TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.

^e TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 41.

^f Vide

BIRAG. numism. p. 134. & NORRIS. ep. consul. p. 175.

not an astrologer assured the emperor, that he had no reason to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done, tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great severity, and solemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations. Amongst these, the most famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Messalinus*, and *Bebius Massa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them², who enriched themselves and the emperor, with spoils of many thousand illustrious and innocent persons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, against whom he presented a memorial to *Domitian*³. *Catullus Messalinus* was blind, but nevertheless one of the most mischievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign; whence it is plain, that *Catanæus* was mistaken in supposing him to be the same person with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*, who died, according to *Josephus*, in the reign of *Vespasian*¹. Authors observe, that this year multitudes of senators and knights were accused of treason, and either sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered by *Domitian* to dispatch themselves. Of these the most illustrious were, *Ælius Lama*, whom he caused to be publicly executed only for a jest; for the emperor, who, as we have observed above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lama* answered, *Yet alas! I must be silent*. *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconsulship of *Asia*, under colour, that he designed to raise disturbances in the state, but in reality because he had accepted the government of *Asia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconsulship of *Asia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and presented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excused. *Domitian* not only granted him his request, but suffered himself to be on that account presented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the salary which was wont to be paid to proconsuls, and which he himself had continued to some. *Salvius Coccianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's side; *Sallustius Lucullus*, who had succeeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for suffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Rusticus* for publishing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thrasea*, and of *Helvidius Priscus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philosopher, for having declaimed in public against tyranny and tyrants. All the professors of philosophy and every laudable science, says *Ta-*

² *PLIN.* panegy. ³ *Idem*, l. iii. ep. 4. ¹ *Vide CATAN.*
in not. ad *Plin. jun.* & *JOSEPH.* de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 39.

The de-
plorable
condition
of Rome.

citius, were expelled and driven into exile: and that nothing which was worthy and honest might any-where be seen, not only against persons, but against books commending virtue or patriotism, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for in the forum the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt^k. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivalled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity and lived retired? he gained fame by shunning it, was still an eye-sore, and his best fate was to leave his country. Was he virtuous and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and by the purity of his manners upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man seemed dull and unactive, he only put on the disguise of stupidity and sloth, till he found room for some bloody purpose. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain, he did not so much as feign a desire of private life and recess, but avowed a bustling republican spirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a subject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterprising and desperate. In short, no man could possess any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow citizens, and a blessing to his country, to his friends, or to himself, but such quality and advantage was sure to awaken the jealousy and vengeance of the tyrant, and procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, speaking of these unhappy times; Mighty, says he, was the testimony which we gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, so did we of bondage; since through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent^l. Against the defence of innocence accused, against the most evident truth and justice, the ears of the emperor were ever shut; but calumny whispered by any informer had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witnesses. Falshood and flattery, says *Dion Cassius*, envy and rapaciousness, passed for evidence; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals, erected for justice and preservation of life and property, were turned into shambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties was in truth robbery and assassination. The persons of the accusers were considered as sacred and inviolable; the more they were detested by the public, the more they were pro-

Encou-
rages in-
formers.

^k SUET. c. 20. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2.

^l TACIT. *ibid.*

tected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deserved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vilest forgeries, convicted and owned against the lives and fortunes of the greatest men, drew down no punishment upon them^m. In the midst of his cruelties, he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and was on that score no less infamous, than the most vicious of his predecessors. His avarice was equal to his lewdness and cruelty; not that he had any natural bias to that vice, says *Suetonius*; but having exhausted his treasury by the many buildings he raised, by the magnificent sports and shows which he exhibited, by increasing the pay of the soldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himself to all sorts of rapine and extortion, seizing, upon the least information, the estates of the most wealthy citizens: the least action or word against the majesty of the prince, was made use of as a pretence for stripping them of whatever they possessed. He confiscated inheritances, appropriating to himself all the effects of persons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witness to depose, that he had ever heard the deceased say, that *Cæsar* was his heir. With these and such-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the most opulent persons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greatest rigour and severity imaginable; but above all, he oppressed the *Jews* in a most cruel manner, not excepting even such of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like severity treated those, says *Suetonius*, meaning, no doubt, the *Christians*, who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and seemed to profess the same superstitionⁿ. The heavy tributes, and the rigour used by the officers in exacting them, occasioned great disorders and frequent revolts in the distant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Nasamonians*, whom most geographers place in the province of *Cyrenaica*, no longer able to bear the heavy imposts with which they were loaded, and the insults and extortions of the collectors, rose up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword. But *Flaccus* was soon revenged on them; for being informed, that, elated with their success, they had abandoned themselves to jollity and carousing, he rallied his men, and coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, he cut them all off to a man. *Zonaras* seems to insinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to sex or age^o; and

Abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness.

His avarice and extortions.

The Nasamonians revolt.

But are utterly cut off.

^m *Dio*. l. lxxvii. p. 759. ⁿ *Suet.* c. 12. ^o *Zonar.* p. 107.

Aristides tells us, that by an order from one of the emperors; the whole race of the *Nasamonians* was cut off ^p. However, that some of that race outlived this dreadful slaughter, is evident from *Ptolemy* the geographer, who places them, as people still in being, to the south of *Libya Marmarica* ^q. *Domitian*, puffed up with the victory gained by his lieutenant over the *Nasamonians*, bragged in the senate, that he had cut off the whole nation; for to himself he ascribed, as *Dion Cassius* observes ^r, all the advantages gained by his officers, tho' he bore not the least share in them, and to others every miscarriage, however occasioned by a strict observance of his orders. As he hated and suspected every man of parts, especially such as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themselves to his favour, carefully avoided signalizing themselves by any military exploits, chusing rather to bear the insults of the enemy, than to expose themselves to the dangers arising from the jealousy of the prince ^s. The same year he first assumed, according to *Eusebius*, the title of *Lord*, and that of *God*, not being ashamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his secretaries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, &c. About the same time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worship; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord* and of *God* ^t; nay, some writers ^u tell us, that, by an express law, all other titles, either in speaking or writing to him, were to be suppressed. Of this impious flattery we have many instances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the streets leading to the capitol were constantly crowded with droves of victims to be sacrificed before his statues ^w. He pretended to be, and would be called, the son of *Minerva*, for which goddess he professed a particular veneration. He would not suffer any statues to be erected to him in the capitol, but such as were of pure gold or silver, and of a fixt weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and by an immense number of monuments, raised at a vast charge, endeavoured to transmit to posterity the memory of his pretended victories ^x. He was the first who was ever known to have been seventeen times consul. Not satisfied to have assumed the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he caused the month of *September* to be distinguished with the same name, and the month of *October* with that of

Domitian
assumes the
title of
Lord, and
that of
God.

The shame-
ful flattery
of the Ro-
mans.

^p ARIST. p. 194. ^q PTOL. l. iv. c. 5. ^r DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. ^s PLIN. l. viii. epist. 14. ^t SUET. c. 13.
^u AUR. VICT. & OROS. l. vii. c. 10. ^w PLIN. paneg. p. 99.
^x SUET. c. 13.

Domitian; because in the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In short, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he surpassed, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited, all his predecessors, *Nero* not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciousness, and all other vices, which complete the character of an accomplished tyrant ^r.

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth consulship, having *Servius Cornelius Dolabella* for his colleague. This year were instituted the *Capitoline* sports, so much spoken of by the writers of those days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* sports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor presided at them in person, attended by the priest of *Jupiter*, and the college of the *Flavian* priests ^z. To this year *Eusebius* fixes the war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* sustained, during the reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were looked upon by the *Romans* as the most warlike nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the most part of great strength, but of equal courage, despising death, which they considered as the end of a transitory, and the beginning of a happy and lasting life; whence with great intrepidity they braved the greatest dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an antient philosopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom some suppose to have been the disciple of *Pythagoras*; others to have flourished long before his time ^a. *Dion Cassius* observes, that these people were by some *Greek* writers called *Getae*; but by the *Romans* *Daci*, which was their proper appellation; for the *Getae* dwelt beyond mount *Hæmus*, near the mouth of the *Danube* and the *Euxine* sea; but the *Dacians* more to the west and nearer *Germany*; that is, according to the opinion of most modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*. But the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this side the *Danube* (we speak with respect to *Rome*), they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they possessed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the antient *Dacia*, it was then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes* throughout his history confounds with the *Dacians* ^b. At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians*; but after hav-

The institution of the Capitoline sports.

Some account of the Dacians.

^r DIO. *ibid.* p. 710. ^z SUET. c. 4. ^a STRABO. l. vii. p. 297. SUID. Phot. c. 166. ^b Vide LLOYD. *dict. historic.* p. 405. BAUD. p. 237. JORNAND. *Got.* c. 12, 13, &c.

They make
war upon
the Ro-
mans.

Domitian
jealous of
Agricola.

The Ro-
mans de-
feated by
the Daci-
ans, and
their gene-
ral killed.

ing for some time held the sovereignty, by an instance of moderation hardly to be matched in history, resigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified for the discharge of so great a trust than himself; for *Decebalus* was a man of great prowess and experience in war, and equally skilled in affairs of state^c. He is by *Jornandes*^d and *Orosius*^e called *Dorpanæus* and *Diurpanæus*; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuscus* happened, of which we shall speak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dion Cassius*, that *Fuscus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*. As to the issue of the war which he maintained against *Rome*, *Tacitus* speaks thus, without descending to any particulars: In the commonwealth there ensued such times, as would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned; so many were the armies we had lost in *Mæsia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, all by the misconduct of our generals. The question and contest was not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing incampments of the legions, and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become signal for slaughters and misfortunes, *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing his vigour, his resolution, and experience in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. The best of *Domitian's* freedmen advised and pressed him to this choice out of pure affection and duty, as did the worst, out of virulence and envy, hoping by that means to compass the destruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and distrustful prince dreaded nothing so much, as to see a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army^f. Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that historian, sustained great losses, and had many armies slaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken prisoners. For a more particular and distinct account of this destructive war, we must recur to, and depend upon *Jornandes*. According to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predecessors, crossed the *Danube*, drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river; and falling upon *Appius*, or *Oppius*, *Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where most dreadful devastations, and

^c DIO. *ibid.* p. 709—761.

l. vii. c. 20.

^d JORNAND. c. 13.

^f TACIT. *vit. Agric.* c. 41.

^e OROS.

seizing

seizing all the forts and castles raised in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all possible expedition raised a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* dispatched ambassadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance against the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus* ^g, of an illustrious descent, and had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the senatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he embraced the party of *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and to the flame of war added, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, fresh fuel; for he took not so much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves. He was second in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured by the senate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorship. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But after all, he was not, if *Juvenal* is to be credited ^h, sufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, despising such a general, sent a fresh embassy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* paid him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected his proposal, to pursue the war with vigour, and destroy their territories with fire and sword. The *Romans* were so provoked with the insolence of this proposal, that they demanded to be led forthwith against the enemy. Accordingly *Fuscus*, having caused his army to pass the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after several skirmishes, *Decebalus* and *Fuscus* agreed to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and resolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, and *Fuscus* himself slain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's castles, and released by the emperor *Trajan* ⁱ.

*They are
defeated
a second
time.*

THE news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no less dreadful ha-

^g TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 86.

^h JUVEN. sat. iv. ver. 112.

ⁱ JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 13. OROS. l. vii. c. 8. DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 773. JUV. sat. iv. ver. 111.

The Daci-
ans receive
a great
over-
throw.

vock of the senate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of the soldiery. He strove at first to smother the dismal tidings; but finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a second time, giving out, that he would head the army in person. But arriving in *Mæsia*, he stopped in a city of that province, and sent forward his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various success, fortune being sometimes favourable to the *Romans*, sometimes to the *Dacians*^k. *Julianus*, one of the *Roman* commanders, gained a signal victory, by obliging his soldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular^l. On this occasion *Vezinas*, who among the *Dacians* was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his escape, concealed himself amongst the dead, and in the night retired undiscovered. *Decebalus* apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay siege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who mistook them for soldiers, from pursuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great straits, and obliged to sue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatsoever. But, instead of pursuing the war with vigour, and forcing him, as he might easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms against the *Quadians* and *Marcomannians*, because they had sent him no succours during the war with the *Dacians*. These two nations, though signal in force and renown, declining to involve their respective countries in an unnecessary war, sent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities, which they were not conscious to themselves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, instead of hearkening to their intreaties, caused their ambassadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which so provoked those warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no less dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, dispatched ambassadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviseable to accept, since his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refused to go in person to *Domitian*; but sent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received

Domitian
defeated by
the Marco-
mannians.
Concludes
a disko-
nourable
peace with
the Daci-
ans.

^k TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.
^l excerpt. Val. p. 709.

^l DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 762, & in

with particular marks of friendship and esteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Besides the diadem, he presented him with large sums, sent to him, at his request, a great number of artificers and workmen of all professions, and engaged to pay him yearly a certain sum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not submit to the payment of so shameful a tribute, saying, that he had never been overcome by *Decebalus*^m. *Domitian*, upon the conclusion of such an opprobrious peace, acquainted the senate by letters, that he had at length obliged the *Dacians* to submit to the Roman yoke; and at the same time dispatched to *Rome* the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by that prince, or, as was most commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himself, wherein the *Dacian* owned himself conquered, and no longer able to withstand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by so brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*. Hereupon the senate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the same time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had with an annual tribute purchased a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomannians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the fieldⁿ; for his triumphs, says *Pliny*^o, were ever certain proofs of signal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets, who flourished under him, extol these mock victories, and compare them to those gained by the *Scipios* and *Cæsars*. *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, caused a stately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuscus*^p. *Pliny* complains that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immense sums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed, pillaging their houses, laying waste their fields, and obliging them to supply, at a vast charge, with all manner of provisions, both him and his numerous retinue^q.

But is bo-
noured
with a
triumph.

THE following year, *Domitian* was consul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their administration, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. But the following year, when *Domitian* was consul the fourteenth time with *L. Minucius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the *secular games*, so called, because they were to be solemnized once in an age. They had been cele-

He cele-
brates the
secular
games.

^m DIO 1. lxxvii. p. 762. & 1. lxxviii. p. 771. MART. l. v. epigr. 3. ⁿ DIO. p. 761. SUET. c. 6. EUSEB. in chron. ^o PLIN. paneg. p. 21. ^p MART. l. vi p 76. ^q PLIN. ibid. p. 35, 36.

The revolt
of L. An-
tonius.

Who is de-
feated and
killed.

brated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed the time from their being exhibited by *Augustus*^r. They ended, as appears from several medals which have reached our age, some time after the ides of *September*, in the eighth year of *Domitian's* reign^s, while *Tacitus* the historian was prætor^t. *Domitian*, pursuing this year the carnage he had begun, before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funerals, putting all those to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the least umbrage^u. This general slaughter was in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the cruelties and tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his soldiers, whose affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the title of emperor, and as such was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewise by most of the *German* nations, who promised him powerful succours, not from any esteem or kindness they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, hastened to suppress it, leading with him the prætorian guards and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the senators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even such as had absented themselves from the city and long led a retired life, lest they should be afterwards accused of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have cost them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whose army was intirely cut off, and he himself slain by *L. Maximus*, according to some writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus*^v. Perhaps these four names belonged to one and the same person; at least a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times^x; and one *Appius Maximus* is said in an antient inscription to have happily ended the war in *Germany*^y. While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river swelled all on a sudden to such a height, that the *Germans*, who came to the assistance of *Antonius*, could not cross it; so that his army was intirely cut off. *Antonius* himself be-

^r Suet. c. 4.

^s Onuph. lud.

^t Tacit. annal. xi. c. 12.

^u Euseb. in chron.

^v Dio. l. lxvii. p. 764. Idem in excerpt.

Val. p. 709. Plut. in vit. Emil.

^x Vide Onuph. in fast.

p. 216.

^y Idem ibid.

ing killed in the battle, his head was cut off and sent to *Rome* ^a. *Suetonius* tells us, that the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herself upon one of the emperor's statues at *Rome*, covered it with her wings, making a noise which expressed a kind of joy; and that at the same time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*, which several persons affirmed they had seen ^a. *Maximus* on this occasion displayed no less prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for upon the death of *Antonius*, he seized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make use of them to the prejudice of any man. *Domitian*, however, made a diligent search after his accomplices, torturing in a most cruel manner persons of all ranks and conditions, upon the least suspicion of their having been privy to the conspiracy, or having lived in friendship and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occasion great numbers of persons were executed or banished, and their estates seized. ^{Great numbers of persons executed.} Of the many who were accused, two persons only escaped unpunished, viz. a tribune of senatorial dignity, and a centurion, who saved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and consequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprise, or having any interest in matters of this nature, either with the general or the army ^b. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not suffer two legions to be quartered in the same camp during the winter; but kept them all separate and at some distance from each other, lest, depending upon their strength, they should form dangerous designs, and raise new disturbances ^c. This year another counterfeited *Nero* appeared in *Asia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, struck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of distinction, supplied him with a chosen body of troops, and seemed inclined to quarrel on his account with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria* ^d. This, without all doubt, is what gave occasion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumphs, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in short, over all the countries of the east ^e. ^{A counterfeited Nero in Asia.}

THE following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* being consuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but

^a Suet. c. 6. Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. ^a Plut. in *Æmil.* p. 489. Suet. ibid. ^b Suet. c. 10. ^c Dio. p. 764. ^d Tacit. l. i. c. 2. Suet. c. 6. ^e Sil. l. iii. p. 51.

for what exploits we know not. Some writers, and amongst the rest the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a second expedition against the *Germans*^f, the more because the poet *Statius* supposes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered^g. But these triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories and real overthrows. Thus we have seen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchased a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute, and over the *Marcomannians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been shamefully put to flight. The next consuls were *Domitian*, the fifteenth time, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raised to the empire, the second time; for he had been consul in the second year of *Vespasian's* reign. Some modern writers^h tell us, that having been banished by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the consulship. They quote *Dion Cassius*; but in that writer we find no such account. *Philostratus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, was banished to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifest, that *Nerva* did not incur the displeasure of *Domitian*, till he had finished his second consulshipⁱ. Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome* or in the provinces, which the few historians, who have written of these times, and whose works have reached us, thought worth recording. The consuls of the following year were *M. Ulpianus Trajanus*, who succeeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great strength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud shouts applauded his victory; which roused the jealousy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of some crime or other, banished him, and soon after caused him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raise disturbances in the state^k. A modern writer would fain persuade us, that he was put to death for professing the christian religion^l; but the arguments which he makes use of are destitute of all solidity and quite trifling. This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many shows, both in the amphitheatre and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of those times, as the most costly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he caused a vast lake to be dug, in which a sea-fight was represented with such numbers of ships as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered

Acilius
Glabrio
put to
death.

Domitian
exhibits
magnifi-
cent shows.

^f NORIS. ep. conf. p. 175. ^g STAT. Theb. l. i. ver. 19.

^h PETAV. chron. & CALVIS.

ⁱ PHILOST. vit. Apol. Ty. l.

vii. c. 3.

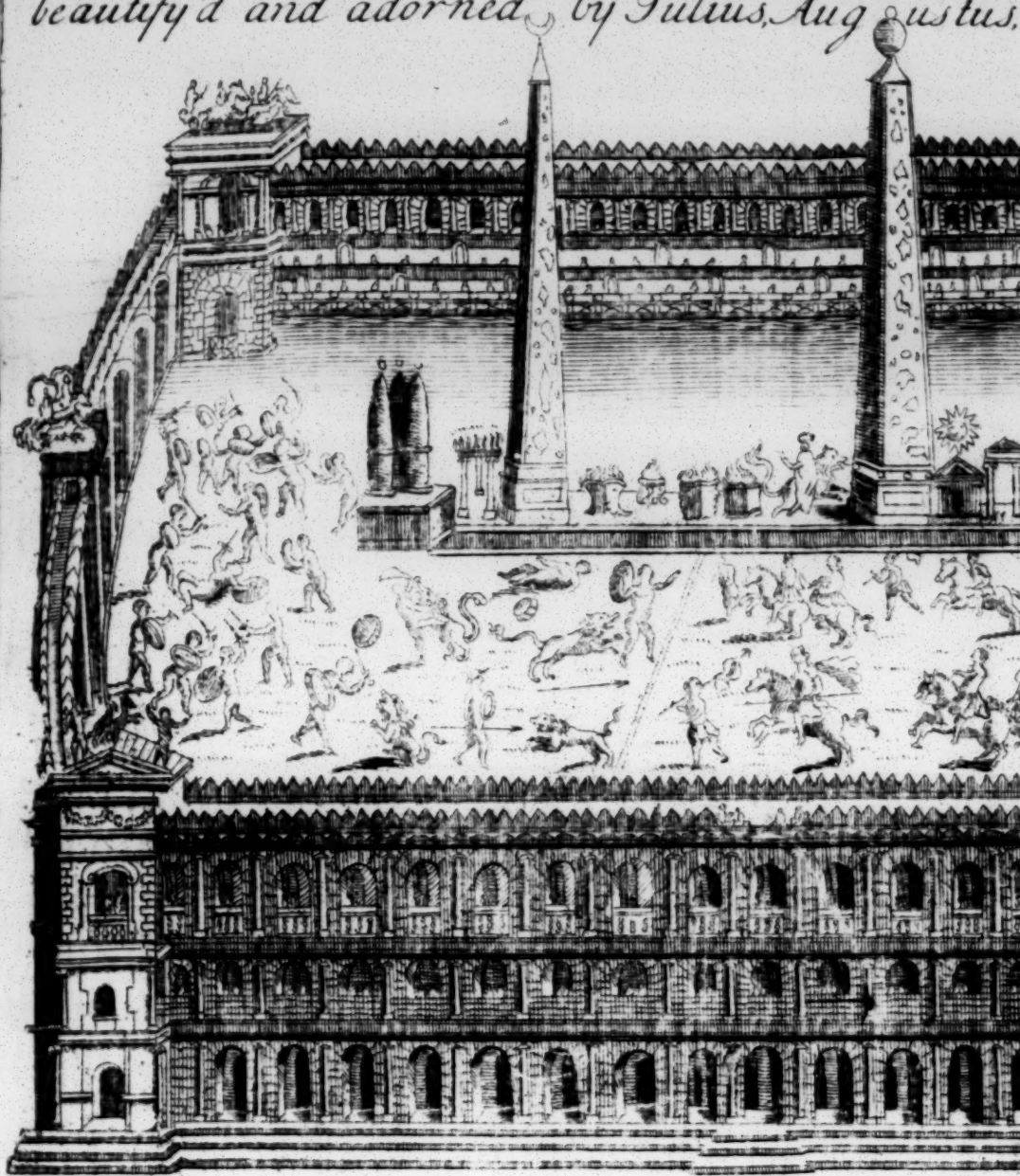
^k DIO. p. 766. Suet. c. 19.

^l BARON. ad. ann. 74.

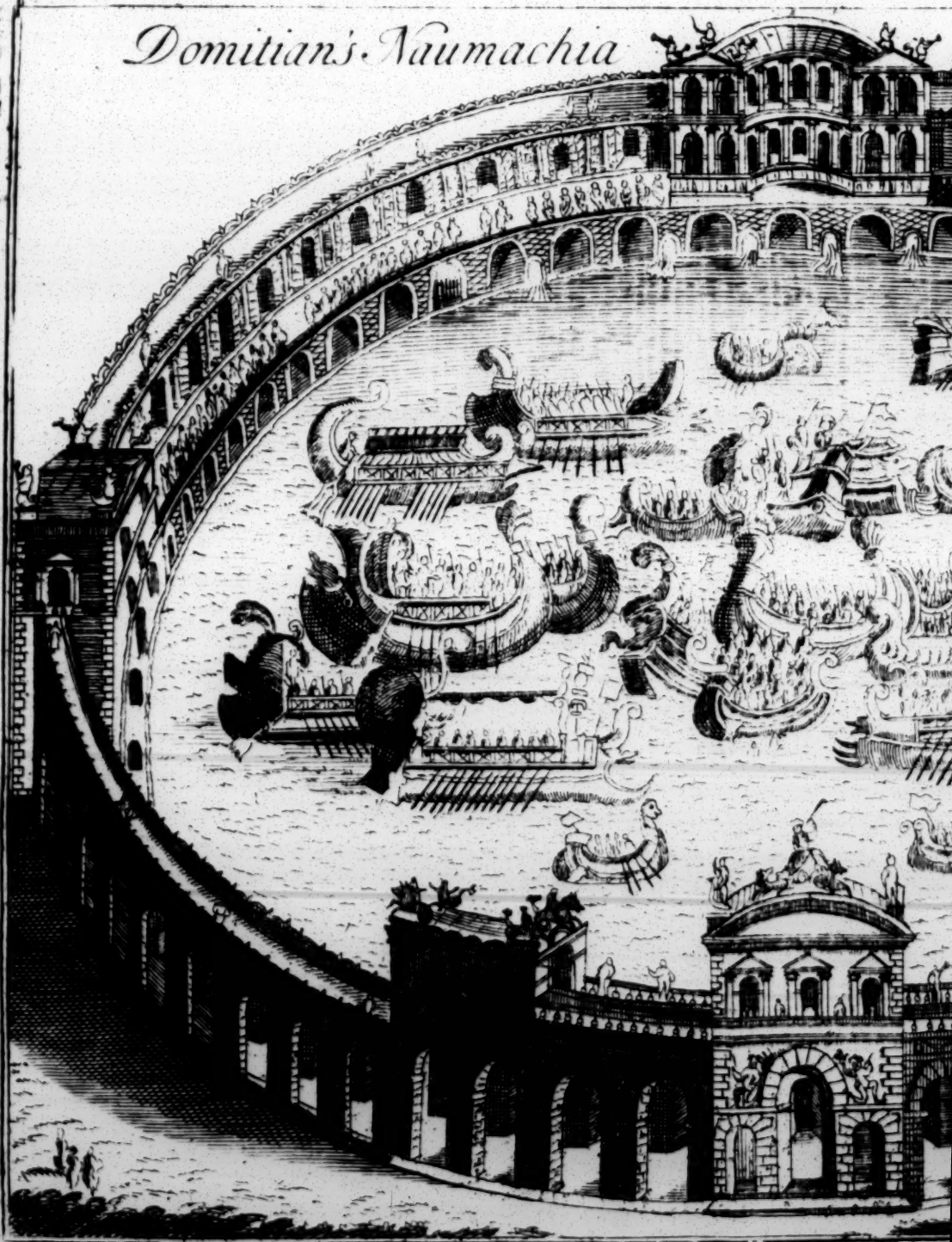
The Great
beautif



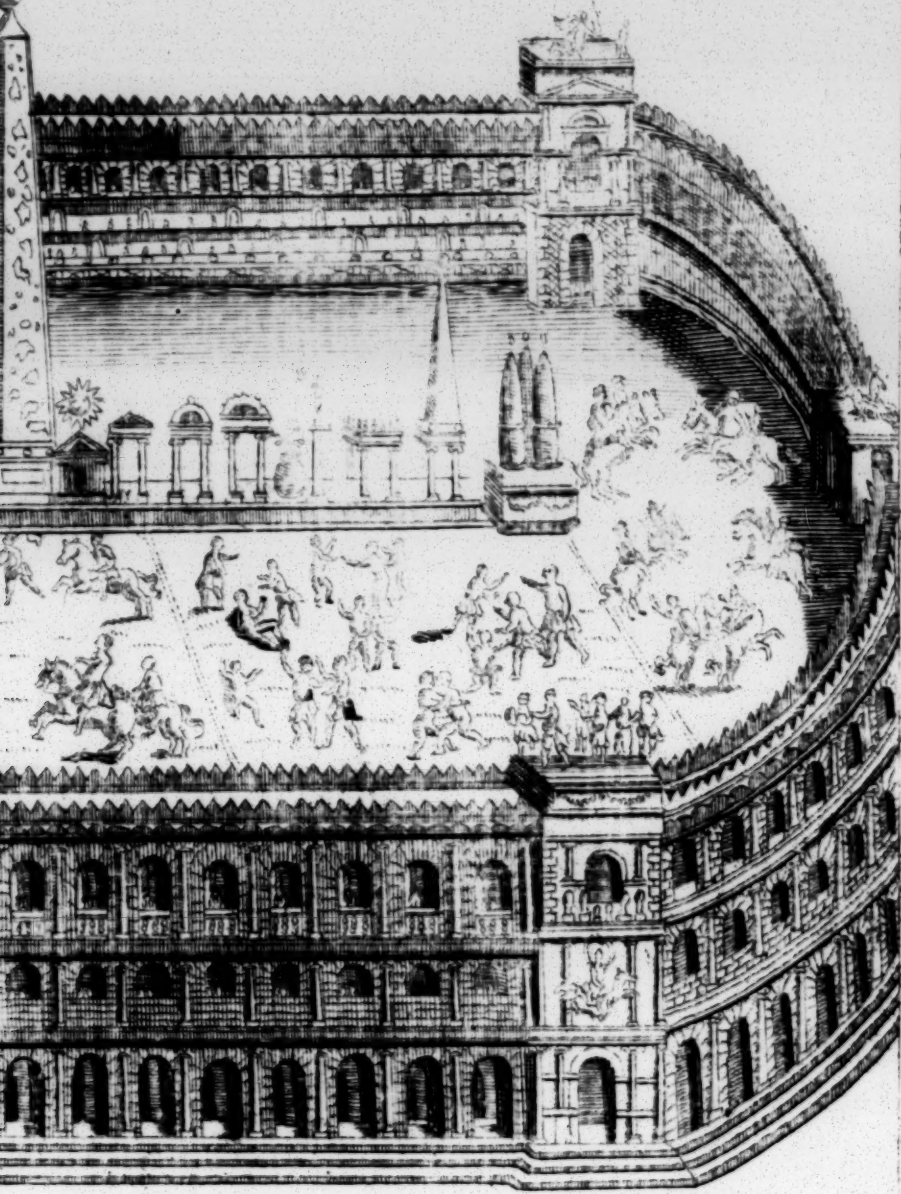
*The Great Circus, begun by Romulus and Finished by
beautify'd and adorned by Julius Augustus.*



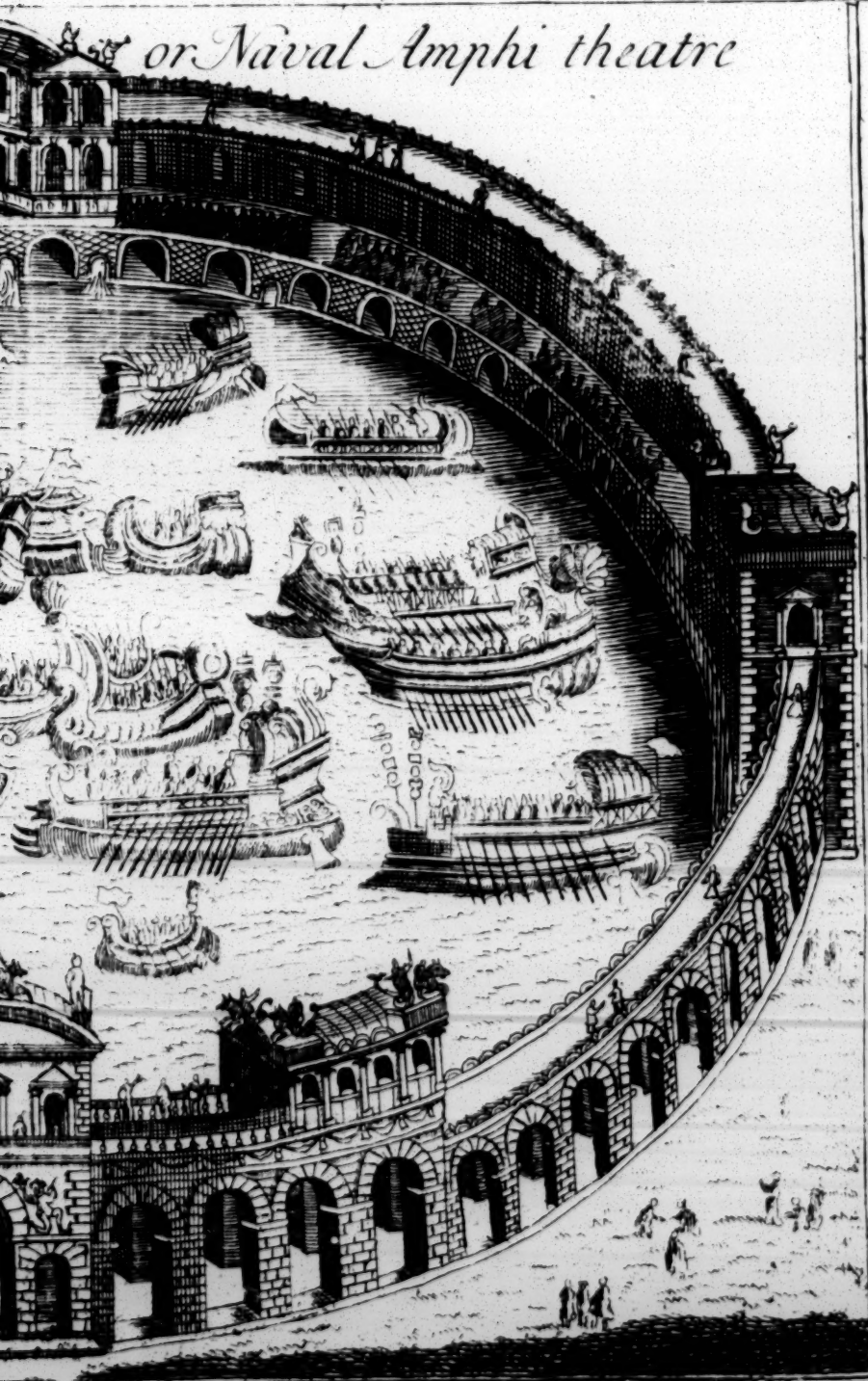
Domitian's Naumachia



hed by Tarquin, as it was afterwards
 Augustus, Titus, and other Caesars. ex Dominico Rubria



or Naval Amphitheatre



C
th
on
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pe
th
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the lists, in the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horse, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were so taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties, they bestowed upon him higher encomiums, than they had ever given either to *Vespasian* or *Titus*. During the sea-fight, a violent shower fell; but nevertheless the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths, and would not suffer any of the spectators to retire; whence, as the shower lasted some hours, many were seized with distempers, and some even died°. *Dion Cassius* describes at length an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the senators and knights; an entertainment, says that writer, which more than any thing else displays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abused his power. At the entrance of the palace, the guests were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only sufficient to discover the horror of the place, and the several coffins upon which were written in capitals the names of the several senators and knights invited. Great was their fright and consternation at the sight of so dismal a scene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himself safe so long as one senator was left alive, and that amongst the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their last doom, the doors were at length all on a sudden burst open, when a great number of naked persons, having their bodies all over dyed black, entered the hall, with drawn swords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The guests, at this dreadful appearance, giving themselves up for lost, already felt all the agonies of death; but those whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for some time danced round them, set at once open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* insult these two illustrious orders, shewing, says *Dion Cassius*, how little he feared them, and at the same time with how much reason they might dread his resentment, since it was in his power to cut them all off, without exposing himself to the least danger°.

He terrifies the senators and chief knights by a cruel device.

THE next consuls were *Domitian*, the sixteenth time, and *Q. Volusius Saturninus*. This year, the emperor observing a vast plenty of wine and as great a scarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the husbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent there-

° SUET. c. 4. DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 762, 763. P. DIO. ibid. p. 769.

His edict
against
planting of
vines.

fore this inconvenience for the future, he published an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Asia* sent a solemn embassy to him, begging he would suspend the execution of the edict with respect to their lands, since their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embassy was *Scopelianus*, professor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, insinuating himself with wonderful address into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philostratus* is to be credited ^q, to repeal the edict, and allow all nations subject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleased. *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general discontent, which his edict produced amongst persons of all ranks, both in the city and the provinces, where many lampoons were published, one among the rest importing, that, in spite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the sacrificing of *Cæsar* ^r. But after all, *Eutropius* ^s and *Vopiscus* ^t speak of this edict as continuing in full force in most provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the space of almost two hundred years. From several medals it appears, that the city of *Chalcis* in *Syria* began its æra in the autumn of this year, the 92d after the birth of *Christ*, according to the common method of computing, and the eleventh of *Domitian's* reign; whence some learned chronologers conclude, that this small kingdom, formerly possessed by the brother, and afterwards by the son, of *Agrippa*, the last king of the *Jews*, was then by *Domitian* united to the empire ^u. It was in all likelihood on this account, that the city of *Chalcis* took the name of *Flavia*, which we suppose to have happened after the death of *Aristobulus*, who reigned at *Chalcis* in the year 72 of the christian æra ^w.

The small
kingdom of
Chalcis
united to
the empire.

The death
of Agri-
cola.

THE following year, *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priscus* were consuls. *Pliny* names the former among the consulars who were still living in the reign of *Trajan* ^x. From an antient inscription it appears, that both consuls resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of *July*, the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Asiaticus*, and the latter to *C. Antius Julius Quadratus*. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, say *Tacitus*, sorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners and such as knew him not. The common people, during his sickness,

^q PHILOSTR. *ibid.* c. 17.

p 240.

^t VOPIS. p. 245.

cedonum.

^w JOSEPH. *bell. Jud.* c. 28.

^r SUET. c. 14.

^s EUTROP.

^u NORIS. *de epoch. Syro-Ma-*

^x PLIN. l. ii. *epist.* 11.

were

were not only frequent in their visits to his house; but, in all public places, in all private companies, made him the subject of their conversation: nor, when his death was divulged, was there a soul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was, a prevailing rumour, that he was dispatched by poison. That there was any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his son-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole course of his illness, *Domitian* caused frequent visits to be made to him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen and his most trusty physicians; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerness to learn the probability of his death, our historian will not determine. It is certain, that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by messengers, purposely placed, every instant transmitted to the emperor, informing him how fast his end was approaching; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any sorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to shew in his countenance some grief and concern; for being now secure against the object of his hatred, he could more easily dissemble his present joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible, how great was the satisfaction which he expressed, when upon reading the last will of *Agricola*, he found himself left joint heir with his excellent wife and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice; so blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune ^y. *Agricola* was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of *June*, during the third consulship of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of *August*, during the consulship of *Collega* and *Priscus*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the *Christian* æra, and twelfth of *Domitian's* reign. But as to the time of his birth, some mistake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years, two months, and some days, from the thirteenth of *June* of the *Christian* æra 40, when *Caligula* was the third time consul, to the twenty-fourth of *August* in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the second consulship of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38 of the *Christian* æra. *Tacitus* delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him: If posterity desires to know his make and person, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned than tall; in his aspect there was nothing terrible;

suspected of having caused him to be poisoned.

His character.

^y TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 44.

*Tacitus's
affecting
address to
him after
his death.*

his looks were extremely gracious and pleasing, a good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Tho' he was snatched away, while his age was yet in full vigour; yet, if his life be measured by his glory, he attained to a great length of days. For every true felicity, namely such as arises from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewise distinguished with the consular and triumphal honours, what more could fortune add to his lustre and renown? Excessive wealth he coveted not; an honourable share he possessed. As behind him he left surviving his daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy, since by dying while his credit was no ways stained, while his fame was in its full splendor, and his relations and friends in a state of security, he escaped the evils to come and the misery of the later times. We shall close our account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affecting words of *Tacitus*, who thus addresses him after his death: Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was seasonable! Thou didst, as I am informed by those who heard thy last words, accept thy fate cheerfully and with firmness; as if, for thy part, thou wouldst have saved the credit of the prince. But to myself and thy daughter, besides the grief of having our father snatched from us, it proves a further accession of sorrow, that we had not an opportunity of attending thee in thy sickness, of cherishing thy drooping spirits, and pleasing ourselves with seeing and embracing thee. We should greedily have received thy instructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in our hearts. This is our grief, this our unspeakable misfortune, that, by our long absence from thee, thou wast already lost to us four years before thy death. Thou wast, no doubt, abundantly supplied with whatever thy condition required, by thy loving wife, the best of mothers, who attended thee. Yet fewer tears were shed at your funeral, and at thy last hour somewhat was wanting to satisfy thine eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted; if, as philosophers hold, the spirits of great men perish not with their bodies; pleasing be thy repose! Recal us, thy family, from this our weakness in bewailing thee, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjust to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with immortal praises, and by following, as far as our weakness will allow, and adopting, thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near relation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of a father and husband, and to be ever ruminating upon all his doings and sayings; and rather to adore the image of his mind,
than

than that of his person. Not that I mean to condemn the use of statues in marble or brass; but as the persons of men are frail and perishing, so are likewise the images of them: the form of the mind is eternal, and cannot be represented or preserved by art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwise but by a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*, what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, imprinted in the minds of men, and conveyed through a continual succession of ages by the voice of fame to the latest posterity. Many of the antients lie buried in an obscure and inglorious oblivion; but *Agricola* shall live recommended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever². Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, without which, and a short passage in *Dion Cassius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greatest commanders, and best citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion. *Tacitus*, as he himself informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years absent from *Rome* when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the least foundation, suppose him to have been banished by *Domitian*; but *Lipsius* is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was a man of a virtuous and humane spirit, to behold the sufferings of the *Romans* under so cruel and bloody a tyrant³.

THE same year, *Bebius Massa*, an infamous accuser, was himself accused of extortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he had plundered and oppressed, in a most tyrannical manner, while he governed that province. The senate appointed *Pliny* the younger and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithynian*, and formerly quæstor in the same province, to plead the cause of the *Bithynians*; which they did so effectually, that *Bebius* was condemned by the senate, and the consuls were ordered to seize his estate and effects. But, as they, taken up with more pressing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent might in the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, resolved to apply to them for an immediate execution of the sentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert with him. *Pliny* at first declined engaging in an affair which he thought foreign to the profession of a pleader; but, *Senecio* continuing obstinate in his resolution, he at length consented to solicit jointly with him the consuls to seize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the losses sustained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly, they went together to the consuls, where they found *Bebius*,

*Bebius
Massa,
a noted
accuser,
arraigned.*

² Idem ibid. c. 45, 46.

³ LIPS. vit. Tacit.

who,

The con-
fancy and
firmness of
Pliny.

who, upon hearing their suit, was so provoked against *Senecio*, that he summoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treason. The very name of treason struck the whole assembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the least fear, addressing *Bebius*, told him, he was sorry he did not charge him with the same crime, since by his not accusing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treason, men might believe that he had not acted against him with equal zeal, and that he should be grieved if he knew that any one entertained of him so bad an opinion. This firmness and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his steady conduct. *Pliny* himself wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and begging him to insert it in his history, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus*'s history ^b. This year *Domitian* undertook an expedition against the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a whole legion with the officer who commanded them ^c; but as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that on this occasion he quarrelled likewise with the *Marcomanians*, and on his return assumed the title of emperor, for the twenty-second and last time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*, and, instead of triumphing, contented himself with presenting a crown of laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus* ^d. *Statius* ^e and *Martial* ^f make frequent mention of this war extolling, with their usual flattery, the supposed exploits and pretended victories of their hero.

The cala-
mity of the
times.

THE following year, *L. Nonnius Asprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being consuls, *Domitian* began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all respite, as *Tacitus* expresses it ^g, and to put in execution the design, which he had long since formed, of utterly extirpating the senate, and destroying all who were any-ways considerable, either for their birth or virtue. That historian describes the miseries of these calamitous times in general terms thus: The islands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at *Rome*. It was treasonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informers more shocking, than their great and di-

^b PLIN l. vii. epist. 33 & l. iii. epist. 4.

^d Idem ibid.

^e STAT. syl. l. 3. p. 398, &c.

vii. epigr. 1, 4, 7. & l. viii. epigr. 8, 15, &c.

Ag. c. 44.

^c SUET. c. 6.

^f MART. l.

^g TACIT. vit.

stinguishing

stinguishing rewards; for upon some were bestowed, as the spoils of the state, the pontifical dignities and those of the consulship; others were sent with the character of procurators into the provinces; some were made prime ministers and confidents at home; and, in every station exerting all their terrors and pursuing their hatred, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freedmen against their patrons; and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. The age, however, continues our historian, was not so utterly destitute of all virtue as not to afford commendable examples of friendship and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their banished sons; wives who followed their husbands into exile; in relations were found resolution and succour; in sons-in-law constancy and duty; in slaves such fidelity as baffled all the menaces and horrors of the torture; illustrious men struggling under the greatest distress, supporting it with constancy, and displaying a fortitude in death equal to that of the most celebrated antients^h. The same writer, after having recounted the death of *Agricola*; He saw not, adds he, the court of the senate besieged, nor the senate inclosed with armed men, nor the butchery of so many persons of consular dignity, nor the flight and exile of so many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one continued havoc. Even *Nero* withheld his eyes from scenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but saw them not. The principal part of our miseries under *Domitian* was, to be obliged to see him, and be seen by him, at a time, when all our sighs and sorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled red, whence he hardened himself against shame and blushing, served him to observe all the pale horrors at once possessing so many illustrious menⁱ. Thus *Tacitus* describes in general terms the calamities of those unhappy times. The per- Helvidius, sons whom he mentions in particular to have been this year put Senecio, to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Rusticus*, and *Senecio*. and Rusti-
Helvidius was the son of the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*, of cus, put
 whom we have spoken above. He had been raised to the con- to death.
 sulship, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accomplishments, in great credit with persons of all ranks, though he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to shun the applauses of the multitude, and conceal his talents in solitude and retirement. However, he was accused of treason, and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him composed, he had, under the borrowed

^h *TACITUS* hist. l. i. c. 2.ⁱ *Idem*, vit. *Agri.* c. 44.

names of *Paris* and *OEnone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When the accused appeared to plead his cause before the senate, one of the judges, by name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, seized him with the assistance of some other senators, and, without allowing him to speak in his own defence, dragged him to prison, where he was by the emperor's orders soon after executed ^k. As for *Certus*, he was named for the consulship, which he seems to have discharged four years after, that is, in the second year of *Nerva's* reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the senate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at least after his death, since no one had been allowed to speak in his favour while living. The senate put a stop to all prosecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the consular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himself owned, that *Pliny* pursued him with a drawn sword. *Pliny* published the speech which he pronounced against him in the senate; but it has been long since lost ^l. *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accused of treason by *Bebius Massa*, whom he had accused of extortion at the suit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alledged against him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priscus*, at the request of *Fannia* his widow, and made use of the memoirs with which she had furnished him. Tho' *Senecio* had with all possible care avoided such expressions as might seem in the least to reflect on the emperor, yet, because he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* caused him to be sentenced to death, and the sentence to be without delay put in execution. *Fannia* owned of her own accord, that she had persuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her husband, and supplied him with materials for it. For this crime she was, by a decree of the senate, confined to a desert island, whither she carried with her, as her only comfort, the history of her husband's actions, which had been the cause of her banishment, though it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Thrasea Pætus*, was likewise banished; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva* ^m. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs us ⁿ, did not content himself with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praises of *Helvidius Priscus*, and *Arulenus Rusticus*, of whom anon,

Fannia,
the wife of
Senecio,
and her
mother *Ar-*
ria banish-
ed.

^k Suet. c. 10. Plin. l. ix. epist. 13. ^l Plin. l. ix. epist. 13. & l. vii. epist. 33. ^m Plin. l. vii. epist. 19 & l. ix. epist. 13. Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 765. Suet. c. 10. ⁿ Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2.

for those of *Thrasea Pætus*; but ordered the magistrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that in the same fire he should abolish the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the senate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third person, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been sacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius Arulenus Rusticus*. He professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Thrasea Pætus* was condemned by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Nero*, and as such would have interposed against it, had not *Thrasea* himself restrained him^o. He was prætor in the short reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was sent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Vespasian's* commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occasion he was wounded by the soldiery, who sternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithstanding the character of an ambassador, altogether sacred, would have been massacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis*^p. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was, his having, in a book published by him, commended *Thrasea*, and likewise *Helvidius Priscus*, as men of honour and integrity. He was accused by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even published a book filled with most bitter invectives against him^q. *Pliny* seems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accomplishments and integrity^r, as does likewise *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was by *Domitian's* orders put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's sight one who, with his exemplary life, seemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that while he himself was one day declaiming in public, a soldier, entering the assembly, presented to *Rusticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his discourse; but *Rusticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his bosom, desired him to pursue his speech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done^s. *Dion Cassius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Rusticus* was pursuing him with a drawn sword^t. *Junius Mauricus*, the brother of *Rusticus*, who is highly com-
mended by *Pliny*^u, was banished, as was likewise *Pomponia illustrious*
Gratilla, the wife of *Rusticus*; but they were both recalled by
the emperor *Nerva*^w. At the same time was executed by the

^o TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. ^p Idem, annal. iii. c. 80.

^q TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. SUET. c. 10. DIO. l. lxvii. p. 765.

PLIN. l. i. epist. 5. ^r PLIN. l. i. epist. 14. ^s PLUT. curios.

p. 927. ^t DIO. l. lxvii. p. 767. ^u PLIN. l. i. epist. 14.

^w PLIN. l. i. epist. 14. & l. v. epist. 13.

All philo-
sophers
driven out
of Rome.

Pliny sus-
pected by
Domitian.

Apollon-
ius Tya-
neus comes
to Rome.

emperor's orders one *Hermogenes* of *Tarsus*, being accused of speaking disrespectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a history which he composed : all those who were concerned in transcribing or selling it were condemned to be crucified ^x. The same year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Rusticus*, who, as we have hinted above, professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, all philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable science expelled *Italy*, that nothing which was worthy and honest, says *Tacitus*, might any-where be seen ^y. *Epictetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city ^z. *Lucius Telestinus*, who had been consul in the reign of *Nero*, chose rather to retire from his native country as a philosopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profession ^a. *Pliny* bestows mighty encomiums upon the philosopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occasion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purposes, says *Pliny*, who supplied him with money to discharge them, when his other friends, though possessed of great wealth, abandoned him in his distress. The philosopher would afterwards have reimbursed *Pliny*; but he generously presented him with the sum which was owing to him ^b. *Pliny* went frequently to visit him in the place of his retirement ; by which means he exposed himself to no small danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly observed, as he was at that time prætor. He was himself well apprised, that *Domitian* suspected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Rusticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been seasonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the same doom which most of his friends had suffered : for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, presented to him against *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus* ^c. Some philosophers, dreading the resentment of the emperor, renounced their profession, and increased the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the most western coasts of *Gaul* ; and others to the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dion Chrysostomus*, a celebrated sophist, took shelter in the country of the *Gætæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his distress, a treatise of *Plato* and an oration of *Demosthenes* ^d. In the height of this persecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, if *Philostratus* is to be credited ^e, and was there received

^x SUET. C. 10.

^y TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2.

^z GELL. noct.

Attic. l. xv. c. 11.

^a PHILOSTRAT. ibid. l. vii. c. 5.

^b PLIN.

l. iii. epist. 11.

^c PLIN. l. vii. epist. 27.

^d PHILOS. ibid.

l. vii. c. 2.

^e Idem ibid. l. vii. c. 4.

with great marks of esteem and veneration by *Casperi* *Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards. He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a strict friendship with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he solicited to conspire against *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from so bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conspiracy was actually formed; but that the conspirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, suspecting their design, accused them of treason before the senate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheless *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the islands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum*^f. *Orfitus* was soon after put to death in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of those times. As for *Nerva*, if he was banished, as *Philostratus* writes, he returned home the same, or the following, year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dion Cassius*^h, when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the banishment of *Nerva*, which makes us suspect the truth of what *Philostratus* writes, who is often guilty of very considerable mistakes. *Sulpicia*, a Roman lady of great distinction, wrote a poem upon the expulsion of the philosophers, wherein she inveighs with great bitterness against *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial*, for the purity of her manners and the elegance of her compositionⁱ; for she published several other pieces, but was not, as she seems to boast, the first Roman of her sex known to the muses^k.

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his seventeenth and last consulship, having for his colleague *Flavius Clemens*, of whom we shall speak anon. This consulate of *Domitian* is the subject of one of the poet *Statius*'s poems^l. In the beginning of the year was discovered a dangerous conspiracy against the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celsus*, whom some writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Jubenius Celsus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan* and consul in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*^m. Be that as it will, *Celsus*, finding himself betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor, in which throwing himself at his feet, and accosting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he protested, that as to himself, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a short respite, discover all those who were con-

The conspiracy of Juvenius Celsus.

^f Idem ibid. c. 3, 4.

^g Suet. c. 10.

^h Dio. l. lxvii.

p. 767.

ⁱ Mart. l. x. epig. 35.

^k Vide Voss. poet. Lat.

c. 2, 3.

^l Stat. syl. l. iv. c. 1.

^m Plin. l. vi. epist. 5.

The second
general
persecution.

The death
of Flavius
Clemens.

cerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor dismissed him untouched; but *Celsus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promised discovery, escaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened himⁿ. *Dion Cassius* observes, that *Domitian* about this time caused the road to be paved leading from *Sinuessæ* to *Puteoli*^o; and *Statius* speaks of another road by him repaired at a vast expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's words, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ*^p. This year, the fourteenth of *Domitian's* reign, and ninety-fifth of the *Christian æra*, is remarkable for the cruel persecution which was by the bloody tyrant raised against the *Christians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces, the emperor having dispatched letters and edicts into the most remote provinces of the empire, commanding all those who professed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the state^q. This persecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells us, that he obliged those who lived at *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, to pay the same taxes as if they were really *Jews*; and treated them with no less rigour and severity^r. That *Suetonius* meant the *Christians*, is evident; for all the pagan historians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, constantly speak of them as resembling the *Jews* in their manners, though not originally of that nation. Among the many illustrious persons, who suffered for so good a cause, we may deservedly reckon the emperor's own relations, viz. *Flavius Clemens*, his cousin-german and colleague in the consulship, and the two *Flaviæ Domitillæ*, the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. He was the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Vespasian*, who was killed by the soldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldest son, named likewise *Flavius Sabinus*, was consul with *Domitian* in the first year of his reign, and soon after, by the emperor's orders put to death. *Flavius Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's desire, *Flavia Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his sister, as *Philostrophus* writes^s; *Domitilla*, his only sister, being dead before *Vespasian* was raised to the empire^t. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain from *Dion Cassius*^u and *Quintilian*^w, the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Do-*

ⁿ DIO. *ibid.* p. 765. ^o Idem, p. 766. ^p STAT. *syl.* iv. c. 3. ^q OROS. l. vii. c. 10. TERTUL. *apol.* c. 5. LACTAN. *perf.* c. 3. EUSEB. *chron.* c. 17. ^r SUET. c. 12. ^s PHILOS. *ibid.* l. viii. c. 10. ^t SUET. *vit. Vesp.* c. 3. ^u DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 766. ^w QUINTIL. l. iv. p. 105.

mitian. By her *Clemens* had two sons, to whom *Domitian*, as he had no issue of his own, resolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, causing one of them to be called *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*. *Quintilian* * tells us, that he was charged with the care of instructing and educating the two grandsons of the emperor's sister; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla* the emperor's sister; for these two youths were, without all doubt, the sons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla*. *Clemens* was this year consul; but had scarce resigned the fasces, when he was, upon a slight and groundless suspicion, says *Suetonius* ^v, cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he was accused of impiety or atheism; a crime, says that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews* ^z. Thus the *Christians* are constantly described by the *Pagan* writers, as is evident from *Origen* and other *Christian* writers of the primitive times ^a. As for the crime of impiety or atheism, this was one of the charges commonly brought against the *Christians*, on account of their refusing to pay any worship to the pretended deities of the gentiles ^b. *Suetonius*, speaking of *Flavius Clemens*, says, he was no-ways to be feared, in respect of his sloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* observes ^c, brought against the *Christians*, on account of the retired life they led, and their despising the dignities, which by others were so ambitiously coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alledged against *Flavius Clemens* was, his professing the *Christian* religion; and consequently, that he ought to be ranked among those illustrious heroes, who have sealed their faith with their blood. A modern writer of great note supposes *St. Clement*, who at this time was bishop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family ^d; but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the consul, ascribing to the former what he must have read of the latter. *Flavia Domitilla*, wife of *Flavius Clemens*, was likewise arraigned of impiety; and, besides, refused to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another person a few days after the death of her husband ^e. She was therefore banished to the island of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Puteoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. *Eusebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla*, confined at the same time and for the same

Some account of that illustrious person.

Flavia Domitilla banished.

* QUINT. *ibid.*

^y SUET. c. 15.

^z DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 760.

^a ORIGEN. in Cels. l. i. p. 5.

^b Vide JUST. apol. i. p. 56.

^c TERTUL. apolog. c. 42.

^d PEARSON episc. Cestrien. annal.

Paulin. p. 215.

^e PHILOSTRAT. *ibid.* l. viii. c. 10.

Another
heroine of
the same
name ban-
ished.

Many
Christians
put to
death or
banished.

cause, to the island of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and supposes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens's* sister ^f. *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the same with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not aware that *Eusebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* historian, by name *Brutius*, who flourished in those times, and whom some writers take to be *Præfens*, named also *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny's* letters is inscribed ^g. To these illustrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile several ladies of the prime nobility ^h. *St. Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *saint*, and tells us, that she suffered a long martyrdom in the island of *Pontia*, to which she was confined by *Domitian* for professing the *Christian* religion ⁱ. As to *Clemens's* two sons, to whom *Domitian* designed, as we have observed above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the antient historians; but we suppose, that if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodshed and slaughter, suffered them to live unmolested. *Gruter* proves from an antient inscription, that *Clemens* had likewise a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Onesimus* ^k; but no historian speaks either of her or her husband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his history of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, descended from *Flavius Clemens* and the niece of the emperor *Domitian* ^l; whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had issue. During this persecution, *St. John* was confined to the island of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*; and a great many illustrious champions of the *Christian* faith, mentioned by the ecclesiastic writers, suffered for the same glorious cause death or banishment, with a constancy and firmness worthy of the religion which they professed. *Lactantius* will have this cruel persecution to have ended with *Domitian's* life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the senate, and consequently the edicts which he had enacted against the *Christians* ^m. But two of the most antient ecclesiastic writers, viz. *Hegeſippus*, quoted by *Eusebius* ⁿ, and *Tertullian* ^o, tell us in exprefs terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a stop to the persecution which he

^f EUSEB. in chron. p. 205. ^g PLIN. l. vii. epist. 3. Voss. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 608. ^h TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 45. ⁱ Hier. epist. xxvii. c. 1. ^k GRUTER. p. 245. ^l TREB. POLL. hist. trig. tyr. c. 11. p. 191. edit. Paris. ^m LACT. perf. c. 3. ⁿ EUSEB. l. iii. c. 20. ^o TERT. apol. c. 5.

had raised against the church, and recalled all those whom he had banished on the score of their religion. This same year, *Domitian* caused *Epaphroditus*, formerly freedman and secretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in dispatching himself, when he ought to have defended him. By this instance of severity he hoped to deter his own freedmen from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dion Cassius* observes, was the only motive which prompted him to exert such rigour against one whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the same employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero* ^p. This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to whom *Josephus* inscribed, at least three years before, his *antiquities*; a plain proof, that he was then in great favour with the emperor.

THE next consuls were *Caius Fabius Valens* and *Caius Antistius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his consulship, and seems to have died before it expired ^q. Many prodigies are said to have happened this year, at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almost daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder and flashes of lightning: the capitol, the temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber, were thunder-struck; the inscription upon one of the emperor's triumphal statues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the storm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Vespasian's* time, as we have related above, and rose up again, fell down the second time; the oracle at *Præneste*, which had always returned favourable answers, and promised him good fortune and success at the beginning of each year, presaged nothing now but calamities and slaughter; *Domitian* himself dreamt, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worship, and whose feast he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herself from the chapel which he had consecrated to her; telling him, that *Jupiter* had disarmed her, and that she could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him so much as the answer of an astrologer, by name *Ascletarion*, and what ensued thereupon; for he being accused of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* asked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom? The astrologer answered, He was to be, and that in a short time he should be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falshood of his art, ordered him to be immediately

The death of Domitian foretold by several prodigies.

^p DIO. p. 766. PLIN. panegy. SUET. c. 14. ^q DIO. p. 766. ONUPH. p. 313. IDAT. in fast. &c.

*He lives
in continual
agonies
and apprehensions.*

*A conspiracy
formed
against
him.*

put to death, and his body to be burnt. The first part of the sentence was put in execution; but before the body was half consumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent storm, and devoured, pursuant to the prediction, by the dogs⁹. Another astrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the last day of *Domitian's* life. Hereupon he was apprehended by the governor of the province, and sent to the emperor, in whose presence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month; but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only dismissed unhurt, but presented by *Nerva* with a large sum, and ever after had in great esteem^r. No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with these predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conscience, lived in continual disquiet: there was no accident so trivial, no person so contemptible, as not to dismay him, and put him upon sanguinary precautions. Of the eminent persons, either of the senatorial or equestrian order, he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him; he feared friends and enemies; those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure hours, his most intimate friends and confidants, were all martyrs to his jealousy and fury: he dreaded all men and every thing; several of his freedmen he put to death, deposed the commander of the prætorian guards, discharged great numbers of officers, &c. But the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not suffer any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had first secured their chains in his hands^s. A young child, with whom he used to divert himself, having one day, while the emperor was asleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empress happening to meet him, desired to see it; when, to her great surprise, she found it contained the names of several illustrious persons destined to slaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with those of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. To these *Domitia* immediately communicated the whole, and by them a resolution was, without further deliberation, taken to dispatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody design in execution^t. Of this *Suetonius* takes no

⁹ Suet. c. 5. Dio. p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 590. ^r Dio. ibid. Suet. c. 16. ^s Dio. p. 766. ^t Idem ibid.

notice;

notice; but nevertheless tells us, that *Domitian* perished by a conspiracy of his friends and freedmen, not without the privity of his wife ^u. The death of *Clemens* hastened, according to the same writer, his own ruin ^w, either because the cruelty, he exercised towards those of his own family, occasioned a general dread and despair, or because it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freedman and procurator to *Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, and besides was at that time accused of having embezzled part of her effects ^x. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conspirators; but, as he was a man of great strength, took upon him to dispatch the tyrant ^y. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before an apprehension, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. One night his father *Vespasian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of astrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, constantly about him, observing that *Domitian* at supper abstained from mushrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, since he seemed to be under greater apprehension of poison, than of the sword. This *Domitian* ever after remembered, and was thence strangely affected by the bare sight of a drawn sword or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refused the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him, namely, that as often as he was consul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him amongst his lictors in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time which he chiefly dreaded and suspected drew near, his jealousy increased to such a degree, that he caused the gallery, in which he usually walked, to be set round with a certain stone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glass; so that he could discover what was done behind him ^z. The day before he was murdered, he ordered some choice fruit, which were presented to him, to be reserved against the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to use them*: then turning to those about him, *To-morrow*, said he, *the moon will appear bloody in Aquarius, and something will happen which will be much talked of*. About midnight he was so terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to administer justice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore asked, what time of the day it was, one of the conspirators, on purpose to deceive him, told him it was noon.

His jealousy.

He seems to have some knowledge of his death.

^u SUET. C. 14.
viii. c. 10.

^w Idem, c. 15.

^x PHILOST. *ibid.* I.

^y DIO. *ibid.* SUET. C. 17.

^z SUET. C. 14.

He is
wounded
by Stepha-
nus.

And dis-
patched by
him, and
the other
conspira-
tors.

He is re-
gretted by
the troops.

Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily escaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himself to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* fashion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accosting him, told him, he had something of great importance to impart to him, and such as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to disguise his design, had appeared for some days with his left arm wrapt up, and in a sling, as if he had received some hurt. He presented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to discover a dangerous conspiracy formed by his cousin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be still alive, and by several others, whose names were all set down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Stephanus* drawing suddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, struck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himself wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for assistance; but under his pillow was found only the scabbard, and the doors were all locked and well secured. *Domitian*, notwithstanding his wound, struggled some time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, striving to wrest the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thrust out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fearing some of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noise, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Satureius*, and a celebrated gladiator, dispatched him with many wounds. Many, who were not privy to the conspiracy, alarmed at the noise, hastened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conspirators made their escape as soon as the murder was perpetrated^a. Thus died *Domitian*, notwithstanding all his precautions and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned fifteen years and five days. For his death the common people shewed neither grief nor joy; but the soldiers, whose pay he had increased, and with whom he often shared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Vespasian* or *Titus*; and would have raised great disturbances, had not their officers, as most of them were concerned in the conspiracy, restrained them. The troops quartered in the

^a Idem, c. 17. DIO. p. 676. PHILOST. in vit. Apol. Ty. p. 485.
country

country of the *Getae*, were ready to revolt when they understood he had been assassinated; but the philosopher *Dion Chrysostomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury, by a speech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and punishments due to such as abuse their power, to the oppression of the people committed to their care^b. But, on the contrary, the senate *The joy of the senate.* could not disguise their joy: they assembled in haste, and after having, in the most opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces all his images. An infinite number of statues of gold and silver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were by their orders broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inscriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be razed, his name to be struck out of the consular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be abolished for ever^c. Several antient inscriptions are still to be seen, in which the name of *Domitian* is razed^d. All his acts were annulled, and those whom he had banished recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, caused his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a person of the meanest condition, to a country-house she had at a small distance from the city; where she burnt it, and carrying the ashes, without being observed, to the temple which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with those of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom she had likewise brought up. *Domitian* was the last emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewise the last of those princes, who are commonly stiled the twelve *Cæsars* (F).

His statues broken, and his acts annulled.

^b Suet. c. 22. Philost. ibid. p. 492. ^c Suet. ibid. Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 769. Macrob. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lactan. perfec. c. 3. ^d Goltz. p. 234.

(F) Here we shall give a succinct account of some writers who flourished under the princes of the *Flavian* family. *Justus*, the son of *Pistus*, contemporary with *Josephus*, and of the same religion, but a native of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, wrote likewise in *Greek* the history of the *Jewish* war, of the taking of *Jotapat*, and of the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This history he composed soon after the war, but did not publish it till *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and king *Agrippa*, were dead, that is, twenty years after he had wrote it, about the thirteenth year of *Domitian's* reign. *Josephus*, who was at variance with him, tells us, that he so long suppressed his history, because he durst not stand the test and censure of the world, while so many per-

sons were yet alive, who were able to disprove him (27). St. *Jerom*, and several other writers, speak of this history of *Justus* (28), and observe, that he was no-ways a candid historian, and that he often contradicted point-blank the memoirs or commentaries of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and other generals. We have therefore no cause to regret the loss of such a work. This history is probably different from another done by the same author, containing the lives and reigns of all the *Jewish* kings, from *Moses* to the death of young *Agrippa* (29). This work, which *Photius* (30), calls a chronicle, was ended in the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, and is probably what St. *Jerom* (31) and *Suidas* (32), who translated it, call *Justus's* short commentaries. Another writer, by name *Antonius Julianus*, flourished about this time, and published an account of the *Jewish* war, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. For *Minucius Felix*, who wrote in defence of the *Christian* religion in the beginning of the third century, refers the pagans to *Antonius Julianus*, and to *Josephus*, telling them, that in the writings of these historians, they will find, that the *Jews* were not abandoned by God till they had abandoned him; and that they only suffered what they had been fore-warned they should suffer, if they continued to disobey his law (33). We find two persons bearing that name mentioned by the antients, viz. *Antonius Julianus*, procurator of *Judea*, who was with *Titus*, as *Josephus* informs us (34), at the siege of *Jerusalem*; and *Antonius Julianus*, a native of *Spain*, and professor of rhetoric at *Rome*, often quoted and commended by *Aulus Gellius*, who was one of his disciples (35). He flourished about the middle of the second century, and wrote some rhetorical and grammatical books (36). A history in *Hebrew* and *Latin* of the *Jewish* war has reached our times; done by one *Josephus*, the son of *Gorion*, who pretended, it seems, to pass himself upon the world for the celebrated *Josephus*. But the ablest critics take him to have been a *Jew* born in *Gaul* in the seventh century, and his history to be only an abridgement of the *Latin* translation of *Josephus's* history, which is commonly ascribed to *Rufinus*, with the addition of many gross mistakes, and fabulous accounts (37). As for the history of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which bears the name of *Hegesippus*, it is but a translation of the history of *Josephus*, wherein the author allows himself a great latitude, retrenching several things, and adding harangues, descriptions, and even some events which he had probably found in other historians. We must not confound this writer, as some have done, with another of the same name, who flourished in the second century, and was a native of *Greece*, whereas the compiler of *Jo-*

(27) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9. & vit.* (28) *Hier. de vir. illust. c. 14. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 8.* (29) *Voss. ibid. Euseb. p. 47.*
 (30) *Phot. c. 33.* (31) *Hier. ibid.* (32) *Suid. p. 1251.*
 (33) *Min. Fel. p. 27.* (34) *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.* (35)
Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 4. l. ix. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. l. xviii. c. 5. l. xix. c. 9.
 (36) *Idem, l. i. c. 4.* (37) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 8. Baron. ad ann. 72.*

sephus was, as is evident from some passages in his work, quite ignorant of the *Greek* tongue (38). Besides, he mentions the city of *Constantinople*, and tells us, that having by degrees eclipsed the cities of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, it was no longer the fourth, but the second, city of the *Roman* empire (39). It is therefore plain, that he did not write before the reign of *Constantine the great*, nor even before the end of the fourth century. *Vossius* is of opinion, that he flourished about the latter end of the tenth century; but the propriety of his expressions, and the elegance and sublimity of his style, are a convincing proof, that he wrote before the total and general decay of learning, that is, before the fifth century. Hence the learned bishop *Pearson* takes him for an author of the fourth or fifth century (40); and father *Mabillon* quotes two manuscripts of *Hegefippus's* history, both written, as he conjectures from the characters, before the seventh century (41). *Gronovius* takes *St. Ambrose*, concealed under the assumed name of *Hegefippus*, to be the true author of that history, being induced thereunto by several of *St. Ambrose's* phrases, which he observed in it (42). But the same phrases are often common to several writers of the same age; and the style of *Hegefippus* is, in our opinion, far more easy and proper than that of *St. Ambrose*, or of *Paulinus*, *Sulpicius Severus*, *Aper*, *Eucherius*, or *Hilarius*; for to each of these the work, which bears the name of *Hegefippus*, has by some writers been ascribed. To the history of *Hegefippus* is annexed an *anacephalæosis*, or summary of the chief matters contained in it, which by some is thought the work of the same author; but *Gronovius* speaks of it, and not undeservedly, with great contempt (43). In this summary, and not in the history itself, is found the supposititious letter from *Pilate* to *Tiberius* concerning our *Saviour*. The history of *Hegefippus* is quoted by *John of Salisbury*, who flourished in the twelfth century, and by *John of Trittenheim*, abbot of *Spanheim*, in his learned book of *ecclesiastical writers*; but he, by confounding the author of this work with the above-mentioned *Hegefippus*, who flourished in the second century, has led many others into the same mistake (44).

Of *Flavius Josephus*, the most famous of all the historians who flourished under the princes of the *Flavian* family, we have already spoken in the several parts of this work; and therefore shall offer only a few remarks on his history of the *Jewish* wars, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This history he composed at *Rome*, in the reign of *Vespasian*, in his own language (45), which was much the same with the *Syriac*, and afterwards translated it into *Greek*, with the assistance of some persons who were better acquainted with that tongue than he (46). For the knowledge of the several languages

(38) *Hegef. l. iii. c. 1, 6, & 9. Biblioth. patrum. l. vii. p. 462, 463.* (39) *Idem ibid. c. 5. p. 465, 466.* (40) *Pearson. ann. Paulin. p. 50. Lond. 1688.* (41) *Mabill. iter. Italic. p. 14. Paris. 1687.* (42) *Gronov. observat. eccles. c. 1.* (43) *Idem ibid.* (44) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. p. 706. Trit. p. 4.* (45) *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. 1.* (46) *Idem in Api. l. i.*

was not a thing practised or valued by the *Jews*, but looked upon as a profane study, the sum of their wisdom and learning consisting in the knowledge of their laws and the right understanding of the scripture (47); which, however, it is plain they never did rightly understand with relation to the *Messiah*. The *Syriac* history was immediately dispersed over all the eastern countries, and greedily read by the *Arabians*, *Adiabeniens*, *Babylonians*, *Parthians*, and all the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates* (48). Some copies of this work, which was divided into five books, are still extant (49). The *Greek* translation proved both troublesome and expensive to him (50). He divided it into seven books, and did not put the last hand to it before the fifth year of *Vespasian's* reign; for he mentions the temple of *Peace* as finished, which was consecrated the following year, the sixth of *Vespasian's* reign; and ends his history with the death of *Catullus*, which did not happen, as is evident from *Dion Cassius*, before that time (51). *Josephus* closes his history with these words: As for my style, and manner of writing, I submit it to the judgment of the reader; but as to the candour and sincerity of my accounts, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept strictly to truth, and have had nothing else in view throughout the whole work. Of what passed amongst the *Romans* he was an eye-witness, and learnt of the deserters, who all applied to him, every step taken by the enemy (52). Besides, *Titus* imparted to him his own commentaries or memoirs (53); so that he was thoroughly acquainted with every thing that happened during the whole time of the war. As soon as he had ended his *Greek* translation, he presented it to *Vespasian*, to *Titus*, to king *Agrippa*, and to several others, who had been eye-witnesses of what he relates (54); which he would never have done, had he been conscious to himself of having swerved in the least from truth. King *Agrippa*, in sixty-two letters to *Josephus*, authentically witnessed the candour and sincerity which reigns throughout the whole work (55); and *Titus*, not satisfied with ordering it to be published, and lodged in the public library, signed, some read transcribed, with his own hand the copy, which was to be placed there as an authentic relation of the *Jewish* war, and the destruction of *Jerusalem* (56). Hence *Suidas* gives to *Josephus* the title of *lover of truth*, as peculiar to him (57). But after all, his history is not quite exempt from faults; some of which he himself corrected in the works he afterwards published (58). It was either a deplorable ignorance, or inexcusable flattery, that prompted him to misinterpret the scripture, and apply to *Vespasian* the prophecy, importing, that in those days a prince should come out of *Judæa*, who should rule

- (47) *Idem. antiq. l. xx. c. 9.* (48) *Idem, bell. Jud. l. 1.*
 (49) *Vide Possevin. apparat. tom. i. p. 966: Colonia. an. 1608.*
 (50) *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. i.* (51) *Dio. l. lxvi. p. 751, 752.*
 (52) *Joseph. in Api. l. 1.* (53) *Idem, in vit.* (54) *Idem, in*
Api. l. i. (55) *Idem, in vit.* (56) *Idem ibid. & Hier. vit. vir.*
illust. c. 13. (57) *Suid. p. 1261.* (58) *Vide Huetij demonstrat.*
evang. p. 326.

over the whole world; which could be understood of the *Messiah* alone. *Photius*, speaking of the *Greek* translation of this history, greatly commends it, even on account of the style, which to him seems easy, proper,* and no less elegant than that of the best *Greek* historians (59): and *St. Jerom* calls *Josephus*, the *Livy of the Greeks* (60). Hence it is evident, that the many obscure passages, odd phrases, and irregular constructions, which are to be met with in this work, ought to be ascribed to the copyists, and not to the author. When *Josephus* had ended his history of the *Jewish* wars, he undertook the general history of his nation, from the beginning of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of *Nero*, when the *Jews* revolted, and strove to shake off the *Roman* yoke, which was the occasion of their utter ruin. Of this work, which is comprised in twenty books, and was finished by *Josephus* in the fifty-sixth year of his age, that is, in the thirteenth of *Domitian's* reign, and towards the end of the ninety-third of the *Christian* æra, we have spoken in various places of this history; and therefore shall only repeat here, that he frequently contradicts point-blank holy writ; of which the reader will find many instances in father *Possévin's* learned *Apparatus* (61). Of the famous passage concerning our *Saviour*, we have spoken at length in our history of the *Jews* (62). To the general history of the *Jews*, which *Josephus* himself intitled the *Jewish antiquities*, tho' brought down to the twelfth year of *Nero's* reign, he added the particular history of his own life, which he finished before the death of *Domitian*, that is, before the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96, of the *Christian* æra. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* look upon his life as part of the twentieth book of his *antiquities*; and likewise upon his books against *Apion*, as a continuation of the same work (63). Besides the above mentioned works, a discourse composed by *Josephus* has reached our times, wherein he shews, that it is in the power of reason to command and subdue the passions: whence the treatise is by some styled, *the rule of reason*; but by others, *the history of the Maccabees*, because *Josephus* describes there at length the glorious death of those illustrious champions. This piece *St. Jerom* cries up as a most elegant performance (64); and *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* refers his readers to it for a true and affecting account of the martyrdom of the *Maccabees* (65). We find *Josephus* quoted by some antient writers for things, of which no mention is made in his works which are still extant. Thus *Orosius* refers us to him for an account of the expulsion of the *Jews* from *Rome* under *Claudius* (66); and *Origen* quotes him as asserting, that the *Jews* generally ascribed the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ruin of their nation, to their putting unjustly *St. James* to death (67). *Josephus* himself promises in his *antiquities*

(59) *Phot.* c. 47. (60) *Hier. epist.* 22. (61) *Possévin. apparat.* tom. i. p. 967, 968. *Colonie, an.* 1608. (62) *Hist. Univers.* vol. X. p. 402. (63) *Euseb.* l. iii. c. 9, 10. *Hier. vir. illust.* c. 13. (64) *Hier. in Pelag.* l. ii c. 3. (65) *Greg. Nazian. orat.* 22. (66) *Oros.* l. vii. c. 6. (67) *Origen. in Matth.*

the history of *Monobazes*, king of the *Adiabeniens* (68), of whom nevertheless no farther mention is made in his works which have reached us. *Vossius* likewise assures, that in the printed copies of *Josephus* many things have been left out, which he found in the manuscript copies of the antient *Latin* translation (69) ascribed by father *Possévin* to the celebrated *Rufus* of *Aquileia* (70). *Josephus*, at the end of his *antiquities*, promises a shorter relation of the *Jewish* war, and of all that had happened to that unhappy people from the beginning of the said war to the time in which he ended his *antiquities*, that is, to the 93d year of the *Christian æra* (71). He likewise proposed writing four books of the opinions of the *Jews* concerning God and his nature, and of their laws, that he might have an opportunity of informing the world, why by their law some things were allowed them, and others forbidden (72). But neither *Eusebius*, nor any other writer, mentions these works; which inclines us to believe, that he was prevented by death from executing his design, and that he died about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign. *Photius* ascribes to him an anonymous book, *Of the substance of the universe* (73). *Possévin* is of opinion, that he wrote a book on the *seventy weeks of Daniel* (74); and truly *St. Jerom* says, that he speaks of them much at length (75), which he does not in any of his works which have been transmitted to us. *Josephus* lived at *Rome* from the return of *Titus* to that city in 71, till his death, which happened about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign, who was killed in 96. He was highly esteemed and favoured by the three princes of the *Flavian* family: for *Vespasian* made him free of the city, lodged him in the house in which he himself had lived before he was emperor, settled upon him a yearly pension, and assigned him certain lands in *Judæa*. *Titus* shewed him no less kindness than his father had done; and *Domitian*, as well as his wife *Domitia*, conferred on him still greater honours. This drew upon him the hatred of his envious countrymen, by whom several false accusations were brought against him, but he was always declared innocent. In the reign of *Vespasian*, a *Jew*, by name *Jonathan*, being sent to the emperor in chains, for having, at the head of two thousand men, raised great disturbances in *Cyrene*, declared, that *Josephus* had assisted him underhand with arms and money. But *Vespasian*, giving no credit to the calumny, commanded his head to be struck off. *Domitian* likewise punished with great severity some *Jews*, and an eunuch, who was tutor to *Josephus's* son, for falsely informing against him (76). Thus he lived at *Rome*, highly favoured by the emperors; and was, after his death, honoured by the *Roman* people with a statue (77).

(68) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 2.* (69) *Voss. sybellin. p. 43.* (70) *Possévin. ibid.* (71) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9.* (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Phot. c. 48.* (74) *Possévin. ibid.* (75) *Hier. in Isai.* (76) *Joseph. in vit.* (77) *Euseb. l. iii. c. 3.*

As the celebrated philosopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a succinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the present subject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers who flourished under *Domitian*, we shall speak in our notes (G). *Apollonius* Some account of the celebrated philosopher *Apollonius Tyaneus*.

(G) These were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus*, was, according to *St. Jerom* and *Ausonius*, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calaborra*, in *Old Castile*. What profession his father followed, we find nowhere recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote some declamations, which are quoted by his son (15). Our *Quintilian* studied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was stricken in years when *Quintilian* was very young (16), and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (17), in the fifth year of *Nero's* reign. Hence it is manifest, that *Quintilian* did not come first to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as *St. Jerom* supposes (18); neither can we conclude, as some have done (19), from his having studied at *Rome* while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded several causes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (20), and consequently under *Vespasian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* sent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign: *Vespasian* having settled a salary upon the professors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the first who opened a free school at *Rome*. He discharged that important office with great reputation, and to the satisfaction of all, for the space of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, what by his salary, what by the presents made him by the parents of the children whom he instructed (21). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* speak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his disciples, seems to have entertained a high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he resigned his charge, and writ a book about the causes of the decay of eloquence (22). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great disagreement amongst authors. When *Quintilian* had finished this treatise, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work, viz. his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all persons of taste and judgment. This performance cost him two years labour, and it was much against his will that he published it before he had kept it by him for some time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inscribed to one

(15) *Quint. l. ix. c. 3.* (16) *Idem, l. v. c. 7.* (17) *Tacit. annal. xiv. c. 19.* (18) *Hier. chron.* (19) *Vide P. Pagi, p. 432.* (20) *Quint. l. iv. c. 1.* (21) *Martial. l. ii. epig. 90.* (22) *Quint. præfat. & l. vi. p. 177.*

Apollonius was born three or four years before the common christian æra; for he is said to have lived a hundred years, and died

Marcellus Victorius, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian's* character (23). While he was employed in composing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his sister's grandsons, as we related above (24). He was afterwards honoured with the consular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor (25). *Ausonius* seems to insinuate, that, after having acquired considerable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not, reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Besançon* and *Lyons*. Perhaps upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was banished *Rome* (26). Whether it was to him, or to another of the same name, that *Pliny* the younger presented, in a most genteel and obliging manner, a considerable sum, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has by some writers been questioned (27). *Sidonius Apollinaris* bestows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the most eloquent writers of antiquity (28). As for the declamations which pass under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the antients, it is evident, they were not written by him, but either by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (29), by his grandfather, since *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philosopher, who flourished in the reign of *Augustus*, speaks of the author of these declamations as a person more antient than himself (29). This is the opinion of *M. Pithou* concerning the declamations ascribed to our *Quintilian*, which he published in 1580, and inscribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Besides these, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian*; but by *Vossius* ascribed to *Posthumus* the younger, who, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history, assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and that of *Augustus* in *Gaul*, about the year 260 (30).

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (31), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as some have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom it is inscribed, and continued under *Domitian*; for he was, according to *Vossius*, prevented by death from putting the last hand to it (32). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the

(23) *Idem*, l. iv. præfat. (24) *Idem* ibid. (25) *Auson.* *conf.* p. 387. (26) *Idem* ibid. (27) *Plin.* l. vi. *epist.* 32. *P. Pagi*, p. 247. (28) *Sid. Apollin.* l. v. *epist.* 10. & l. vi. *car.* *ver.* 190. & l. ix. *ver.* 318. (29) *M. Pithou*, in præfat. ad *Thuan.* (30) *Sen. declam.* l. x. p. 105. (31) *Voss. rhet.* c. 15. (32) *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 46. *Martial.* l. i. *epigr.* 62, 77, 87. latter

died soon after the accession of *Nerva* to the empire, which happened in the ninety-sixth year of the christian æra. The surname of

latter end of *Domitian's* reign. *Quintilian* (33) and *Martial* (34) commend his performance; but the most able critics amongst the modern writers speak of it with the utmost contempt, discover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (35).

The poet, *M. Valerius Martialis*, so famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis*, (36), which stood at a small distance from the present city of *Calataiud* in the kingdom of *Arragon* (37). He was born in the reign of *Claudius*, came to *Rome* in that of *Nero*, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (38), favoured by the emperors, especially by *Domitian*, whom on all occasions he flatters in a most shameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country; where after three years, which he passed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priscus* to compose his twelfth book, in which he speaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (39). *Pliny*, in whose commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindness and esteem for him; whence he presented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a sum of money to defray the expences of his journey (40). As to his writings, the emperor *Lacius Verus* used to call him his *Virgil* (41); but few, either before or since that prince's time, seem to have entertained such a mighty opinion of his compositions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himself wrote of his epigrams, viz. that some of them were good, some indifferent, and some bad. Most critics have found fault with his thoughts, his style, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticisms (42). Besides, some of his epigrams are, for their lewdness, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are comprised in fourteen books; besides which, that *de spectaculis* is commonly ascribed to him, tho' *Vossius* takes it to be a collection of verses written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the shows which *Titus* exhibited in the year eighty of the christian æra (43). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny's* letters, about the end of the first century. He is, by *Lampridius* (44) surnamed *Coquus*, perhaps because his father, or he himself in his youth, followed that mean profession.

Statius flourished at the same time; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which some ascribe to jealousy, *Statius* being highly esteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary ease, extemporary verses upon any subject whatever; which

(33) *Quint. l. 10. c. 1.* (34) *Mart. ibid.* (35) *Vide Bail. præf. c. 1163. p. 396.* (36) *Mart. l. xii. epig. 18.* (37) *Baudr. & Bail. poet. p. 412.* (38) *Voss. ibid. p. 46.* (39) *Mart. l. xii. præf. epig. 18, 4, 6, 8, & l. x. epig. 34.* (40) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 21.* (41) *Lamprid. vit. Ver. p. 15.* (42) *Vide Bail. ibid.* (43) *Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3.* (44) *Lamp. in vit. Alex. p. 126.*

of *Tyaneus* he borrowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold and accompanied, if

Martial durst not attempt. He wrote two epic poems, viz. the *Thebais*, comprised in twelve books, and the *Achillis*, which consists only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accomplishing that work (45). They are both inscribed to *Domitian*. Besides these two poems, he wrote several other pieces upon various occasions, which have likewise reached us, under the title of *Sylva*, and are comprehended in five books. His compositions were mightily esteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are still admired by the young poets; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that of all the antient poets he comes nearest to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad historian than a good poet, and despise his bombast style, and odd expressions. His *Sylva*, which were for the most part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by most critics more esteemed than his epic poems, there being in them some very good thoughts, mixed with such as are quite trivial and common (46). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Sarculus*, or rather *Uffulus*, who was born in *Tolouse*, and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (47). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and support himself by that means (48). One *Placidus Lactantius*, who flourished in the sixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (49).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was contemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan*; for he speaks of the banishment of *Marius Priscus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan's* reign, and one hundredth of the christian æra (50). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his satires, which were read by many *Romans*, who perused no other book (51). It were much to be wished, that in censuring the manners of others, he had not shewed himself quite destitute of modesty, nor inveighed against the abuses which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inspire them with aversion to vice. From his life, written many ages since, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (52), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at some verses of his seventh satire, had interest enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome* and sent into *Egypt*, to command a legion quartered in the utmost bounds of that province; where he died soon after of grief, being four-

(45) *Bail. ibid. p. 425.* (46) *Idem ibid. p. 426.* (47) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 45.* (48) *Juv. sat. vii. ver. 83.* (49) *Voss. ibid.* (50) *Juv. sat. iv.* (51) *Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 374.* (52) *Sid. Apoll. carm. ix. ver. 274.*

if the author of his life is to be credited^c, by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himself to the study of

He applies himself to the study of the Pythagoric philosophy.

^c PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.

score when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pylades*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian* in all likelihood alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that, in his time, lived some poets, authors of satires, who would one day be ranked amongst the best writers (53). *Salmasius* is of opinion, that the antient scholiast of *Juvenal* was contemporary with *Spartianus*, who flourished under *Dioclesian* and *Constantine the Great* (54). *Julius Scaliger* and some other critics prefer *Juvenal* to *Horace*; but now a-days few, if any, men of taste acquiesce to their judgment, thinking they sufficiently honour *Juvenal*, by placing him amongst the *Latin* satirists next to *Horace*, but next at a great distance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by *Martial* (55), on the second *Punic* war. Before he applied himself to the study of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been consul; which office he discharged the year that *Nero* was killed. He is not by our modern critics much esteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his style, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (56). He adheres with great exactness to truth, and relates some events, which we read nowhere else (57). He died in the second year of the reign of *Trajan*, by abstaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occasioned by an imposthume, which the physicians could not cure (58). He died the last of all those who had been consuls under *Nero*, and was himself the last consul under that prince (59). From what he says of *Domitian* (60), it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the *Dacians*. Most writers have supposed him to have been a native of *Italica*, and thence called *Italicus*; but *Italicus* was, as appears from the letters of *Pliny* and the consular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and besides, had he been born in *Italica*, he would have thence been called *Italicanus*, or *Italicensis* (61).

Vossius is of opinion, that *Terentianus*, who, in *Martial's* time, governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (62), is the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who wrote a poem on the measure of verses, which has reached our times, and is greatly esteemed by all persons of taste; but others ascribe that excellent performance to *Posthumius Terentianus*, to whom *Longinus*, about the year 270, inscribes his book

(53) *Quint.* l. x. c. 1.

(54) *Salmas.* in *Spartian.* p. 162.

(55) *Mart.* l. iv. epig. 14.

(56) *Vide Bail. poet.* p. 392.

(57) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. i. c. 29.

(58) *Plin.* l. iii. epist. 7.

(59) *Idem ibid.*

(60) *Silius Ital.* l. iii. p. 51.

(61) *Vide Voss.*

poet. Lat. p. 42. & *Bail. poet.* p. 388.

(62) *Martial.* l. i.

epig. 87. & *Voss. poet. Lat.* p. 47.

The auſte-
rity of his
life,

And diſin-
tereſted-
neſs.

the *Pythagoric* philoſophy, firſt at *Tarſus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of the ſame province, under the direction of one *Euxenes*, whoſe manners did not answer his profeſſion. But *Apollonius* following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of ſixteen to a houſe in the country, led there a life of great auſterity, abſtaining, purſuant to the maxims of his ſect, from all manner of fleſh, ſuffering his hair to grow, going bare-foot, and clad only in linen, that he might uſe nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-houſe he removed, after ſome time, to the temple of *Æſculapius* in the city of *Ægæ*, where he ſoon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preſervation or recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to ſet up for a cenſor and reformer of manners, having already, it ſeems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue^f. His father dying about the time that *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, was accuſed of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the ſeventeenth year of the chriſtian æra, he took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; but reſerved a ſmall ſhare of it for himſelf; the greateſt part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and diſſolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the reſt, ſave a very ſmall portion, he divided amongſt his neceſſitous relations. Being thus diſengaged from every thing that could divert him from the ſtudy of philoſophy and the practice of virtue, he paſſed five years in ſilence, agreeable to the cuſtom of the

^f Idem, c. 6—9.

on the ſublime. Several other poets are mentioned by *Martial* as flouriſhing at this time, namely, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*, and *Scæva Memor*, who were brothers; *Arruntius Stella*, *Codrus* or *Cordus*, *Paccius*, *Fauſtus*, *Rubrenus Lappa*, *M. Unicus*, *Ligurinus*, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Licinianus*, *Voconius Victor*, and *Paſſienus Paulus* (63). *Turnus* acquired, it ſeems, great reputation by his ſatires, and was, though of a mean deſcent, very powerful at court under the emperors *Titus* and *Domitian* (64). *Scaliger* aſcribes to *Scæva Memor*, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy intitled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (65). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of ſeveral books upon the grammar; which have been long ſince loſt. He was a native of *Bæotia*, and had been ſlave to *Medeſtus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age (66).

(63) Vide *Voff. ibid.* (64) *Juv. ſat. i. p. 4. Mart. l. vii. epig. 96.* (65) *Voff. ibid. p. 48.* (66) *Suid. p. 956.*

Pythagorics;

Pythagorics ; wherein he found, as he himself owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeased, says the author of his life, several tumults and seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially at *Aspenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where the populace rose, and were ready to burn the chief magistrate alive, for not obliging some of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn, during a famine, and sell it at a reasonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Ephesus*, and to several cities, where he took upon him to revive the worship of some deities or idols, which now began to be neglected. He practised every-where secret mysteries, to which those alone were admitted, who had observed silence for the space of four years. He took upon him the character of legislator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himself : he even boasted a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having learnt them ; and had the impudence to give out, that the most secret recesses of men's hearts and their most private thoughts lay open to him^g. However, he had yet but seven disciples, and these too abandoned him, as soon as he declared his intention of travelling as far as *India*, to visit the philosophers there, known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Bracmanes* ; so that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domestics ; but at *Nineveh* was joined by *Damis*, a native of that place, who, of all the disciples he ever had, proved the most addicted to him ; for he observed with great attention, and carefully registered, not only his most minute actions, but even his words. These memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwards into the hands of *Julia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, she imparted them to *Philostratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Nineveh* to *Babylon*, learned, as he passed thro' *Mesopotamia*, what to his time had been a great secret, namely, that of understanding the answers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wise philosopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he passed. Upon his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private. *Philostratus* describes *Babylon* as a city above seventy miles in compass, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no less magnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadnezzar* ; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was contemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and scarce any building remained, except the temple of *Belus*^h. *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted

His impudence and presumption.

His favourite disciple Damis.

He arrives at Babylon.

^g Idem, c. 10—25.

^h PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.

He travels
to India.

Returns to
Asia, and
there un-
dertakes
the refor-
mation of
manners.

by a commendable curiosity to visit so celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruinsⁱ; and *Pausanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greatest city the sun ever saw, had in his time nothing left but its walls. These remained long after, the space within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings for the keeping of wild beasts, and the diversion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philostratus* was no less mistaken in his description of *Babylon*, than he is in supposing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, resided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then passed the winter at *Ctesiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the summer at *Ecbatana*^k. He tells us, that the king's name who then reigned was *Vardanes*, and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjustly seized by his brother *Gotarzes*, adding, that *Apollonius* passed twenty months at the court, and found, about six months after, the same prince still on the throne^l; so that according to *Philostratus*, *Vardanes* must have reigned four years and upwards: whereas it is plain from *Tacitus*^m, that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the seventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead some time before the end of the ninth. *Apollonius* left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, set out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of esteem by a king named *Phraotes*, of whom *Philostratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Hiarchus*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old. If what *Philostratus* relates of these philosophers be true, they were far from being gods, though they impiously passed themselves for such upon the undiscerning multitudeⁿ. *Apollonius* passed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongst them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their sect. After he had learnt all the mysteries of their profession, he left *India*; and returning by sea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Nineveh*, and from *Nineveh* to *Antioch*. He was not, it seems, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a short stay in that city, he removed to *Ionia*, and settled in that country, residing sometimes at *Ephesus*, and sometimes at *Smyrna*^o. He is said to have undertaken with incredible success the reformation of manners, first at *Ephesus*, and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionia*, reclaiming, what by his precepts,

ⁱ DIO. l. lxxviii p. 785. ^k STRAB. l. xvi. p. 743. ^l PHILOSTR.

ibid. l. i. c. 15, 19. ^m TACIT. annal. xi. c. 8, 9, 10. ⁿ PHILOSTR.

l. iii. c. 6, & 9. ^o Idem, c. 15, 16.

what by his exemplary life, such as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and iniquity ^p. From *Ionia* he went to *Ilium*, where he imbarqued for *Lesbos*, and from thence sailed to *Athens*, in which city he reformed innumerable abuses, and utterly abolished the inhuman spectacles of gladiators. He travelled all over *Greece*, reviving every-where the antient superstition of the *Greeks*, and establishing the idolatrous worship of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the sports, which were to be celebrated on occasion of the CXth olympiad, seven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the isthmus, and consequently in the year of the christian æra sixty-one. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inspired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired by *Demetrius*, the most celebrated *Cynic* of those days, and his disciple *Menippus*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he passed great part of the winter, he is said to have persuaded the inhabitants to resume their antient manner of living ^q. But of this great and remarkable reformation, no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the spring, he sailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he staid, performing wonderful things, related at length by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philosophers out of *Rome*. He then retired to *Cadiz*, where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, and assume the sovereignty. From *Cadiz* he crossed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Hetruria*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero's* death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but sailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the spring passed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vast crouds, the superstitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and see him. *Philostratus* would fain persuade us, that *Vespasian* went into *Egypt* for the same purpose; but of the true motive of his journey, we have spoken elsewhere. However, *Vespasian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* observes, from such superstition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to visit *Apollonius*, and seemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He consulted him in private about the state of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two celebrated philosophers, advised *Vespasian* to renounce the sovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and restore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* opposed their sentiments,

He encourages Galba to revolt from Nero.

Is consulted by Vespasian.

^p Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2. ^q Idem, c. 3—11.

Travels
into Ethio-
pia.

Goes to
Rome.

which occasioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it seems, impatient of all contradiction. *Vespasian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to instruct him how to govern with equity and moderation. *Vespasian* would have rewarded him with great generosity for his excellent precepts; but the philosopher would not accept the least acknowledgment^r. From *Alexandria* *Vespasian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* soon after for *Ethiopia*, with a design to visit the philosophers of that country, whom *Philostratus* calls *Gymnosophists*; a name by all other writers given to the philosophers of *India*. Of the thirty disciples he had at this time, ten only accompanied him in this journey, the others chusing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at first received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philosophers, who had been prejudiced against him by *Euphrates*; but they were soon reconciled to each other, and held several private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted to view the sources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jerusalem*, which he entered on the eighth of *September* of the year seventy. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the same year travelled all over *Phœnicia*, *Ionia*, and *Cilicia*; visited several cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there set up several talismans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Basilius* caused them to be removed^s. From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to stir up the people against the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and at the same time told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had sacrificed a child, in order to discover, by viewing its intrails, what success would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the conspiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Asia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to seize him, and send him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Asia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philosophers to depart *Rome*; and at the same time exhorted him to retire, lest he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to all philosophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice,

^r Idem, l. v. c. 3—14.

^s GEORG. CODIN. origines Con-

stantinop.

without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very sure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore pursued his journey to *Rome*, in the habit peculiar to philosophers; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, lest he should be discovered and seized ^t. He no sooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Casperius Ælianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to seize him. *Casperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, instructed him how to make his defence, when summoned before the judges; and then, as he durst not dismiss him, committed him to prison; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow-prisoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miseries attending it, with constancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the space of six days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the designs of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* answered, That *Nerva* had never entertained the least thought of conspiring against him, or assuming the sovereignty, though he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philostratus*, the means of deposing the emperor, and seizing the empire, being instigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himself ^u. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no satisfactory answer from him, ordered his beard to be shaved, a great affront to a philosopher; and commanded him to be led back to prison, loaded with chains, from which, however, he was two days after discharged at the request of *Casperius*. While he was in bonds, he assured *Damis*, who attended him even in prison, that the emperor, notwithstanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in so saying, drew with great ease his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor, who, after having examined him in the presence of many persons of distinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* displayed to him the great evils that must necessarily ensue from the prince's giving ear to informers. As for myself, said he, I am not under the least apprehension: you may cause me to be seized; but put me to death you cannot; that the laws of fate and my destiny will not allow. *Apollonius*, having thus spoke, disappeared, and was seen that evening at *Puteoli*, three days journey distant from *Rome* ^w. From *Puteoli* he passed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vast crouds, and persons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to

Where he is
seized and
imprisoned
by Domiti-
an's orders.

Is brought
before the
emperor,
and by him
declared
innocent.

^t PHILOSTRAT. *ibid.* l. vii. c. 2—6. ^u Idem *ibid.* c. 3, 12, 14.
^w Idem, c. 17.

Is acquainted
with Domitian's
death the
very minute it
happens.

Is invited
to Rome
by Nerva,
but refuses
to go
thither.

He disappears.

Miracles
ascribed to
him.

despise wealth, and place their whole happiness in the pursuit of virtue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, residing partly at *Smyrna* and partly at *Ephesus*; but frequently visiting all the cities of that province. While he was discoursing to a numerous assembly at *Ephesus*, the same minute that *Domitian* was slain, he began all on a sudden to lower his voice, as if he had been seized with fear; but nevertheless he pursued his discourse for some time, though faintly, and often stopping, as if he had been intent upon something else. At length he quite gave over speaking, fixed his eyes stedfast on the ground; and, after a short silence, *Strike home*, he cried, *strike the tyrant home*. As the numerous assembly was greatly surprised, he no sooner returned to himself, than he bid them be of good cheer and rejoice; *For the tyrant*, added he, *is dead; he is just now expired*^x. The same thing is related by *Dion Cassius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out so as to be heard by the whole assembly, *Courage, brave Stephanus! courage! dispatch the tyrant*^y. *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philosopher returned answer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to see one another. However, some time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter, filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he sent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor several rules of government by word of mouth in his name. While *Damis* was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had disappeared; whence he concluded, that he had sent him to *Rome*, on purpose that he might not be present at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the first of *Nerva's* reign, and ninety-sixth of the christian æra. *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philostatus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended he died at *Ephesus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the island of *Rhodes*, and was never afterwards seen. *Philostatus* assures us, that, tho' he had travelled into several countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death^k. This succinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is swelled by *Philostatus* with a great number of miracles and predictions, upon which he makes long descants. Amongst other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he restored to life a young woman of a consular family; but at the same time

^x Idem, l. viii. c. 10.
l. viii. c. 13.

^y Dio. l. vii. p. 768.

^k PHILOST.

seems to doubt, whether or no she was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought such a miracle, he would have been, as *Eusebius* rightly observes¹, more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are attested only by *Philostratus*, who, as *Lipsius* observes^m, is guilty of many gross mistakes, and often contradicts himself in what relates to the *Roman* history. What can seem less probable, than his account of what passed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*? *Eusebius* calls his book a romance; and *Photius* looks upon it as a heap of inconsistent fablesⁿ. Most of the fathers speak of it in the same style^o, as do likewise *Suidas*^p, and the most judicious among the modern writers, viz. *Scaliger*^q, *Vives*^r, *Vossius*^s, *Casaubon*^t, &c. Many of the pagans themselves seem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius* notwithstanding his boasted virtue and miracles. Even those who bore him no hatred looked upon him as a magician, and scrupled admitting him to their mysteries^u; nay, the same opinion still prevailed in the time of his panegyrist *Philostratus*, as he himself witnesses^v. *Lucian*, speaking of one of his favourite and most faithful disciples, calls him a celebrated and professed magician^x. In the epitome of *Dion Cassius* by *Xiphilin*, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular esteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the most accomplished impostor and forcerer the world had ever seen. No one can peruse his life, tho' written with the utmost partiality, without discovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and presumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was shewn him, and he commanded to adore it, according to the custom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty answer; *The prince whom you adore, may reckon himself happy, if he deserves by me to be only esteemed and commended*^y. He imagined himself possessed of all virtues in an eminent degree, took upon him every-where the character of censor, legislator, instructor, &c. pretended to know every thing, to foresee future events, to be acquainted with the most hidden thoughts of those with whom he conversed; nay, he suffered himself to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worship to be paid him; which he indeed once refused, but the only motive which prompted him to reject it was,

What opinion the antients entertained of him.

His pride, arrogance, and presumption.

¹ EUSEB. in. Hier. p. 461. ^m LIPS. TACIT. hist. l. iii. n. 80.

ⁿ EUSEB. ibid. ^o PHOT. c. 44. p. 29. ^p Vide AUG. epist. xlix.

CHRYST. in Jud. hom. iii. ^q SUID. p. 376. ^r SCALIGER. in

Euseb. chron. ^s VOSS. hist. Græc l. ii. c. 15. ^t Idem ibid.

^u CASAUB. in Spart. p. 229. ^v PHILOST. l. iv. c. 6. l. viii. c. 8.

^w Idem, l. ii. c. 3. ^x LUCIAN. vit. Alex. p. 476. ^y PHILOST.

l. i. c. 14, 15, 19. ^z fear

fear of being envied ^z. *Philostratus* cries up his disinterestedness and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no presents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even asked, a considerable sum of one of the pontiffs ^a. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame ^b; at least his favourite disciples wallowed, if *Lucian* is to be credited, in all manner of lewdness ^c. As he held the *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, he caused a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the soul of *Amasis*, one of the antient kings of *Egypt*, had passed into that animal ^d. *Philostratus* endeavours to excuse, in the best manner he can, his hero for quarrelling with the philosopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the same writer, or another of the same name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved on that occasion as became philosophers ^e. However, notwithstanding the utmost efforts both of *Apollonius* and his panegyrist, to discredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after his death, generally esteemed the greatest philosopher of his time ^f. *Apollonius* himself, before their quarrel, spoke of him to *Vespasian* as a man of an unblemished character, not foreseeing, for all his pretence to a prophetic spirit, that he was soon to change his style, and inveigh against him as one of the most wicked of men ^g. *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, bestows mighty encomiums upon him ^h; and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epietetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philosopher, before he assumed the habit peculiar to that profession ⁱ. He died in the beginning of *Adrian's* reign, with whose permission he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poison ^k. He published some writings against *Apollonius*, which *Philostratus* promises to refute ^l. *Eunapius* seems to ascribe other works to him upon more noble subjects, by which he gained great reputation ^m. As no one could give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and consecrated a temple to him close to their city ⁿ. His images were set up in many temples; and the emperors, instead of checking,

Honours
paid him
after his
death.

^z Idem, l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c. 2. l. iv. c. 10. ^a Idem, l. viii. c. 7. ^b PHILOST. vit. sophist. p. 568. ^c LUCIAN. vit. Alex. ^d PHILOST. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15. ^e PHILOST. vit. soph. c. 7. p. 492. ^f EUSEB. in Hier. p. 464, 465. ^g Idem ibid. p. 463. ^h PLIN. l. i. epist. 10. ⁱ ARRIAN. Epict. l. iii. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8. ^k DIO. l. 69. p. 791. ^l PHILOST. l. i. c. 20. ^m EUNAP. in vit. sophist. præfat. ⁿ Idem ibid.

countenanced this superstition, by the honours which they themselves paid to the impostor. *Adrian* collected and lodged in the palace at *Antium* a great many of his letters ^o. *Antoninus Caracalla* honoured him with divine worship, and consecrated a temple to him ^p. The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of several princes, who had governed with equity and moderation ^q. *Vopiscus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs, and also heard of persons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelian* being resolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his soldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that design; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a statue ^r; but whether he performed his vow, *Vopiscus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, tho' he professed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even designed to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philostratus* had done in *Greek*, that his stupendous actions, says he, may be known to the whole world. But, notwithstanding the great esteem which several of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impostor and a magician ^s. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero ^t; but was therein attended with no better success than a late writer of no mean character; for, in spite of the utmost efforts of men, falsehood must in the end yield, and truth prevail. *Philostratus* has transmitted to us several letters written by *Apollonius*, most of them very short, with a long apology, which he had composed with a design to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing ^u, tho' a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Besides this apology and a great number of letters to persons of all ranks and conditions ^w, he wrote a treatise upon judicial astrology, comprised in four books ^x, and another upon sacrifices, wherein he pretended to shew with what kind of victims each deity was most pleased. The former treatise was not much esteemed: but the latter was received with general applause. It is once quoted by *Eusebius* ^y, and mentioned likewise by *Suidas* ^z. His theology out of which *Eusebius* quotes a passage ^a, and his treatise upon sacrifices are in all likelihood one and the same work.

His works.

^o PHILOST. l. viii. c. 13, 14. ^p DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 878. ^q LAMP. in vit. Veri, p. 123. ^r VOPISC. in vit. Aurel. ^s LACT. l. v. c. 3. ^t EUNAP. in præfat. ^u PHILOST. l. viii. c. 3. ^w Idem, l. iii. c. 13. ^x Idem, l. iv. c. 6. ^y EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. iv. c. 13. ^z SUID. p. 376. ^a EUSEB. demonstr. evang. l. iii. c. 3.

C H A P. XX.

From the death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars, to the death of Trajan, who brought the empire to its utmost grandeur and extent.

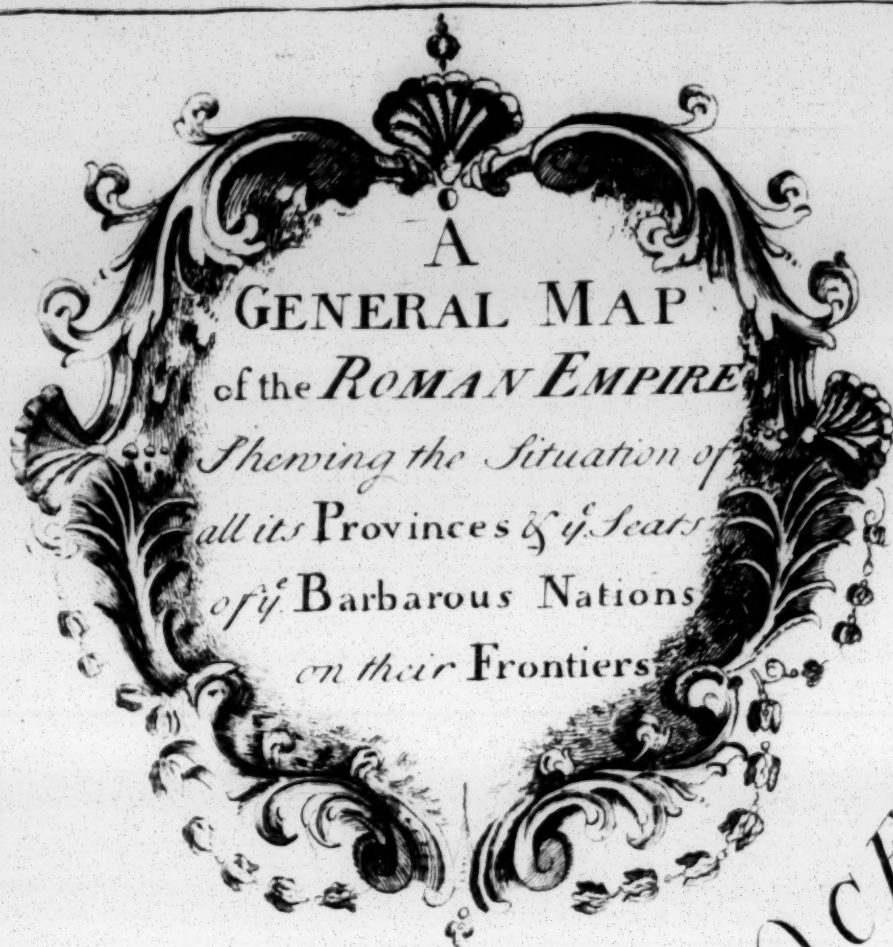
HAVING delivered in the foregoing volumes, pursuant to our plan, the history of *Rome*, from *Romulus* to the commonwealth, from the commonwealth to the empire, and continued it to the death of *Domitian*, the twelfth emperor, and the last of those princes, who are commonly styled the *twelve Cæsars*; we shall now proceed to the history of the other emperors, from the reign of *Domitian*, to the removal of the imperial seat to *Constantinople*, thence to the division of the empire, and from the division to the history of both empires; of the western, to the taking of *Rome* by *Odoacer*, when with *Augustulus* fell the very name of an empire in the west; of the eastern, to the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Latins*, to its recovery by the *Greeks*; and finally, to its utter destruction by the *Turks*, whose history, from the first notice we find of them to the present time, will follow, as in its proper place. These are the subjects which we design to pursue in the present volume, not doubting, but this will prove as useful and entertaining as any of the preceding volumes, notwithstanding the extraordinary success which they have met with both at home and abroad, and which we had not vanity enough to have promised ourselves in so difficult an undertaking. The foregoing chapter we closed with the death of *Domitian*, who was succeeded by *Nerva*, as was *Nerva* by *Trajan*. The reigns of these two excellent princes will supply us with matter for the present chapter.

M. Cocceius Nerva emperor.

His family.

THE death of *Domitian* was no sooner divulged, than the senate assembled, and with one voice declared *M. Cocceius Nerva* emperor. He was a native of *Narnia* in *Umbria*; but his family came originally from the island of *Crete*, so that he was neither by birth a *Roman*, nor descended from an *Italian* family. However, his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been honoured in *Rome* with the consular dignity. His grandfather, *M. Cocceius Nerva*, one of the most learned civilians in *Rome*, was consul in the eighth year of *Tiberius's* reign, and twenty-











SCYTHIA IN ASIA

NE SEA

OR

magene

Syria

Armenia

Syria

Mesopotamia

Babylonia

ARABIA the DESERT

THE RED SEA

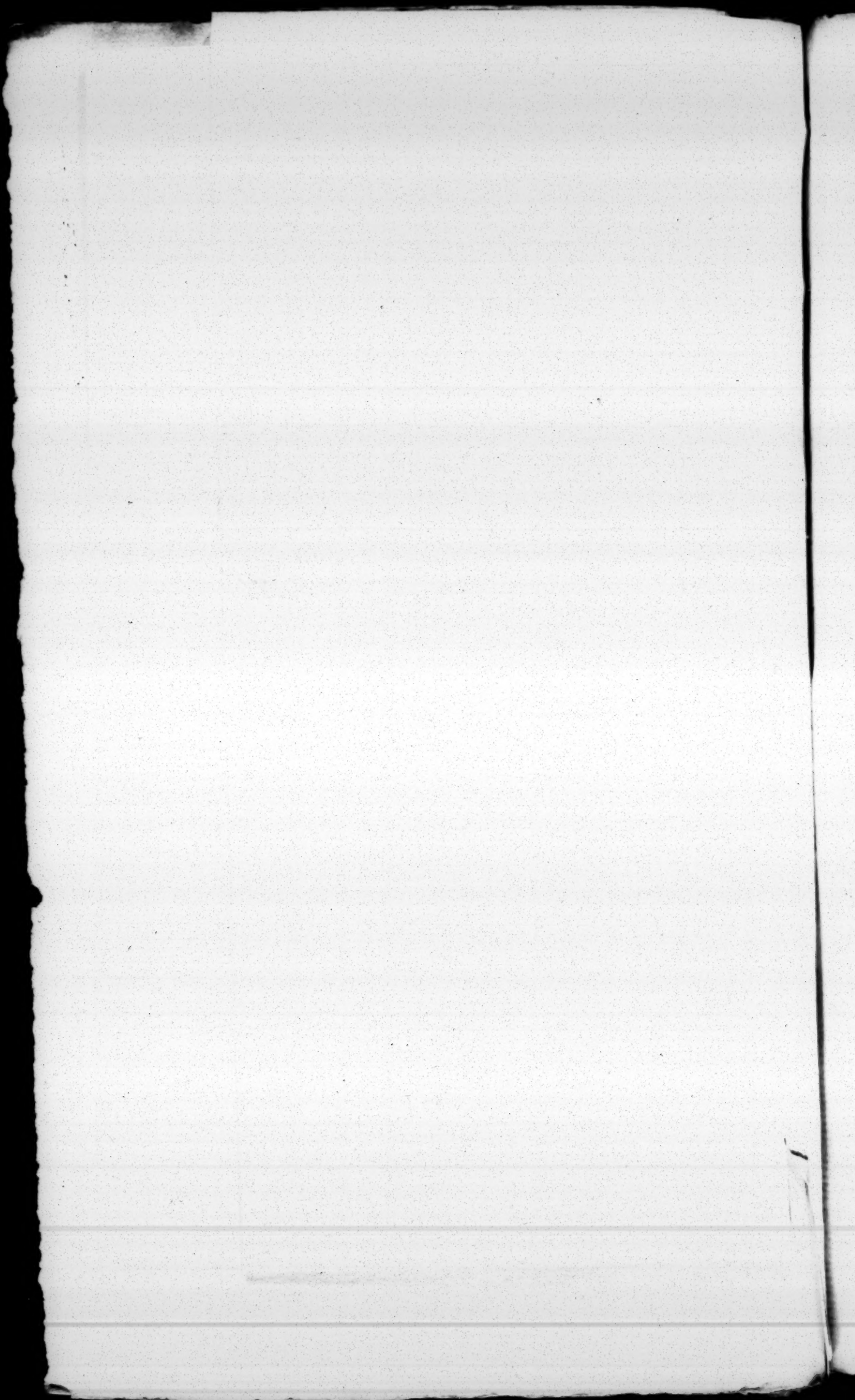
of Thebes

ARABIA FELIX

THE CASPIAN SEA

ORAL or SALT SEA

THE PERSIAN GULF



twenty-second of the christian æra, accompanied that prince in his retirement, and, affected with the sadness of the times, chose, when in perfect health, a voluntary death^a. His father, who bore the same name, was consul in the fourth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fortieth of the christian æra^b. His mother, by name *Plautilla*, was descended from an illustrious family, being the daughter of one *Lænas* a consular^c. The emperor was born, according to *Dion Cassius*^d, on the seventeenth of *March*, in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius's* reign and thirty-second of the christian æra, and was by *Nero*, in the twelfth year of his reign, honoured with the prætorship and a statue in the palace^e, having by his elegant poems (for he was one of the best poets of his time) gained the affection of that prince, who even inscribed to him some of his poetical pieces^f. *Pliny* speaks of his epigrams and commends them^g. He was consul with *Vespasian* in the year 71, and with *Domitian* in 90^h. He is commended by all the antients as a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, of great moderation and generosity, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people; and truly the happiness and welfare of those who lived under him were, during the short time he reigned, his only end and pursuit. He seems to have been naturally timorousⁱ; and some writers charge both him and *Trajan* with excessive drinking^k. *Apollonius Tyaneus* was the first, if *Philostratus* is to be credited, who solicited him to assume the sovereignty, or at least to deliver *Rome* from the tyranny of *Domitian*. *Nerva* hearkened to him; but his courage failed him, when the design was to be put in execution^l. *Apollonius*, however, did not scruple denying the whole to *Domitian*, assuring him, that *Nerva*, tho' equal to the greatest honours, was so far from procuring them by unlawful means, that he would not accept them, if offered, dreading nothing so much, on account of his infirmities and his love of retirement, as being any-ways concerned in the administration of public affairs^m. However, *Domitian*, either acquainted with *Nerva's* design, or giving credit to the astrologers, who advised him to beware of *Nerva*, since his nativity seemed to promise him the empire, confined him to *Tarentum* in the year 94; and would

^a TACIT. annal. iv. c. 8. AUR. VICT. epit. Eutrop. Dio. l. lxxvii. p. 767. FRONT. aquæduct. p. 110. ONUPH. in fast. p. 198.

^b ONUPH. ibid. ^c GRUTER. p. 246. ^d Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 771. ^e TACIT. annal. xv. c. 7. ^f MARTIAL. l. viii. epigr. 70. & l. ix. epigr. 27. ^g PLIN. l. iii. epist. 3. ^h FRONT. aquæd. p. 219. ⁱ AUR. VICT. in vi. Trajan. ^k Idem ibid.

^l PHILOST. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. vii. c. 3. ^m Idem ibid. c. 14 & l. viii. c. 3.

*Narrowly
escapes
death un-
der Do-
mitian.*

*Is acknow-
ledged em-
peror by
the senate
and fol-
diery.*

have put him to death, had not a more kind astrologer assured the emperor, that *Nerva*, who was of a weak constitution and subject to many infirmities, would die in a few days ⁿ. *Aurelius Victor* writes, that *Nerva*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, had retired to *Gaul*, and was there when he received the news of the tyrant's death, and his own assumption to the empire ^o. On the other hand, *Dion Cassius* takes no notice of his banishment; but supposes him to have been at *Rome* when *Domitian* was murdered: for he tells us, that *Parthenius* and the other conspirators offered the empire, before the assassination of *Domitian*, to several persons; who, looking upon such an offer as a snare laid for their destruction, declined it; but that at length *Nerva*, who daily expected to be sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor, was prompted, by his own fear, to accept the sovereign power, as the only means of preserving his life ^p. *Domitian* therefore being killed on the eighteenth of

September of the year 96, *Nerva* was the same day declared emperor by the senate, and, as such, acknowledged by the prætorian guards, notwithstanding their concern for the death of the late emperor, which they would have revenged, had they not been restrained by *Petronius Secundus*, one of their captains, and by *Parthenius*, *Domitian's* chief chamberlain ^q. *Nerva* had scarce assumed the sovereignty, when a false report was spread, that *Domitian* was still alive, and the news of his death only an artifice to discover the designs of such as he suspected: hence dread seized all, and the concourse about the new emperor dispersed in a moment. *Nerva* himself naturally wary and timorous, was struck speechless, betrayed great dismay in his countenance, and, fallen from the highest hopes, waited for present death, till *Parthenius* assured him, that the report was quite groundless. Hereupon recovering his former temper, he went first to the camp of the prætorian guards, and thence, after he had secured them by a promise of the usual donative, to the senate, where he was received with the greatest marks imaginable of esteem and affection. Many congratulatory speeches were made to him on this occasion; but that of *Arrius Antoninus*, grandfather to the emperor *T. Antoninus* by his mother, was of a different nature from the rest; for embracing the new emperor, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, "I am come, said he, with the rest, to congratulate the senate, the people of *Rome*, and the provinces of the empire, upon your advancement to this high post; but cannot pay the same compliment to you, who, after having, by your wisdom

ⁿ Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 769.

^o AUR. VICT. in epit.

^p Dio.

l. lxxvii. p. 767.

^q PLIN. panegy. Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 769.

“ and virtue, happily escaped the rage of so many wicked
 “ princes, plunge yourself into new dangers and troubles, be-
 “ ing exposed to the censure and hatred both of your friends
 “ and foes, especially of the former, who will not fail, if any
 “ of their suits are denied, to become your most implacable
 “ enemies^r”. *Nerva* now confirmed in the sovereignty both
 by the senate and soldiery, blended together two things, says
Tacitus^s, once thought irreconcilable; public liberty and sove-
 reign power: for under him the *Romans* enjoyed all the former, *The Ro-*
 and felt none of the evil effects of the latter^t. He imme- *mans hap-*
 diately delivered from their fears, and set at liberty, all those *py under*
 who had been, under the late emperor, arraigned of treason, *him.*
 and recalled such as had been banished under colour of the same
 crime^u, causing their lands and inheritances to be restored to
 them, without the least deduction. *Pliny* mentions many
 illustrious persons, who returned from banishment on this occa-
 sion^w; and a medal struck the following year, which has reached
 us, bears the following legend; *exules Romæ reddit*, that is,
the exiles restored to Rome^x. However, he would not suffer
Licinianus, who had been banished for debauching a vestal, to
 return to *Italy*; but gave him leave to pass the remainder of his
 life in *Sicily*^y. He enacted more severe laws against informers, *Punishes*
 than *Titus* had done, who abhorred that race of men; and *all infor-*
 caused all the slaves and freedmen to be put to death, who had *mers.*
 informed against their masters and patrons. Besides these, many
 other informers were publicly executed, and among them a
 philosopher, by name *Seras*. At the same time, he published
 an edict, forbidding, agreeable to the antient laws of *Rome*, a
 slave or freedman to appear against his master in any accusation
 whatsoever; and ordering, that no person should, for the fu-
 ture, be accused of violated majesty, or prosecuted for living *Abolishes*
 after the manner of the *Jews*^z, by which words *Dion*, with- *the law of*
 out all doubt, meant the *Christians*. He solemnly swore, that *majesty.*
 no senator should ever by his orders be put to death; and re-
 ligiously observed his oath, tho’ some of that body conspired
 against him, as we shall relate anon. All the goods and effects *Redresses*
 belonging to particulars, which he found in the palace, he *grievances.*
 ordered to be immediately restored to the proprietors; lessened
 the taxes; delivered the *Jews* from the cruelties and oppressions
 of the collectors of the public revenues; and, to the great sa-
 tisfaction of the *Romans*, annulled the law of *Augustus*, order-
 ing the twentieth part of each inheritance and legacy to be paid

^r AUR. VICT. in epit. ^s TACIT. vit. Agrip. c. 3. ^t PLIN.
 l. ix. epist. 13. ^u DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 769. ^w PLIN. l. iv.
 epist. 11. ^x BIRAG. numif. p. 144. ^y EUSEB. l. iii. c. 20.
^z DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 769.

His generosity towards the people.

His disinterestedness.

Some of his laws.

into the exchequer. He allowed no gold or silver statues to be erected to him, retrenched all superfluous expences, abolishing for that purpose divers sacrifices and public shows; and as he still wanted money wherewithal to relieve the necessitous citizens and reward his friends, he at last sold great part of the gold and silver plate, and rich furniture, both of his own house and of the imperial palace, with several houses and estates. In selling them, he was not difficult as to the price; but seemed overjoyed to have so favourable an opportunity of obliging many. He laid out a vast sum upon a purchase of land, to be divided amongst the poor of *Rome*, appointing some senators of known integrity, and amongst the rest one *Corellus*, highly esteemed by *Pliny*^a, to divide it amongst the most indigent^b. From several medals of this year it appears, that he twice divided considerable sums among the people, besides the lands, and moreover a large quantity of corn^c. The children of such as were poor, he caused to be brought up, in all the cities of *Italy*, at the public expence. He eased not only *Italy*, but all the provinces, of the heavy impositions with which they had been burdened by *Vespasian* and *Domitian*; and utterly abolished the tribute upon all carriages, which was generally looked upon as an insufferable grievance: hence the senate caused several medals to be struck, to perpetuate by that means the remembrance of so great a favour^d. Of the many instances of his disinterestedness, taken notice of by the antients, we shall only relate the following: *Atticus*, a citizen of *Athens*, father to the famous *Herodes Atticus*, of whom we shall speak in the reign of *T. Antoninus*, having discovered in his house a large treasure, wrote to *Nerva*, desiring to know how he should dispose of it. The emperor, who had no bias to avarice, answered, *Utere, Use it*; but *Atticus*, not thinking himself yet secure, wrote to him a second letter, acquainting him, that the treasure was too great for a private person, and that he was thence afraid to use it. To this the generous prince replied in two words, *Ergo abutere, Then abuse it*, signifying thereby, that the treasure was his without reserve, and that he might dispose of it as he thought fit^e. *Nerva* renewed the law of *Domitian*, forbidding the castration of children^f; and by one edict confirmed all the grants of that prince. He published a law forbidding any one to marry his niece, which was first allowed in the reign of *Claudius*^g; applied himself with great

^a PLIN. l. vii. epist. 31.

p. 199. Chron. Alexand.

p. 144.

l. lxxiii. p. 770.

^b DIO. ibid. p. 770.

^c BIRAG. numif. p. 143.

^e PHILOSTRAT. in vit. sophist. p. 546.

^g Idem ibid.

ZONAR.

^d Idem,

^f DIO.

care to the reformation of manners; was assiduous in the administration of justice; and, in short, behaved in such manner towards all, that he used to say, he believed he might resign the empire, and return with safety to a private life, not being conscious to himself of having done the least thing that could give any man just motive of offence*. He was perhaps too kind to such as were altogether unworthy of his favours; which gave occasion to some persons to complain of his lenity and indulgence. Having one day invited to his table, besides many other persons of distinction, *Junius Mauricus*, who had been banished by *Domitian*, and *Fabricius Veiento*, a consular, who, with his secret informations, had occasioned the ruin of many illustrious citizens in the preceding reign, one of the guests happened to mention *Catullus Messalinus*, a noted informer under *Domitian*, when the emperor, hearing him named, *What would Catullus do*, said he, *were he alive now?* *If he were alive now*, replied *Mauricus* with great freedom, *he would be at table with us*; which was a gentle reflection on the emperor's lenity and kindness to *Veiento* and others, whom he ought rather to have punished than caressed^h. As soon as, by the death of *Domitian* and assumption of *Nerva*, public liberty was restored, to use the expression of *Pliny*ⁱ, all who had suffered by false accusations flocked to the senate, demanding, that condign punishment might be forth with inflicted on such as had informed against them. The senate hearkened to their request, and punished some with death, others with banishment; but, not without great partiality, sparing those of their own body. Hereupon *Pliny* boldly undertook the accusation of *Publicus Certus*, who was not only of the senatorial order, but had been by *Domitian* named to the consulship with *Vestius Proculus*. The senate, having first attempted in vain to persuade *Pliny* to drop the prosecution, referred in the end the whole affair to the emperor, who contented himself with confirming the consulship to *Vestius*, and naming another to that dignity in the room of *Certus*, who died soon after of grief^k. *Nerva* did not think it adviseable to condemn him, as was then commonly believed, because he lived in great friendship with the governor of *Syria*, who was at the head of a powerful army; which gave no small umbrage to *Nerva*^l. Besides, in the heat of the first prosecutions, some persons, among the rest the philosopher *Seras*, had been punished with death as informers, and afterwards found innocent; which gave the good-natured emperor great uneasiness^m.

*His too
great lenity
and indul-
gence.*

* Idem ibid.

l. ix. epist. 13.

^m Dio. ibid.

^h VICT. epit. PLIN. l. iv. epist. 22.

^k Idem ibid. DIO. p. 769.

ⁱ PLIN.

^l PLIN. ibid.

Virginus
Rufus dies.

Calpurni-
us Crassus
conspires
against
Nerva.

Who par-
dons him.

The præ-
torian
guards
raise a tu-
mult.

ON the kalends of *January* *Nerva* entered upon his third consulship, which was the first after his accession to the empire, and chose for his colleague *L. Virginus Rufus*, to whom the soldiers had often offered the empire. As *Virginus* was rising, after he had assumed the fasces, to pronounce a speech in praise of the emperor, according to the custom which then obtained, he let a book drop out of his hand, and as he stooped to take it up, fell himself, and had the misfortune to break his leg; which, as he was then in the eighty-third year of his age, occasioned his death. He was, by the emperor's orders, buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and *Cornelius Tacitus*, the historian, whom *Nerva* named to the consulate in his room, pronounced his funeral orationⁿ. *Pliny* wrote another panegyric upon him, in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, acquainting him with the death of that illustrious citizen^o. This year, *Calpurnius Crassus*, descended from the antient and illustrious family of the *Crassi*, conspired with some others against *Nerva*; who, being immediately informed of their wicked designs, sent for them, and carrying them with him to the public theatre, placed them next to himself, and presented to them, as *Titus* had done on the like occasion, the swords of the gladiators, which were always brought to and viewed by the emperor^p. We are not told what effect this instance of generosity had upon the conspirators. All we know is, that *Crassus*, having owned his crime, was, with his wife, banished to *Tarentum*. The senate were for condemning both him and his accomplices to death: but the emperor, alledging the oath he had taken, not to spill the blood of any senator, checked their zeal. Whereupon *Fronto*, to whom *Nerva* had resigned the fasces, offended at the prince's unseasonable clemency, as he styled it, said boldly, that *it was a great misfortune to have a prince, under whom all things were criminal and forbidden; but a still greater to be governed by one, under whom all things were allowed*^q. The emperor was so far from resenting this freedom, that thenceforth he acted with somewhat more severity, taking for his counsellors such of the senators as were persons of great experience and known integrity, and dispatching, with their advice, all matters of consequence. The same year, the prætorian guards, headed by *Caspius Ælianus*, their commander, occasioned disturbances in the city, under colour of revenging the death of *Domitian*; flew to the palace, and there besieged *Nerva*, demanding with great boldness, that all those who had been any-ways concerned in the assassination of the

ⁿ PLIN. l. ii. epist. i. ^o Idem ibid. ^p DIO. p. 770.
VICT. ibid. ^q DIO. p. 769.

late emperor, might be forthwith delivered up to them, or publicly executed. *Nerva*, though naturally timorous, behaved on this occasion with incredible firmness; for, offering his bare neck to the incensed soldiery, he begged they would be satisfied with his life, and spare those, to whom he was indebted for the empire, and whom, on that account, he could not in honour abandon. But his resolution was to no effect; he was in the end constrained, as *Pliny* writes¹, to condemn those, whom he studied to preserve at the expence of his own life; for the soldiers, without being in the least awed or moved by him, cut in pieces *Petronius Secundus*, *Parthenius*, and the other conspirators, as we read in *Victor the younger*, or, as he is by some styled, *Victorinus*². Neither did the mutinous soldiery stop here, but obliged the emperor to return them public thanks before the people, for putting to death the worst and most wicked of men³. This insolence and boldness of the soldiery proved in the end very advantageous to the empire; for *Nerva*, finding himself despised on account of his infirmities and old age, resolved to name some person for his successor, who should be able, both to support him, and to govern with equity and moderation after his death. He was not without many relations and friends of his own; but as he had more at heart the welfare of the empire, than the grandeur of his family, he overlooked them, and chose *Ulpus Trajan*, the greatest and most deserving person of that age, for his successor, and at the same time adopted him in the capitol, declaring his adoption with a loud voice thus: *With my hearty wishes for the prosperity of the senate and people of Rome, and that what I do may prove fortunate to them and myself, I declare Marcus Ulpus Trajan my son*. He afterwards gave him the title of *Cæsar*, with that of *Germanicus*, which he himself seems to have assumed about this time, invested him with the tribunitial power, and even honoured him with the title of *emperor*; so that he created him not only his successor, but his partner in the empire: at the same time, he named him consul for the ensuing year⁴. The adoption of *Trajan*, which was received with great joy both by the senate and people, put a stop to the disorders committed by the soldiery, who immediately returned to their duty. As *Trajan* was then at the head of a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, *Nerva* sent him a diamond of great value, and wrote to him with his own hand, acquainting him with his preferment, and leaving to him the revenging of the affront put upon him by the prætorian guards and their commander. Some time after,

Nerva is obliged to comply with their unjust demands.

He adopts Ulpus Trajan.

¹ PLIN. panegyr. ² VICT. in epit. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ VICT. ibid. SID. car. vii. ver. 114. PLIN. panegyr. DIO. l. lxxix. p. 770.

Trajan sent for *Casperius* and those of his party, under colour of employing them in some expedition ; but, instead of making use of them, discharged them all with ignominy^w, or, as some write, put them to death. Towards the close of this year, *Nerva* took upon him the title of *imperator*, on account of a victory gained over the *Germans* in *Pannonia* ^x, of which we know not the particulars.

The death
of *Nerva*.

THE following year, he entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Ulpus Trajan*, now the second time consul, for his colleague ; but died soon after, according to some, on the twenty-first, according to others, on the twenty-seventh, of *January*. For having heated himself, in chiding with great acrimony the celebrated informer *Aquilius Regulus*, he was seized with a fever, which, as he was weak and stricken in years, soon put an end to his life, after he had reigned sixteen months and eight, or at most nine, days. He had lived, according to *Dion Cassius* ^{*}, sixty-five years, ten months, and as many days ; according to *Eutropius*, seventy-one ; and according to *St. Jerom*, seventy-three years^y. He died in the *Sallustian* gardens, whence his body was carried by the senate to the tomb of *Augustus* ^z.

Is ranked
amongst
the gods.

He was ranked amongst the gods, and *Trajan* out of gratitude caused several temples to be erected to him, both in *Rome* and the provinces ^a. He was, no doubt, a prince of great wisdom, generosity, and moderation ; but some of the provinces were more grievously oppressed in his reign than in that of *Domitian*, the governors, who dreaded *Domitian*, presuming upon the lenity and goodness of his successor, to enrich themselves at the expence of the unhappy people, committed to their care. These grievances *Nerva* would not have failed to redress, had he lived long enough to know them.

Trajan.

Trajan was a *Spaniard* both by birth and extraction, descended rather of an antient than an illustrious family, born in *Italica*, near *Seville*, now known, according to some, by the name of *Old Seville*, according to others, by that of *Alcala del Rio* ^b. His father, named also *Trajan*, had been honoured with the consulship, distinguished with triumphal ornaments, and raised, no doubt, by *Vespasian* to the rank of a patrician ^c. *Trajan*, commander of the tenth legion, who signalized himself at the taking of *Japha*, as we read in *Josephus* ^d, was, we conjecture, father to the present emperor, who was born, according to most writers, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Claudius*, and fifty-

His family,
ancestors,
and pre-
servments.

^w DIO. *ibid.*

^x PLIN. *panegyr.* BIRAG. *numism.* p. 145.

^{*} DIO. *ibid.*

^y EUSEB. *chron.*

^z VICR. *epit.*

^a PLIN.

panegyr. EUTROP. SID. *car. vii. ver. 113.*

^b Vide BAUDR.

p. 594.

^c PLIN. *pan.* EUTROP.

^d JOSEPH. *bell. Jud. c. 11*

second of the christian æra^c. He followed the profession of arms from his early youth, and served ten years in quality of tribune^f. He checked the pride of the *Parthians*, says his panegyrist, while he was yet very young, and defeated their measures with the bare fame of his name^g. But he then commanded, in all likelihood, under his father, to whom he gave, when emperor, the title of *Parthicus*, as appears from various medals^h. He was prætor in the year 86. and consul in 91. with *Acilius Glabrio*. Soon after his consulship, he withdrew to *Spain*, dreading the cruelty of *Domitian*, and there led a retired life, till he was by that prince recalled, and appointed governor of *Lower Germany*ⁱ; which must have been after the revolt and defeat of *Antoninus* in 88. for had he had any share in that victory, *Pliny* would have mentioned it in his panegyric. While he was governor of *Germany*, he performed nothing which his panegyrist thought worth mentioning, since he only says, that while he governed *Germany*, he gained the affections of the soldiery; but, notwithstanding their inviolable attachment, never entertained the least thought of revolting from the worst of princes, to whom he had sworn allegiance, and seizing, as he might, the empire for himself^k. He was still governor of *Germany*, when *Nerva* adopted him for his son, appointed him his successor, and took him for his partner in the empire, as we have related above. To this choice *Nerva* was directed by the extraordinary merit of *Trajan*, and a sincere desire of continuing to all the nations subject to the empire that happiness which they enjoyed in his reign. And truly *Trajan* possessed in an eminent degree all those qualities which form a great, an excellent, prince. He was, when preferred to the empire, in the forty-second, or, as some will have it, the forty-fifth, year of his age, and consequently neither subject to the vices of youth, rashness, and precipitation, nor to the weakness and indolence attending old age. His body was robust and inured to fatigue; his countenance comely and majestic; his stature regular and tall; and his behaviour extremely engaging^l. He was not himself a man of learning, having from his childhood been brought up in the camp; but favoured the learned, and encouraged in others what he himself wanted. As to military affairs, he was, without dispute, the best commander of his age, and equal to the greatest generals of antiquity. In every duty of war he was indefatigable; he marched always on foot at the head of the army, even after he was emperor, and

*Is adopted
by Nerva.*

*Trajan an
excellent
commander.*

^c EUTROP. GOLTZ. GRUTER. &c. ^f PLIN. pan. ^g Idem
ibid. ^h SPANH. l. vii. p. 851. ⁱ DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 765.
SPARTIAN. p. 1, 8. PLIN. pan. ^k Idem ibid. ^l PLIN. ibid.

His moderation, affability, generosity, and other virtues.

crossed immense countries without ever once mounting on horseback, or suffering himself to be carried, as other emperors had done, in a chariot or litter. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and general dress he little varied from a common soldier. Upon consultations and dispatches he bestowed nights and days. He never retired to his tent till he had visited the whole camp, and was always the first in the field when the usual exercises were to be performed. He was acquainted with all the old soldiers, called them by their names, remembered their exploits, and familiarly conversed with them; but at the same time knew how to keep them to their duty ^m. He was great in war, and equally great in peace. When he first assumed the sovereign power, he publicly professed, that he did not think himself in that high station more exempt from the observance of the laws, than the meanest of the populace; and accordingly took an oath to obey them, which he religiously observed; and thence *Pliny* says, that all the emperors before him had made the same professions, but their professions were not believed. What they had promised to be, *Trajan* was; for he possessed the place of a lawful prince, only to prevent the exercise of lawless power ⁿ. He delighted to see his people happy, and had nothing so much at heart as to make them so. To accomplish this, he cheerfully lessened his revenue, lessened his authority, and restrained his prerogative, where it seemed in the least to interfere with the interest and happiness of his people. He was aware, that over-bearing pride was not the means to win affection or esteem, and that condescension in a prince is not irreconcilable with his dignity, but rather a sure way to raise it: he therefore lived with his people rather like a father with his children, than a prince with his subjects ^o. He advanced none but the most virtuous and worthy; and such as were otherwise, he chose to reform and reclaim rather with gentleness and clemency, than with rigour and severity. On his taking upon him the empire, he declared in full senate, that no good man should ever be put to death by his orders, which he confirmed by a solemn oath, and religiously observed it. He suffered but few statues to be erected to him, checked such as offered to flatter him, and would not allow any extraordinary honours to be conferred upon him. His palace was constantly open to persons of all ranks, whom he received with extraordinary kindness, heard with great patience, and strove, as far as in him lay, to dismiss none from his presence dissatisfied; looking upon himself as raised to that high post, not for his own advantage, but

^m *PLIN.* *ibid.* *DIO.* l. lxxviii. p. 772. ⁿ *PLIN.* *ibid.* ^o *Idem* *ibid.* *DIO.* p. 773. *VICT.* in epit.

for that of others. To his other great qualities, he added that of veracity, acting in council, in public negotiations, and with private men, without those little artifices which wise men despise, and none but the apes of wise men practise. He would never suffer any one to be condemned upon suspicions, however strong and well-grounded, saying, it was better a thousand criminals should escape unpunished, than one innocent person be condemned ^p. When he appointed *Suburanus* captain of his guards, in presenting him, according to custom, with a drawn sword, the badge of his office, he used these memorable words; *Pro me; si merear, in me: Employ this sword for me; but turn it, if I deserve it, against me* ^q. He allowed none of his freedmen any share in the administration, telling them, that he, and not they, was invested with the sovereign power, and therefore warning them not to assume any authority inconsistent with their rank. Some persons having a suit with one of them, by name *Eurythmus*, and seeming to fear the imperial freedman, *Trajan* assured them, that the cause should be heard, discussed, and decided, according to the strictest laws of justice; adding, *For neither is he Polycletus, nor I Nero. Polycletus*, of whom we spoke in the reign of *Nero*, was that prince's favourite freedman. *Trajan* is said to have excelled even *Nerva* himself in generosity, and all the preceding princes in the largesses with which he relieved, not only the citizens of *Rome*, but the indigent people in all the provinces of the empire: whence he was by all nations looked upon as a common father, and as such loved and revered ^r. However, he was not without some faults: he was addicted to wine. This fault *Dion Cassius* owns, but adds, that he never drank to excess ^s. On the other hand, *Aurelius Victor* assures us, that he enjoined all his officers not to put in execution such orders as he should give at or after his banquets ^t; and *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate*, writes, that *Trajan* had a talent for eloquence, and would have applied himself with success to that study, had he not by immoderate drinking impaired his natural capacity ^u. *Pliny* extols his chastity ^w, but *Dion* owns, that he abandoned himself to the most infamous and unnatural practices ^x; and agrees therein both with *Spartian* ^y, and the emperor *Julian* ^z, who likewise charges him with laziness, for suffering *Sura* to write most of his letters ^a. He loved gay amusements and diversions; but from hence arose no neglect or

His faults.

^p PLIN. pan. VICT. epit. DIO. p. 771. ^q DIO. p. 778.
^r AUR. VICTOR. ^s DIO. & PLIN. ibid. ^t DIO. p. 772. ^u AUR.
VICT. in Trajan, p. 2. ^v JULIAN. CÆSAR. p. 39. ^w PLIN.
pan. p. 36. ^x DIO. ibid. ^y SPART. in Trajan. ^z JULIAN.
ibid. p. 12. ^a Idem, p. 38.

relaxation in his conducting public affairs. He was somewhat ambitious, and more desirous of extending the confines of the empire, than was consistent with justice. When he affirmed any thing for certain, he used to add; *So may I see Dacia reduced to a province, and pass the Euphrates and the Danube on bridges built by myself*^b. He suffered his name to be placed on the buildings which he had only repaired, as if they had been founded by him. Whence he was nick-named *parietarius*, which name is common to all plants growing on walls^c. How his lenity, mildness, and good-nature, so much cried up by all the antients, were consistent with his persecuting the christians, is what we cannot easily conceive. He suffered himself to be styled *lord*, as appears from *Pliny's* epistles to him; a title, which other good emperors, and *Augustus* himself, had constantly refused, and he seems at first to have declined^d. He likewise allowed sacrifices to be offered to his statues, and people to swear by his life and eternity, as most sacred things^e. We shall now pursue the history of his reign, according to the order of time.

Trajan commanded, as we have related above, a powerful army in *Lower Germany*, when he was adopted by *Nerva* and declared his successor, which happened about the latter end of the year 97. He declined at first accepting that high post, but was soon prevailed upon, by the officers of his own army, and the deputies dispatched to him from the armies in *Upper Germany* and in *Mæsia*, to yield, and assume the title of *Cæsar*. He did not seem in the least elated with his new dignity, chusing rather to be looked upon by his soldiers as their general, than their emperor^f. *Nerva* dying soon after, that is, on the twenty-first or twenty-seventh of *January* of the following year, tidings of his death were first brought to him by *Adrian* his cousin. Hereupon *Trajan*, who was then at *Cologne*, immediately assumed the title of *Augustus*, and was acknowledged as such by the armies in *Germany* and *Mæsia*, who with great joy swore allegiance to him^g. He had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to the senate, assuring them upon his oath, that no man of probity should ever by his orders be either put to death, or injured in his fortune^h. He did not immediately leave *Germany*, but continued there all this and part of the following year; for the time of his consulship was expired, as *Pliny* informs usⁱ, before he set out for *Rome*. All the *German* nations sent deputies to him, congratulating him upon his

He accepts
the title of
Cæsar,
and the
empire.

^b AMMIAN. l. xxiv.

p. 4, & 106.

^c PLIN. l. x. epist. 102, & 89.

^d Idem, l. x. epist. 53.

pan.

^e Idem, l. xxvii.

^f PLIN. l. x. epist. 102, & 89.

^g Idem, l. x. epist. 53.

^h DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 771.

ⁱ PLIN. pan.

^d PLIN. panegy.

^f PLIN. pan.

ⁱ PLIN.

accession to the empire; and the barbarians, who dwelt beyond the *Danube*, and used, during the winter, to pass that river on the ice, and commit great devastations on the Roman territories, hearing that *Trajan* was created emperor, refrained from all hostilities, not daring to provoke so great a commander, now at liberty to chastise them^k. *Tacitus* the historian, in his book of the customs of the Germans, marks the years to the second consulate of *Trajan*; whence some have concluded, that the said book was composed this year, *Trajan* being now consul the second time. He speaks there of the expulsion of the *Brueterians* by the *Chamavians* and *Angrivarians*, as a thing lately happened; and adds, that the gods vouchsafed to gratify the Romans with the sight of a battle fought by the barbarians, in which, says our historian, there fell above sixty thousand souls, without a blow struck by us; and, what is a circumstance still more glorious, they fell to furnish us with a spectacle of joy and recreation. May the gods, concludes *Tacitus*, perpetuate amongst these nations, if not love for us, yet by all means hatred towards each other, since they cannot more signally befriend us, than by sowing divisions amongst our foes^l! The *Brueterians*, who were thus expelled, and, as *Tacitus* writes, utterly extirpated, are thought to have inhabited the country about *Rees* and *Emmerick* in the dutchy of *Cleves*^m. However, the *Brueterians* were not utterly exterminated, as *Tacitus* seems to suppose; but being driven with great slaughter from their antient habitations, they settled in the present county of *Nassau*, where they gave the Romans no small trouble, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history. *Pliny* tells us, that *Trajan* caused a statue to be erected to *Vestricius Spurrinna* for having constrained the *Brueterians*, notwithstanding their fierceness and arrogance, to receive their kingⁿ, whom, it seems, they had driven out. But this must have happened before the battle and defeat mentioned by *Tacitus*.

THE next consuls were *Aulus Cornelius Palma* and *Caius Sossius Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* inscribed several of the lives he wrote, and some of his moral works. The senate had offered the consulate to *Trajan*; but he declining it, tho' all the emperors, ever since the time of *Claudius*, had assumed that dignity the year after their accession to the empire, *Palma* and *Senecio*, his two chief favourites, were appointed in his room^o. This year *Trajan* left Germany and set out for Rome: his march proved no ways burdensome to the provinces through which he passed, no man being injured either in his person or fortune, Rome.

^k Idem ibid. ^l TACIT. de Ger. c. 37. ^m BUCH. Belg. l. v. c. 1. ⁿ PLIN. l. ii. epist. 7. ^o PLIN. pan. p. 110—115.

How re-
ceived
there.

His wife
Pompeia
Plotina.

The title of
Optimus
decreed to
the empe-
ror.

by the emperor or his numerous attendance. He caused the expences of his march, and that of *Domitian* when he went into *Gaul*, to be computed and inserted in the public registers, that his successors might thence learn how to conduct themselves on the like occasion ^p. He entered *Rome* on foot, and was there received by persons of all ranks with the greatest demonstrations of joy imaginable, the people of *Rome* promising themselves complete happiness under so good and so great a prince. He tenderly embraced his old friends, who came to meet him, and would not be treated by them as their sovereign, but as a friend, assuring them, that such they should find him on all occasions. He went straight to the capitol, attended by the senate and the whole city, and thence to the palace ^q. His wife *Pompeia Plotina*, who accompanied him, turning to the people as she mounted the steps of the palace, *I hope*, said she, *to come out the same as I go in*: and truly, during the whole time of her husband's reign, her conduct was without reproach; nay, she acquainted the emperor with several disorders, occasioned by his too great indulgence; and by that means put a stop to them ^r. She is mightily cried up by *Pliny*, on account of her modest behaviour and extraordinary kindness to the emperor's sister ^s, by name *Marciana*, as appears from several antient inscriptions ^t. The senate offered to both the title of *Augusta*, which they declined; so long as *Trajan* refused that of *the father of his country*, which he seems to have accepted towards the end of this year, the second of his reign. *Plotina* proved always very favourable to *Adrian*; for, by her means and at her recommendation, he was adopted by *Trajan* ^u. In an inscription of the year 116, which was the nineteenth of *Trajan's* reign, *Marciana* is styled goddess; whence it is evident, that she was then dead ^w. From her the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia* took the name of *Marcianopolis*. She had a daughter, named *Matidies*, mother to another *Matidies*, and to *Julia Sabina*, the wife of the emperor *Adrian*. *Pliny* observes, that *Silius Italicus*, who had withdrawn into *Campania*, did not quit his retirement to come to *Rome*, and congratulate the emperor upon his arrival; which, says that writer, greatly redounded to the glory of both, of *Trajan* for granting him that liberty, of *Silius* for daring to demand it ^x. The senate decreed the emperor soon after his arrival the title of *Optimus*, which he willingly accepted, and seemed to value above all those

^p Idem ibid. p. 37. ^q Idem ibid. p. 38, 39. ^r DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 771. VICT. epit. vit. Constan. ^s PLIN. ibid. p. 150, 151. ^t BIRAG. numism. p. 165. ^u SPART. in vit. Adrian. ^w VELSARII monum. Augustina. lapide 35. ^x PLIN. l. iii. epil. 7.

which

which were afterwards conferred upon him on account of his victories^y. However, we do not find it in any inscription amongst his other titles, till the year 110, the thirteenth of his reign^z. This year he paid part of the donative, which he had promised according to custom, to the soldiery, and made large distributions both of money and corn amongst the *Roman* people, extending his generosity to such as were absent, and even to children, who had been hitherto excluded from any share in such largesses till eleven years old^a. By means of these largesses, which he frequently renewed, he is said to have supported *His largesses* near two million of souls^b. He did not confine the effects of his good-nature to *Rome* alone, but appointed very considerable sums to be paid yearly out of the exchequer for the maintenance of children, whom their indigent parents could not without great difficulty bring up and support. To this unbounded generosity allude, no doubt, several medals, struck this or the following year, which represent *Trajan* distributing corn to children with the following legend, *He nourishes Italy*^c. He took great care that *Rome* should be supplied with plenty of provisions, especially corn, which during the whole time of his reign, was sold at a very low rate: he exhibited several shows and a combat of gladiators, to satisfy the populace, fond of such diversions; but drove out of *Rome* the players, who had been banished by *Domitian*, but at the request of the people, recalled by *Nerva*. He published several laws against informers, and confined to the *Is an enemy to informers* island, such of that tribe as had been spared by *Nerva*, utterly abolishing the so much hated law of majesty. He repaired, at a vast charge, several old buildings, and enlarged the circus; but would not suffer the people to return him thanks for his public works; nay, he issued an edict, forbidding his name to be mentioned either in the circus or the theatre, which, till then, had resounded, says *Pliny*, with the praises of wicked princes*. All these things are related by *Pliny*, as happening in the second year of *Trajan's* reign, before the time appointed for the electing of consuls. The people had, it seems, recovered their ancient privilege of creating magistrates; for *Trajan*, whom the senate had pressed to accept a third consulship, appeared amongst the other candidates, begging like a private citizen the suffrages of the tribes^d. He chose for his colleague *Fronto*, according to some; *Frontinus*, according to others; for both *M. Julius Fronto* and *Sextus Julius Frontinus*,

^y Dio. p. 781. ^z Vide FABRETTI de column. Trajan. c. 9.

^a PLIN. pan. p. 44. BIRAG. p. 149. SPART. p. 16. ^b Vide SPART. not. Casaubon. p. 122. ^c OCCONIS numism. p. 202, 205.

* PLIN. pan. p. 74. & l. x. epist. 88. Dio. in excerpt. Val. p. 709. ^d PLIN. ibid. p. 120.

Binds him-
self by a so-
lemn oath
to observe
all the
laws.

Marius
Priscus
tried and
condemned.

The trial
of Classi-
cus.

who wrote a treatise on aqueducts, lived at this time. In the same assembly, *Pliny* and *Tertullus Cornutus* were appointed to succeed *Trajan* and *Fronto* or *Frontinus*, and others to succeed them; for at this time few consuls held that dignity above three months. In the beginning of the year, *Trajan* had no sooner assumed the fasces, than he ascended the rostra, and, in the presence of the people, bound himself by a solemn oath to observe the laws, declaring, that what was forbidden to private citizens was equally forbidden to good princes, who, as they are not above the laws, are no less bound than the meanest of the populace to conform to them: hence to the public vows, which were in the beginning of each year offered for the health and prosperity of the emperor, he added these conditions; *If he observes the laws; if he governs the republic as he ought; if he procures the happiness of his people* ^e. Before *Trajan* resigned the fasces, the cause of *Marius Priscus*, accused, by a city of *Africa* and by several particular persons, of extortion during his proconsulate, was heard by the emperor and senate. *Pliny* and *Tacitus* the historian pleaded for the *Africans*; and the trial lasted three days, the emperor hearkening the whole time with great attention to the reasons alledged on both sides, without ever betraying the least bias to either. In the end, *Priscus* was degraded from the rank of senator, and banished *Italy*: at the same time, *Hostilius Firminus*, his lieutenant and accomplice, was declared incapable of holding any employment in the empire ^f. This is, no doubt, the *Marius*, who, in spite of the angry gods, enjoyed, as we read in *Juvenal* ^g, even in exile, the immense wealth which he had accumulated by the most wicked means; while *Africa* bewailed, without redress, the losses it had sustained by his avarice: hence the poet calls his condemnation an empty judgment. The condemnation of *Marius Priscus* was followed by that of *Classicus*, proconsul of *Bætica*, or rather of his accomplices; for *Classicus*, finding himself accused of extortion by the whole province, laid violent hands on himself before the time appointed for his trial. However, the province pursued their action against his accomplices, who had shared in his rapines, and they were, by means of *Pliny*, who pleaded in behalf of the province, all condemned. The estate, which *Classicus* possessed before he was sent into *Spain*, was adjudged to his daughter; but the rest was distributed amongst those whom he had plundered during his administration: *Bæbius Probus* and *Fabius Hispanus*, the ministers

^e PLIN. *ibid.* p. 134.
l. vi. ep. 29. l. iii. ep. 9.
ver. 120.

^f PLIN. l. x. epist. 4. l. ii. ep. 11.
^g JUVENAL. *sat.* i. ver. 49. & *sat.* x.

of his rapines, were banished for five years, though they alledged in their defence, that they were obliged blindly to obey the orders of the proconsul. *Stillonius Priscus*, who had commanded a cohort under *Classicus*, was banished *Italy* for two years: the daughter of *Classicus* was likewise accused by the province; but *Pliny*, judging her innocent, declined pleading against her; whence the prosecution was dropped ^h. *Norbanus Licinianus*, who had been lieutenant to *Classicus*, but his declared enemy, was at the same time condemned for other crimes, not mentioned by historians, and confined to one of the islands in the *Archipelago* ⁱ.

FOR what we have hitherto related of *Trajan's* administration, we are chiefly indebted to *Pliny*, from whose panegyric on that prince we have copied it. *Pliny* pronounced his speech in the senate, when he entered upon his consulship, having composed it before at the request of the senators. After he had delivered it in full senate, he added, as he himself informs us, many things to it, that it might serve as a model for other princes. Before he published it, he rehearsed it before some of his friends, who for three days together heard him with great attention; which he ascribes, not to the elegance or beauties of his performance, but to their being persuaded, that the praises which he bestowed on *Trajan*, were a sincere encomium on that prince, and altogether free from flattery. *Pliny* himself assures us, that such passages in his discourse, as were the least studied, pleased most; which gave him no small satisfaction: for thence he began to entertain hopes of seeing the true taste revive, and the masculine eloquence of the antients again admired. He sent his discourse, which he styles a book, to one of his friends, begging him to mark what he disliked in it, that he might by that means be sure he approved of the rest ^k. About this time, *Largius Macedo*, who, for his extraordinary parts, had been raised from a very mean condition (for he was the son of a freedman) to the prætorian dignity, was inhumanly murdered by his slaves, whom, forgetful of his origin, he treated with the utmost severity. They fell upon him while he was bathing at one of his country-houses, and left him for dead; but he afterwards returned to himself, and lived a few days, during which he had the satisfaction of seeing all those crucified, who had been any-ways concerned in the attempt ^l. Towards the end of this year, *Julia Sabina*, granddaughter to *Marciana* the emperor's sister, was married to *Adrian*, the son of *Ælius Adrian Afer*, cousin to *Trajan*. This match, which in the end proved un-

*Pliny pro-
nounces his
panegyric
in the se-
nate.*

*Largius
Macedo
murdered
by his
slaves.*

*Adrian
marries
Julia Sa-
bina.*

^h PLIN. l. iii. epist. 4, & 9. ⁱ Idem, l. iii. epist. 9. ^k Idem.
iii. epist. 13, 18. ^l Idem ibid. epist. 14.

happy to both, was concluded by the empress *Plotina*, who had a particular kindness for *Adrian*, the emperor himself rather consenting to it, than approving it ^m.

Trajan's
first war
with the
Dacians.

THE following year, *Trajan*, at the earnest request of the senate, entered upon his fourth consulship, having for his colleague, according to someⁿ, *Sextus Articulcius Pætus*, according to others^o, *P. Orfitus*. The same year, *Babius Macer*, *Cæpio Hispo*, *Valerius Paulinus*, and *Caius Cæcilius Strabo*, were honoured with the consular dignity^p. *Adrian* was this year quæstor, and charged with the care of the registers of the senate^q; which employment he soon resigned, to attend the emperor in the war he undertook against the *Dacians*. *Decebalus*, king of the *Dacians*, obliged *Domitian*, as we have related in the foregoing chapter, to purchase a peace with a large sum; which he engaged to pay yearly to *Decebalus*. To this tribute *Trajan* would not submit, alledging, that he had not been conquered by *Decebalus*. Besides, the *Dacians* grew daily more formidable, and their king maintained a good understanding with *Pacorus* king of the *Parthians*, whom *Decebalus* had presented with one *Callidromus*, who had been made prisoner in *Mæsia* by *Suzagues*, one of his lieutenants, during the war with *Domitian*. The good understanding between these two powers gave *Trajan* no small jealousy. Whereupon the *Dacians* having passed the *Danube*, and committed some hostilities in the *Roman* territories, he was glad of that pretence to make war upon them, and humble an enemy, whose power he began to fear. Having therefore drawn together a mighty army, he marched with incredible expedition to the banks of the *Danube*, passed that river without opposition, *Decebalus* not being apprised of his arrival, and entered *Dacia*, committing everywhere dreadful devastations. *Decebalus*, however, was not in the least dismayed; he armed all the youth of the country, and boldly advanced to meet the *Romans*, pitching his camp at a small distance from their intrenchments. *Trajan* immediately drew out his men, in order to offer the enemy battle. As he advanced to the place where they lay, a large mushroom was found, and brought to him, with the following words in *Latin* cut upon it, *Your allies, especially the Burrhi, advise you to conclude a peace with the Dacians, and to retire*. *Trajan*, despising that advice, continued advancing in order of battle, till he discovered *Decebalus* at the head of a powerful army, coming full march to meet him. He then halted to encourage his men, which he did in a few words, and then ordered the trumpets to

^m SPART. in *Adrian*. ⁿ IDAT. in fast. ^o ONUPH. in fast.

^p PLIN. l. iv. epist. 3, 12, 17. ^q SPART. in *Adrian*.

found the charge. All we know of this action is, that great numbers of the enemy fell, and that the *Romans* gained the victory; which, however, cost them dear, the wounded on their side being so numerous, that they wanted linen to bind up their wounds; whereupon *Trajan* tore his own robes to supply that want. Such as fell in the battle he caused to be interred with great solemnity, and ordered an altar to be built on the spot, and sacrifices to be yearly offered in honour of the deceased. *Trajan*, pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed the enemy close; and, without giving them time to levy new forces, harrassed them without intermission to such a degree, that *Decebalus*, reduced almost to despair, sent some of the chief lords of his court with proposals of peace. *Trajan* appointed *Licinius Sura* and *Claudius Libianus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to treat with them; but the deputies not agreeing, *Trajan* continued his ravages, advancing from one hill to another, not without great danger, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Zarmisogethusa*, the metropolis of *Dacia*. On the other side, *Maximus*, one of the *Roman* generals, made himself master of several strong-holds in one of which he took the sister of *Decebalus* prisoner, and recovered a *Roman* standard, which had been lost when *Fuscus* was defeated and killed in the reign of *Domitian*. At length *Decebalus*, no longer able to withstand the *Romans*, and dreading the destruction of his capital, which would be attended with the loss of his whole kingdom, dispatched anew ambassadors to *Trajan*, offering to accept such conditions as he should think fit to impose. Accordingly *Trajan* granted him a peace upon the following terms: 1. That he should surrender the territories which he had unjustly taken from the neighbouring nations. 2. That he should deliver up his arms, his warlike engines, and the artificers who made them, with all the *Roman* deserters. 3. That, for the future, he should entertain no deserters, nor take into his service the natives of any country subject to *Rome*. 4. That he should dismantle all his fortresses, castles, and strong-holds. And, lastly, That he should have the same friends and foes with the people of *Rome*. With these articles *Decebalus* complied, tho' much against his will; and, having sworn to observe them, he was introduced to *Trajan*, before whom he threw himself on the ground, acknowledging himself his vassal. *Trajan* commanded him to send deputies to the senate for the ratification of the peace; which he did accordingly. The war being thus ended, *Trajan*, having placed garisons in most of the cities of *Dacia*, returned to *Rome*; which he entered in triumph, either in the

*The Daci-
ans defeat-
ed.*

*Trajan's
humanity
to the
wounded.*

*Decebalus
king of the
Dacians
sues for
peace.*

*Which is
granted
him upon
hard terms.*

Trajan the
first who
triumphed
over the
Dacians.

end of this, or the beginning of the following year, and took the surname of *Dacicus*, being the first *Roman* who had ever triumphed over that nation^s. His triumph was followed by a combat of gladiators and the diversions of the stage, in which one *Pylades* gained the applause of the people, and the emperor's favour. *Trajan* had but two years before driven all the players out of *Rome*; but, as he took great pleasure in such entertainments, he recalled them on this occasion, though he did not abandon himself to these amusements in such manner as to neglect the dispatch of business; for he discharged with great care and application all the duties of a prince, was assiduous in the administration of justice, and assisted in person at all the causes of any importance, that were pleaded either in the senate or the forum^t. This year *Julius Bassus*, who had been accused under *Trajan*, and, after a long trial, declared innocent, was again accused of extortion by the *Bithynians*; for he had been by *Nerva* appointed proconsul of *Bithynia*. *Pliny*, who pleaded in his behalf, owns, that he failed rather through imprudence than avarice, in accepting some presents, which was, by some late laws, forbidden to all governors of provinces, under severe penalties. However, *Pliny* prevailed upon the senate, inclined to condemn him as guilty of extortion, to be satisfied with obliging him to restore the value of the presents to those, of whom he had imprudently accepted them^u.

Licinius
Sura the
emperor's
chief fa-
vourite.

THE following year, one *Suranus*, of whom we find no farther mention in history, and *L. Licinius Sura*, or, as some style him, *Suras*, were chosen consuls. *Sura* was *Trajan's* chief favourite, and had employed all his interest with *Nerva* in his behalf; whence to him chiefly, after *Nerva*, *Trajan* acknowledged himself indebted for his adoption and preferment^w. He was, as *Gruter* conjectures from several antient inscriptions^x, a native of *Spain*, born either in *Tarragon* or *Barcelona*, extremely rich, and thence envied by many even of *Trajan's* friends, who by false insinuations, strove to estrange the prince's mind from him, as if he harboured evil designs. But *Trajan*, who reposed an intire confidence in him, instead of hearkening to his enemies, went one night to sup with him, without being invited; and, dismissing his guards, ordered *Sura's* Surgeon to apply a remedy to his eyes; trusting himself to his barber, who shaved him; then bathed, and supped with *Sura*, without ever betraying the

^s DIO. p. 710. SPART. in Adrian. GOLTZ. p. 646. EUSEB. in chron. p. 341. ^t DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 774. ^u PLIN. l. iv. epist. 9. l. vi. epist. 29. & l. x. epist. 14. ^w VICT. in epic. ^x GRUTER. p. 249.

least diffidence or fear. The next morning, he told those about him, who were always suggesting something against *Sura*, If he entertained any evil designs against me, he would have put them in execution last night ^y. *Sura* was still alive in the year 109, the twelfth of *Trajan's* reign, when *Adrian*, whom he had always favoured, was consul; but died soon after, having assured *Adrian* before he died, that *Trajan* would in the end adopt him ^z. *Trajan* caused his funerals to be performed with the utmost magnificence, erected a statue to him, and called certain splendid baths, which he built, after his name. This year *Trajan*, at the request of the senate, and at the motion of *Nigrinus*, tribune of the people, published an edict, subjecting such pleaders as received fees from their clients, to the penalties of the law against extortion; and *Licinius Nepos*, prætor, upon his taking possession of that office, procured a decree from the senate, commanding the parties, before their cause began to be tried, to swear, that they had neither given nor promised any fee, present, or reward, to those who were to plead in their behalf. *Pliny* takes notice of this law, and declares, that he was pleased to see that forbidden to others, which he had never practised himself ^a. Towards the end of the year, *Trajan* assumed twice the title of emperor ^b, for victories which were gained by some of his lieutenants (for he himself continued the whole year at *Rome*), but are not mentioned by any historian.

Pleaders forbidden to receive fees.

THE next consuls were *Trajan*, the fifth time, and *Lucius Appius Maximus*, who had signalized himself in the *Dacian* war. This year *Trajan* began, and finished two years after, a magnificent and convenient harbour at *Centumcellæ*, now *Civitavecchia*, which he called after his own name, *The harbour of Trajan* ^c. It is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and described by *Rutilius* in his poem ^d. *Pliny* was this year sent to govern *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, not in quality of proconsul, as others had been, but of lieutenant and proprætor, with consular authority; that is, he was not appointed governor of that province by the senate, but by the emperor, tho' the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* belonged to the senate. As there were many abuses in that province to reform, the emperor sent *Pliny* thither with an extraordinary authority as his lieutenant; but afterwards allowed the senate to appoint the governors as formerly, *Adrian* being the first who took the province of *Pontus* and *Bithynia* from the senate, and gave them *Pamphilia* in the room of it ^e.

The port of Centumcellæ.

Pliny appointed governor of Pontus and Bithynia.

^y DIO. *ibid.* p. 777. ^z SPART. in *Adrian.* ^a PLIN. l. v. epist. 14. ^b GOLIZ. p. 64. ^c PLIN. l. vi. epist. 31. OCCO. numism. p. 212. ^d RUTIL. p. 132. ^e DIO. in excerpt. Valefii. p. 714.

Pliny was particularly commissioned to examine the revenues and expences of the cities within his jurisdiction, and to retrench all unnecessary charges^f; but the emperor would not impower him to recall such as had been banished by other governors^g, nor even those whom he himself should think fit to banish^h. *Pliny* wrote an account of his journey to the emperor, whence it appears, that he arrived in *Bitthynia* on the seventeenth of September, and *Servilius Pudens* his lieutenant on the twenty-fourth of Novemberⁱ.

Decebalus
violates
the articles
of the
treaty.

His treachery.

The following year, *L. Licinius Sura* and *M. Marcellus* being consuls, *Sauromates*, king of *Bosporus*, sent a solemn embassy to *Trajan*, and entered into an alliance with him and the Roman people^k. Soon after, *Decebalus* king of the *Dacians*, not able to live in subjection and servitude (for so he called the peace which *Trajan* had granted him), began, contrary to the late treaty, to raise men, provide arms, entertain deserters, fortify his castles, and invite the neighbouring nations to join him against the *Romans* as a common enemy. The *Scythians* hearkened to his solicitations; but the *Iazyges* refusing to bear arms against *Rome*, he invaded their country, and seized that part of it which bordered on the *Danube*. Hereupon *Decebalus* was by the senate declared an enemy; and *Trajan*, not caring to commit the management of the war to another, marched against him in person. *Decebalus*, not finding himself in a condition to withstand him by open force, had recourse to deceit and treachery, sending assassins, under the name of deserters, to murder him; but one of these, being apprehended upon suspicion and put to the torture, discovered the whole plot, and named his accomplices, who were immediately seized and executed. *Decebalus*, failing in this attempt, invited *Longinus*, one of *Trajan's* favourites and chief commanders, to a conference, as if he designed to put an end to the war, by submitting to the articles of the former treaty, with some small alteration. *Longinus*, not suspecting any treachery, complied with the invitation. But *Decebalus* immediately seized him; and after having attempted in vain to make him discover the designs of the emperor, he wrote to *Trajan*, offering to set *Longinus* at liberty, upon condition that he would grant him an honourable peace, restore the country bordering on the *Danube*, and defray all the charges of the war; adding, that if these conditions were not complied with, he would instantly put *Longinus* to death. *Trajan* returned him a judicious answer, neither seem-

^f *PLIN* I. x. epist. 19.

ibid. epist. 57.

^g *Idem* ibid. epist. 44.

^h *Idem* ibid. epist. 17, 18, 26, 34.

ⁱ *Idem* ibid. epist. 17, 18, 26, 34.

^k *Idem* ibid. epist. 68, 69, 73, 74.

^h *Idem*

^k *Idem*.

ing to undervalue the life of his favourite, nor yet make such account of it, as to purchase it at too high a rate. But while *Decebalus* was deliberating with himself, and in suspense about the measures he should pursue, *Longinus*, by a dose of poison, which was privately conveyed to him by a freedman, put an end to his life. *Decebalus* immediately dispatched to *Trajan* a centurion taken with *Longinus*, offering him the body of the deceased general, with ten captives, provided he would deliver up the freedman, whom *Longinus* had sent, before he took the poison, to the emperor, under colour of negotiating a treaty: but *Trajan* would neither hearken to the proposal, nor even suffer the centurion to return. In the mean time, *Trajan*, that his troops might with more ease pass the *Danube*, built a bridge over that spacious river, which, by the antients, is styled the most magnificent and wonderful of all his works, and the most stately fabric of that nature in the universe. It was all of square stone, and contained twenty arches, each of them one hundred and fifty feet above the foundation, and sixty feet in breadth, all distant from each other one hundred and seventy feet. It was built where the river was narrowest, and consequently where the stream was strongest and most rapid; which renders the fabric still more stupendous and amazing, on account of the almost unsurmountable difficulties they must have met with in laying so large a foundation^l. The architect employed on this occasion was one *Apollodorus* of *Damascus*, who, it seems, left a description of this great work^m. *Trajan* ordered two castles to be built to guard the bridge, one on the *Roman*, the other on the *Dacian* side, of the river. *Pliny* mentions this bridge in the short account he gives us of the *Dacian* warⁿ; and several medals representing it have reached our times^o. It was built in the *Upper Mæsia*, which, in the time of *Aurelian*, began to be called *Dacia*^p. We are told, that some remains of it are still to be seen near *Zeuerin* in *Lower Hungary*^q. *Trajan* built it, that the *Roman* forces might with ease and readiness pass the *Danube*, and fall upon the barbarians in their own country; but *Adrian*, fearing the barbarians might make use of it to invade the *Roman* territories, broke down the arches, but the piers were still standing in *Dion Cassius's* time; that is, one hundred and twenty years after, tho' they served then only to shew, says that writer, the utmost extent of human power^r. When they were by time intirely demolished, the river was so

*Trajan
builds a
bridge
over the
Danube.*

^l DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 776. ^m PROCOP. de ædificiis Justin. l. iv. c. 6. ⁿ PLIN. l. viii. c. 4. ^o OCCO. p. 204. BARON. annal. ad ann. 105. ^p FABRETTI. de colum. Trajan. c. 301. ^q OCCO. p. 204. ^r DIO. ibid.

choaked with the ruins, that it was not navigable till turned into another chanel *. This stupendous fabric was begun and ended this summer; but *Trajan*, not thinking it adviseable to enter *Dacia* upon the approach of winter, contented himself with making the necessary preparations for vigorously attacking the enemy early in the spring.

Trajan
marches
against the
Dacians.

Exposes
himself to
great
dangers.

In the mean time, the following consuls were chosen at *Rome*, *Tiberius Julius Candidus* and *Aulus Julius Quadratus*, both the second time. This year, the eighth of *Trajan's* reign, a dreadful earthquake overturned in *Asia* the cities of *Elea*, *Myrine*, *Pitame*, and *Cumæ*; and in *Greece* the cities of *Opus* and *Oritæ* †. *Adrian* discharged for some time the office of tribune of the people, and then went to attend *Trajan* in the war against the *Dacians*. The emperor, early in the spring, passed the *Danube* on the bridge he had built, and entering the enemy's country, pursued the war with more prudence than expedition, not caring to expose his men to unnecessary dangers ‡. He often incamped, says *Pliny* §, on steep and barren mountains; was obliged to divert rivers into new chanel, and to attempt and perform things, which, were they not well attested, would seem altogether fabulous. He gave many signal instances of his personal courage, and the soldiers, animated by his example, chearfully underwent all the hardships of a laborious warfare ¶. Among the rest, one of his horsemen being wounded in an engagement, and carried to the camp to have his wound dressed, when he there understood, that his life was despaired of and the wound incurable, he returned to the combat before his spirits failed him, performed great feats, and expired fighting with incredible bravery †. Several inscriptions are still to be met with, mentioning persons whom *Trajan* rewarded on account of their gallant conduct in the war with the *Dacians* *. In this war *Adrian* commanded a legion, and, in the many battles that were fought, distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; whence the emperor, highly pleased with his gallant behaviour, presented him with the diamond which *Nerva* had sent him, as we have related above, when he adopted and named him his successor. This present *Adrian* looked upon as a pledge of his future adoption †. Some inscriptions have reached our times, in which *Dacia* is said to have been added to the empire by the courage and valour of *Adrian* ‡. At length *Trajan* made himself master of the capital of *Dacia*, and almost of the

* PROCOPIUS. *ibid.* † EUSEBIUS. *chron.* ‡ DIO. *ibid.* § PLIN. l. viii. *epist.* 9. ¶ DIO. p. 776. † Idem p. 777. * FABR. *colum. Trajan.* c. 8. p. 238, 241. † SPART. in *Adrian.* DIO. lxi. p. 787. ‡ FABR. *ibid.* p. 242.

whole country; infomuch, that *Decebalus*, seeing himself stripped of his dominions, and dreading to fall into the hands of the conqueror, chose rather to put an end to his life, than to live in subjection, or acknowledge himself overcome. His head was immediately brought to *Trajan*, and by him sent to *Rome*. He had concealed his treasures in a deep pit, which he caused to be dug in the bed of the river *Sargetia*, now *Istria*, having for that purpose turned the stream into another chanel, and afterwards brought it to its former course. As for his rich moveables, he secured them in deep caves, which he caused to be dug by captives, whom he immediately after put to death, that they might not discover the secret; but *Bacilis*, one of his chief favourites and confidants, being taken in this war, discovered the whole to *Trajan*, who seized both the treasure and precious moveables of the deceased prince^c. We are told, that notwithstanding this discovery, great riches were found in those places many ages after, which had escaped *Trajan*^d. The famous column of *Trajan*, of which we shall speak anon, is thought to have been raised for a lasting monument of the victories, gained by that prince over the *Dacians* and their king; at least many of the remarkable events of this war are expressed, as *Ciacconius* and *Fabretti* inform us, in the basso-relievo of that pillar^e. *Dacia* being thus intirely subdued, *Trajan* reduced it to a *Roman* province, which was, according to *Eutropius*^f, a thousand miles in compass. The *Romans* held it, as *Festus Rufus* informs us^g, to the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*; during which time it was governed by a *Roman* magistrate, with the title of proprætor, as appears from some antient inscriptions^h. *Trajan* built several castles in the country, and placed garisons in them, to keep the inhabitants in awe. He likewise planted a great number of colonies, distributing lands among the poor citizens of *Rome*, and of the other towns of *Italy*, who were willing to settle in *Dacia*. The *Hungarian* writers mention several cities in their country, which were on this occasion built or peopled by the *Romans*: but the most celebrated of all was *Zarmisogethusa*, which in several antient inscriptions, is styled *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacia Sarmiz*. It was established by *M. Scaurianus* proprætor of *Dacia*, and continued subject to the *Romans* at least to the death of the emperor *Severus*ⁱ. At present it is but a poor village in *Transylvania*, known by the name of *Gradisch*^k. In *Mæsia* and *Thrace* several cities borrowed their name from *Trajan*; for we find the city of *Trajanopolis* in *Thrace* mentioned by the antients;

Makes himself master of the capital of Dacia, which is reduced to a Roman province.

Many colonies planted in Dacia.

^c DIO. *ibid.* ^d FABR. *ibid.* ^e Idem *ibid.* ^f EUTROP. p. 236. ^g RUF. p. 550. ^h GRUTER. p. 354. ⁱ Idem, p. 63. DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 1040. ^k BAUDR. p. 348.

Trajan's
second tri-
umph over
the Da-
cians.

Arabia Pe-
træa in-
tirely re-
duced.

that of *Ulpia* in *Upper Mæsia*, now *Servia*; the cities of *Plotinipolis*, which, no doubt, was so called from *Platina* Trajan's wife, and *Marcianopolis*, the capital of *Lower Mæsia*, which took its name from *Marciana*, the emperor's sister, and was, according to *Jornandes*, built by Trajan¹. The same writer adds, that upon the banks of the river *Iater*, or *Iatrus*, he founded another city, which he called *Nicopolis*, or the city of victory, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Sarmatians*, or rather *Dacians*; for *Jornandes* frequently confounds these two nations^m. This city is by *Ammianus Marcellinus* called sometimes *Nicopolis*, sometimes *Ulpia*, and placed, not on the *Iatrus*, but on the *Nessus* or *Nestus*; and truly, from several inscriptions produced by the learned *Holstenius*ⁿ, it appears to have stood near the conflux of the *Nessus* and the *Danube*. We must not confound, as some writers have done, *Nicopolis* in *Dacia* with another of the same name upon mount *Hæmus* in *Thrace*. Trajan, upon his return to *Rome*, triumphed over the *Dacians* a second time; caused several medals to be coined in memory of his victories, many of which are still to be seen^o; entertained the people with public banquets; with shows, in which ten thousand gladiators entered the lists; with combats of wild beasts, of which above ten thousand were killed, and all kinds of diversions, which lasted one hundred and twenty-three days^p. *Canius*, at the request of *Pliny*, described this war in verse^q; and Trajan himself is said to have written an account of it in several books^r. This war broke out in the beginning of the preceding year, but was not ended till the latter end of this; for we are told, that he took, for the fifth time, the title of *imperator*, about the latter end of the ninth year of his tribunitial power, which was the eighth of his reign^s. The same year is remarkable for the intire reduction of *Arabia Petræa* by *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, after it had been long governed by its own kings^t. The inhabitants of *Petra* and *Bostra* reckon their time from this year, in which their country was first annexed to the *Roman* empire^u. Trajan reduced, together with the *Dacians*, several nations in alliance with them; so that the fame of his conquests reaching the most distant countries, and even *India*, ambassadors were sent from thence to congratulate him upon the success which had attended his arms^w.

¹ JORN. de reb. Goth. c. 16. ^m Idem ibid. c. 18. ⁿ HOLST. ad Steph. p. 225. ^o OCCO. p. 201. ^p DIO. ibid. p. 777.

^q PLIN. l. viii. ep. 14. ^r VOSS. hist. Lat. c. 30. ^s Vide NORIS. epist. consul. p. 47, 48. ^t DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 777.

^u EUSEB. in chron. p. 200. ^w DIO. ibid.

THE next consuls were *Cerealis* and *L. Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the father of *L. Ælius Verus*, as is commonly supposed, who was by *Adrian* created *Cæsar* ^x. During their administration, the capitoline sports, established by *Domitian*, were exhibited the sixth time, when the prize in poetry was won by a child thirteen years old, named *L. Valerius Pudens* ^y. This year *Trajan* made, at a vast charge, a road through the *Palus Pontina*, or *Pontine Marshes*, whereof the remains are still to be seen ^z; and this, no doubt, is the *Via Trajana*, or *Trajan's Highway*, mentioned in several antient inscriptions produced by *Occo* ^a and *Gruter* ^b. *Dion Cassius* adds, that he ordered all the diminished coin to be melted down, and mentions several magnificent buildings, with which he embellished *Rome*: but of these we shall speak hereafter; for *Trajan* must have only begun them this year, since he left *Rome* in the month of *October*, and was at *Antioch* in the very beginning of the ensuing year ^c. However, before he set out for the east, a conspiracy was formed against him by *Crassus*, and several other persons of the first quality; but seasonably discovered. The conspirators were tried, not by him (for he declined being judge, and at the same time a party), but by the senate, who, it seems, condemned them to banishment; for, upon the emperor's death, one *Crassus Frugi* endeavoured to make his escape from an island, to which he is said to have been confined for aspiring at the empire; but was killed by one of *Adrian's* officers, without the emperor's knowledge, as if he had attempted his escape with a design to raise new disturbances ^d. The true motive of *Trajan's* journey into the east was a desire of glory, as *Dion Cassius* informs us ^e, which he hoped to reap from a war with the *Parthians*, who, we may say, rivalled the *Romans* themselves in power, and had given them several great overthrows. The pretence he alledged for quarrelling with that nation was, that the king of *Armenia*, by name *Exedares*, had received his crown at the hands of the king of *Parthia*; whereas the *Roman* emperors claimed a right of disposing of that crown ever since the reign of *Nero*, who, in the year sixty-six, the twelfth of his empire, had crowned at *Rome* *Tiridates* king of *Armenia*. What happened after that time in *Armenia*, we find no-where recorded; we only know, that *Tiridates* was still on the throne in seventy-two, the third of *Vespasian's* reign. As for the affairs of the *Parthians*, *Vologeses*, brother to *Tiridates*, was in the year eighty succeeded by

A conspiracy
against
Trajan.
His moderation
on
that occasion.

Designs to
make war
upon the
Parthians.

^x ONUPH. IDAT. in fast. SPART. in Ælii. vit. ^y ONUPH. in fast. p. 216. ^z DIO. ibid. ^a OCCO p. 209. ^b GRUT. p. 199. ^c IGNAT. acla. p. 2, 3. USSER. notæ p. 35. ^d DIO. ibid. p. 778. ^e Idem ibid.

And sets
out for the
east.

Embassa-
dors sent to
him by the
king of the
Parthians.

Arrives at
Antioch.

Adrian
commands
in Lower
Pannonia.

Artabanes, and he by *Pacorus* the friend of *Decebalus*^f, who reigned while *Pliny* governed *Bithynia*^g. *Pacorus* was father to *Parthamasiris*, and probably to *Cosroes*, who reigned at this time in *Parthia*^h. *Aurelius Victor* calls him *Cosdroes*, and *Dion Cassius*, *Hosroes*. *Trajan*, who wanted only a pretence to make war upon the *Parthians*, pretended to be highly affronted at the *Parthian* king's giving the crown and royal ensigns to *Exedares*, and demanded satisfaction, threatening him with war, if he refused to comply with his just demands. *Cosroes* despised his menaces; whereupon *Trajan*, who had already made the necessary preparations for this expedition, immediately left *Rome* and crossed over into *Greece*. When *Cosroes* found he was in earnest, he began to abate of his pride, and sent deputies to him with rich presents, begging that he would not, upon such slight motives, engage the two empires in a bloody and destructive war; at the same time he acquainted him, that *Exedares*, finding himself neither acceptable to the *Romans* nor to the *Parthians*, had abdicated the crown, and besought *Trajan* to dispose of it in favour of *Parthamasiris*. The ambassadors met *Trajan* at *Athens*, and there delivered their message; to which the emperor replied, that friendship was shewn by actions, and not by words; that he was going into *Syria*, and that there he should take such resolutions as he should think proper. He then dismissed the ambassadors, without deigning to accept any of their presentsⁱ. He then pursued his journey through *Asia Minor*, *Cilicia*, and the other provinces, to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and from thence to *Antioch*, the capital of that province, which he entered crowned with a branch of an olive-tree on a *Thursday*, which, that year and the following, happened, and never more during his reign, to be the seventh of *January*^k.

THE following year's consuls were *Lucius Licinius Sura* the third time, and *Caius Sosius Senecio* the second, who resigned the fasces to *Suranus* and *Servianus*^l, in whose consulship *Adrian* was prætor, and exhibited magnificent shows^m; for he did not attend *Trajan* into the east. When the time of his prætorship expired, he was sent to command the armies in *Lower Pannonia*, where he maintained with great severity the military discipline, and kept in awe the *Sarmatians*, whom *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* count among the nations subdued by *Trajan*ⁿ. *Servianus*, who was consul with *Suranus*, is called in seve-

^f ZONAR. in vit. Tit.

^g PLIN. l. x. epist. 8.

^h Dio p.

779. ⁱ Idem, p. 778.

^k USSER. not. in act. Ignat. p. 35.

Lond. ann. 1647.

^l IDAT. chron. Alexand. ONUPH. in fast.

^m SPART. in Adrian.

ⁿ HIER. in chron.

ral antient inscriptions *Julius Servilius Ursus Servianus*, the same, no doubt, who married *Paulina*, sister to *Adrian*, and the emperor's cousin^o. *Pliny* wrote some letters to him as an intimate friend, and by his means obtained several favours of the emperor^p. When he speaks of him to others, he calls him a person of great accomplishments^q. He was governor of *Upper Germany* in the year 98, the first of *Trajan's* reign, and from thence was sent into *Pannonia*^r. *Trajan* entertained a mighty opinion of his talents, and used to say, that among the great men who might aspire at the empire, he was the most capable of discharging that high trust with reputation. He was no friend to *Adrian*, and is supposed to have opposed his adoption; for that prince, a little before he died, in the year 138, ordered *Servianus*, then ninety years old, to be put to death, that he might not survive him, tho' he had, during the whole course of his reign, treated him in a very friendly manner, and preferred him to the first employments^s. He is often called by the *Greek* writers *Severianus* instead of *Servianus*^t. But to return to *Trajan*: he made his entry into *Antioch* on the seventh of *January*, as we have related above. During his stay in that city, *Abgarus*, or, as some call him, *Augarus*, prince of *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, sent him presents, and, by his ambassadors, declared his sincere desire of living in friendship with him and the people of *Rome*; but, as he equally feared the *Romans* and *Parthians*, and was desirous to please both, he declined waiting upon him in person. The other petty princes in that neighbourhood came personally to offer their service to the emperor of *Rome*, and brought with them, according to the custom of the eastern countries, rich presents. One among the rest presented him with a stately courser, who, as he was brought before the emperor, kneeled down, bowed his head to the ground, and adored him, as he had been taught before-hand. *Trajan* received all the princes who came to attend him, with great demonstrations of kindness, accepted their presents, and pretended to repose an intire confidence in them. Having made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition, he left *Antioch*, bending his march towards *Armenia*, when *Parthamasiris*, who had wrote to him before, and in his letter styled himself king of *Armenia*, sent him a second letter (for *Trajan* had returned no answer to the first), wherein he omitted the title of king, and desired, that *M. Junius*, governor of *Cappadocia*, might be appointed to treat with him. *Trajan* sent only the son of *Junius*, and in the mean time pur-

Abgarus
king of
Edeffa,
and other
princes
send pre-
sents to
Trajan.

The king of
Armenia
writes to
the empe-
ror, who
seizes se-
veral
places in
that king-
dom.

^o SPART. in *Adrian*. p. 1, 2.

^q PLIN. l. iii. epist. 26, 27.

^r Idem. l. viii. epist. 23.

^s SPART. in *Adrian*. p. 1.

^t Idem

ibid. & *Dio*. l. lxxix. p. 795.

^u Vide SPART. cum not. *Casaubon*.

The king
of Arme-
nia waits
upon him
in person.

Trajan
refuses him
the crown
of Arme-
nia.

fued his march, making himself master of several places, without meeting with the least resistance. At *Sata*, or rather *Satala*, a city in *Armenia Minor*, the emperor was met by *Anquialus* king of the *Heniochi*, a people of *Circassia*, on the *Euxine* sea, and of the *Mabeloni*, of whom we find no further mention in history. *Trajan* received him with all possible demonstrations of kindness, and made him rich presents, in order to attach him to his interest. Upon his arrival at *Elegia* in the *Greater Armenia*, *Parthamasiris* came to wait upon him, and beg of him the crown of *Armenia*. *Trajan* received him seated upon a throne or tribunal, and attended by the chief officers of his army. As *Parthamasiris* approached the throne, he took off his crown, and laid it at the emperor's feet, without uttering a single word, not doubting but he would immediately return it to him. In the mean time, the soldiers, pleased to see the king of *Armenia*, tho' supported by the whole power of the *Parthian* empire, obliged to submit, and resign his crown to their general, congratulated him upon it with loud shouts of joy; which so terrified *Parthamasiris*, that he attempted to withdraw, and return to his metropolis; but finding himself surrounded on all sides, he desired to speak to *Trajan* in private. Hereupon he was carried into the emperor's tent; but *Trajan* not liking his proposals, and refusing to comply with them, he left the tent in a great passion, and endeavoured to make his escape out of the camp. But *Trajan*, having ordered him to be stopped, and brought back, ascended his tribunal anew, and desired the prince to repeat, in the hearing of all, the proposals he had made to him in private, and his answers, that persons, who were ignorant of what had passed between them, might not give false accounts of it, and misrepresent it to the world. Upon this *Parthamasiris*, no longer able to contain himself, told *Trajan*, that he had neither been conquered, nor taken prisoner; that he came thither voluntarily, believing no injury would have been offered him, and that he should receive his kingdom of *Armenia*, as *Tiridates* had done of *Nero*. *Trajan* replied, that *Armenia* belonged to the *Romans*, and that it should receive a *Roman* governor, and be no longer a kingdom; that as for *Parthamasiris*, he gave him liberty to retire whither he pleased. Accordingly he dismissed him, and the *Parthians* who came with him, and appointed them a guard, that they might not be insulted by the soldiery, or raise disturbances; the *Armenians* he detained, as subjects of the *Roman* empire, and ordered them to return to their respective dwellings. *Parthamasiris* endeavoured to maintain himself in his kingdom by force of arms; but lost his life in the attempt, so that *Trajan* made himself master of

of *Armenia*, which he reduced to a *Roman province*^u. As to the other particulars of this war, we find them no-where recorded. Upon the reduction of *Armenia*, several princes submitted of their own accord to *Trajan*, amongst whom are mentioned the kings of *Iberia*, *Sarmatia*, *Bosporus*, and *Colchis*^w. He named a king to rule over the *Albanians*, and appointed one *Julianus* prince of the *Apfiles*, whose country bordered on the *Euxine* sea, having for its metropolis the city of *Dioscuris*, afterwards called *Sebastopolis*. *Arrian*, who wrote under *Adrian*, speaks of a camp in the neighbourhood of this city, which he calls the boundary of the *Roman empire*^x. The *Romans* had, before *Trajan*'s time, a garison in *Melitene* or *Melitone*, a castle of *Lesser Armenia*, which *Trajan* made a city, and appointed to be the metropolis of the whole country; whence in process of time it became one of the most populous and wealthy cities in the east^y. The emperor, having left garisons in all the strongholds of *Armenia*, advanced to the city of *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, where he was received in a very friendly manner by *Abgarus* king of that district. *Abgarus* had before sent him several presents; but put off, under various pretences, waiting upon him in person. However, *Trajan*, by the mediation of *Abgarus*'s son, by name *Arbandes*, a very comely youth, received his excuses, and admitted him to his friendship. *Abgarus* made a great entertainment for the emperor and the chief officers of his army, at which *Arbandes*, who was perhaps too much beloved by *Trajan*, diverted him with dancing after the manner of his country^z. *Manes*, the chief of one of the *Arabian* nations, *Sporaces*, prince of *Anthemusia*, a province of *Mesopotamia*, *Mebarsapes*, king of *Adiabene*, and *Manisares*, king of some district in that neighbourhood, declared, that they were ready to join *Trajan*; but, in the mean time, delayed meeting him, so that the emperor began to distrust them, especially after the treachery of *Mebarsapes*; who having demanded and obtained a body of troops to protect his dominions, as he pretended, against the *Parthians*, put most of them to the sword, and kept the rest in captivity. Amongst the latter was a centurion, named *Sentius*, who, as *Trajan*, highly provoked at this treachery, approached a place of great strength, called *Ademystres*, where he was kept, found means to break his chains, and, with the assistance of his fellow-captives, killed the governor of the fort, and opened the gates to the *Romans*^a. *Trajan*, now master of so strong and important a place, advanced

Armenia reduced to a Roman province. Several kings submit to Trajan.

Enters Mesopotamia.

The treachery of the king of Adiabene.

^u DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 779. ARRIAN. in perip. pont. Euxin. p. 7. EUTROP. in vit. Trajan. ^w EUTROP. ibid. ^x ARRIAN. ibid. ^y PROCOPIUS. de edific. Justin. l. iii. c. 4. ^z DIO ibid. p. 780. ^a Idem. p. 781.

Trajan
builds a
bridge
over the
Tigris.

A treaty
between
Trajan
and the
king of the
Parthians.

boldly into *Mesopotamia*, and reduced great part of it by the bare fame of his name. As the greatest part of *Adiabene* lay beyond the *Tigris*, *Trajan* built a bridge over that river, which is represented on several medals that have reached our times¹. The cities of *Nisibe* and *Batue* made a vigorous defence; but in the end were obliged to yield. If the city of *Nisibe* belonged, as *Josephus* writes, to the king of *Adiabene*, it was at this time, as is manifest from *Dion Cassius*^m, in the hands of the *Parthians*. As for *Cosroes*, we know not what measures he took, or what attempts he made to stop the progress of *Trajan's* conquests. In *Dion Cassius* we read, that *Manisares* offered to yield to the *Romans* for ever all *Armenia*, and that part of *Mesopotamia* which they had already conquered. Whence we conjecture, that the name of *Manisares* has crept into the text instead of *Cosroes*, who alone could make such an offer, and between whom and *Trajan* a treaty was, it seems, concluded, since *Aurelius Victor* writes, that the emperor obliged him to deliver hostages. What treaty this was, or on what occasion, or by whom it was violated (for the war broke out anew), we are no-where told. To this treaty perhaps allude the medals, which were struck about this time, with the following legend, *Peace established; the king of the Parthians restored*ⁿ. The power of the *Parthians* was, as *Dion Cassius* informs us^o, greatly weakened at this time by their intestine wars; so that *Cosroes* was perhaps obliged to recur to *Trajan*, and implore his protection against his own subjects. This is all we know of *Trajan's* wars in the east, till the year 115, the eighteenth of his reign. We should be able to give a better account of all these transactions, if the *Parthian* history, composed by *Arrian*, who flourished at this time, on purpose to set forth the exploits of *Trajan*, and by him divided into seventeen books, had reached us^p; but that history being long since lost, and many other histories of these times (for under no prince there flourished a greater number of celebrated historians than under *Trajan*), we are with no prince's exploits less acquainted than with *Trajan's*. Not to mention the many historians who have described the *Parthian* war, in which *Trajan* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, both as a soldier and a general, *Marius Maximus*, *Fabius Marcellinus*, *Aurelius Verus*, *Statius Valens*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Dion Cassius*, wrote his life, either by itself, or in the body of the *Roman* history. But none of the works of these authors are now remaining; so that we are obliged to recur to the abridgment of *Dion Cassius* by *Xiphilin*, and to the still

¹ Occo p. 205. BIRAG. p. 157.
Occon. p. 201.

^o Dio. p. 783.

^m Dio ibid.
^p Phot. c. 58.

ⁿ Vide

more compendious and undigested writings of *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*. We cannot even learn of any writer, whether *Trajan* ever returned to *Rome* after he set out from thence to conquer *Armenia*. However, we cannot persuade ourselves that he continued in the east, without once visiting the metropolis of the empire, for the space of eleven or twelve years; the more, because from some medals it appears pretty plain, that he returned to *Rome* before the year 112, the fifteenth of his reign, and that he left it the same or the following year^a; which gives a great light to history, and may serve to justify the acts of the glorious martyr *St. Ignatius*. *Lusius Quietus* distinguished himself above all the commanders employed by *Trajan* in this war. He was a *Moor* by nation, and born in a country not subject to *Rome*; but nevertheless served in the *Roman* cavalry, till he was either by *Domitian* or *Nerva* for some misdemeanor degraded and dismissed. *Trajan*, wanting *Moors* in his wars with the *Dacians*, took this prince again into the service, with a body of his countrymen and dependents, at the head of whom he performed wonders, both in the first and second *Dacian* war^r. In the *Parthian* war he served with such courage and success, that *Trajan* honoured him with the consulate, and, towards the end of his reign, appointed him governor of *Palestine*, by way of reward for a signal victory which he gained over the *Jews* of *Mesopotamia*^s. His reducing the *Mardi*, a people of *Asia* near *Armenia*, and not far from the *Caspian* sea, is mentioned as what most of all contributed to his glory and preferment^t. *Ammianus Marcellinus* extols him as one of the greatest captains that ever bore arms for the *Romans*^u. We are told, that *Trajan* had such a kindness and esteem for him, that he had some thoughts of naming him for his successor, though he was not even born a subject of the empire^w. We shall have occasion to mention him again in the following reign. In the six following years we find nothing recorded by the compilers of the antients (for the works of the antients themselves have been long since lost, as we have hinted above), except the names of the consuls, the making the high-way by *Trajan* from *Beneventum* to *Brundisium*; the burning the pantheon by lightning; the overturning of some cities in *Galatia* by an earthquake; and dedicating of the great square at *Rome*, which took its name from *Trajan*. The consuls (for of these magistrates

Lusius Quietus distinguishes himself in this and Trajan's other wars.

^a Vide BIRAG. p. 158. ^r DIO. in excerpt. Vales. p. 710. l. lxxviii. p. 773. SPART. in Aur. THEMIST. ORAT. XVI. MAURIC. tactic. l. xi. c. 2. ^s DIO. in excerpt. p. 710. EUSEB. l. iv. c. 1. ^t EUSEB. ibid. ^u AMMIAN. l. xxix. ^w EUSEB. & THEMIST. ibid.

Trajan re-
turns to
the east.

we have never yet omitted the names) were *Appius Annus Trebonianus Gallus* and *Marcus Attilius Metellus Bradua*; *Aulus Cornelius Palma*, the second time, and *L. Tullus*; *Priscinus*, or *Priscianus*, and *Orfitus*; *Caius Calpurnius Piso* and *M. Vettius Bolanus*; *Trajan*, the sixth time, and *Titus Sextius Bolanus*; *Lucius Publius Celsus*, the second time, and *Caius Clodius Crispinus*; *Quintus Ninnius Hoſta* and *Publius Manilius Vopiscus*. These were consuls from the eleventh to the seventeenth year of *Trajan's* reign, inclusively; that is, from the 108th to the 114th of the christian æra. On some medals that were coined during *Trajan's* sixth consulship, is marked the departure of that prince from *Rome* ^x, no doubt, to return to the east: which we may suppose to have happened the year he was consul, the fifteenth of his reign; for in that year *Adrian*, who commanded under him in the second *Parthian* war, was created archon, or chief magistrate of *Athens*; which honour was probably conferred upon him, as he passed through that city with *Trajan* ^y.

He consults
the oracle
of Helio-
polis.

He passes
the Tigris
on a bridge
of boats.

THE eighteenth year of *Trajan's* reign and 115th of the *Christian* æra was remarkable for the victories gained by that great warrior over the *Parthians*, and for which he assumed the title of emperor the seventh, eighth, and ninth, times ^z. Whatever gave occasion to this war (for history is silent upon this head), *Trajan*, before he left *Syria*, sent, at the request of his friends, some persons to consult the oracle of *Heliopolis* in *Phœnicia*, to know whether he should return from this war to *Rome*. The oracle returned an answer, as usual, in ambiguous terms, which might be interpreted either way. *Trajan*, putting the best construction upon the dark words of the oracle, early in the spring left *Syria*, and marched against the *Parthians* encamped on the other side of the *Tigris*. As the river was not fordable, and the enemy possessed with a numerous army the opposite bank, he secretly caused a great number of boats to be built in the woods of *Nisibis*, which being conveyed upon carriages to the river-side, a bridge was suddenly formed with them over the river, which *Trajan* passed in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy, who greatly annoyed him with showers of arrows, till he sent several boats against them manned with archers and slingers, and ordered others to move up and down the river, as if they were trying to land in other places. This so distracted the *Parthians*, already dismayed and surpris'd at the sight of so many vessels in a country quite destitute of wood, that they gave way, and suffered the *Roman* army to pass the river with-

^x NORIS. *epist. consul.* p. 72. ^y Vide NORIS. *ibid.* ^z GRUT. p. 218. COLT. p. 65, 66.

out further molestation. *Trajan* made himself master of the kingdom of *Adiabene*, which he had reduced in the former war, but perhaps restored upon the conclusion of the peace. He likewise subdued the country, which at that time still retained the name of *Assyria*, and in which stood the city of *Ninus* or *Nineveh*, and *Arbela* and *Gaugamela*, two places famous in history on account of the victories of *Alexander the Great*. As the *Parthians* were greatly weakened by their domestic wars and still divided among themselves, *Trajan* advanced, without opposition, to the celebrated city of *Babylon*, of the power and greatness of which we have read such wonders. He entered it, no one offering to withstand him; and reduced its large territory, where the *Roman* standards had never before been displayed. By this acquisition he became master of those rich and noble countries, *Assyria* and *Chaldaea*. There he was led by his curiosity, says *Dion Cassius*, to visit the lake of bitumen which was made use of in building the famous walls of *Babylon*. But that lake is by *Rutilius*^a and others placed in *Mesopotamia*. Afterwards he began a canal between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, in order to convey his vessels out of the former river into the latter, and with them lay a bridge over the *Tigris*, being resolved to besiege *Ctesiphon*, which stood on that river: but being informed, that the bed of the *Euphrates* was much higher than that of the *Tigris*, he abandoned the design, fearing the stream would become too rapid, and consequently unnavigable^b. However, *Ammianus Marcellinus* assures us, that the emperor *Julian*, having removed the stones with which the mouth of the canal was stopt, conveyed his vessel through that cut from the *Euphrates* into the *Tigris*, a little above *Ctesiphon*^c. This canal was called *Naarmalca*, that is, *the river of kings*. *Trajan*, fearing the above-mentioned inconvenience, did not think it adviseable to make use of the canal; but ordered his vessels to be brought upon land-carriages from the *Euphrates* to the *Tigris*, these two rivers being in some places at a small distance from each other; and having formed a bridge with them, passed his army over the *Tigris*, and made himself master of *Seleucia*, and likewise of the great city of *Ctesiphon*, the metropolis of the *Parthian*, and afterwards of the *Persian*, empire*. Upon his entering that city, he was proclaimed emperor by the army, who with loud shouts of joy confirmed to him the title of *Parthicus*, which he had first gained by the reduction of *Nisibis*. At *Ctesiphon* he took the daughter of *Cosroes*, and seized the throne of the *Parthian*

*Reduces
Assyria.*

*And ar-
rives at
Babylon.*

*He begins
a canal be-
tween the
Euphrates
and the
Tigris, but
drops that
under-
taking.*

*Makes
himself
master of
Seleucia
and Ctesi-
phon, the
metropolis
of the Par-
thian em-
pire.*

^a RUT. itiner. p. 32.

^b DIO. p. 784.

^c AMMIAN.

^{*} DIO. *ibid.* EUTROP. in *Trajan*.

Reduces several countries.

Assyria made a Roman province.

A dreadful earthquake at Antioch.

kings, which was of massy gold^d. *Cosroes* himself made his escape, and was still living in the reign of *Adrian*. *Trajan* acquainted the senate with the success that had attended him in this expedition: whereupon a decree passed, allowing the conqueror of the *Parthians* to enter *Rome* in triumph as often as he pleased^e. The taking of *Ctesiphon* put him into possession of all the neighbouring countries. *Eutropius* tells us, that he reduced the *Marcomades*, the *Cardueni*, *Anthemisia*, a large province of *Persia*, says that writer, and all the countries lying between *Babylon* and *India*. At *Babylon* he visited the house in which *Alexander the Great* died, and there performed some ceremonies in honour of that famous conqueror^f. *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in his time *Trajan's* tribunal was still to be seen at a city in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, which he calls *Ozogardene*^g. *Trajan* reduced *Assyria* to a *Roman* province, as he had done before *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*; so that the empire now extended to the *Tigris*, and even beyond that river. How he disposed of the country of the *Parthians*, we shall relate anon. He obliged the inhabitants of *Mesopotamia*, and, no doubt, those likewise of the other provinces, to pay him a yearly tribute^h. The dialogue between *Triepho* and *Critias*, which is falsely ascribed to *Lucian*, seems to have been written about this time; for it ends with the news of the taking of *Susa* formerly the metropolis of *Persia*. Mention is likewise there made of inroads made by the *Scythians*, as if they committed great devastations in the *Roman* territoriesⁱ. Towards the end of the autumn, *Trajan* returned to *Antioch*, which was that winter almost intirely ruined by one of the most dreadful earthquakes mentioned in history. That city was then crouded with troops, and strangers come from all quarters, either out of curiosity, or upon business, and embassies: so that there was scarce a nation or province but what had a share in the calamity; and all the *Roman* world, says *Dion Cassius*^k, suffered in one city. The earthquake was preceded by violent claps of thunder, unusual winds, and a dreadful noise under ground: then followed so terrible a shock, that the earth all trembled, several houses were overturned, and others tossed to and fro like a ship in the sea: the noise of the cracking and bursting of the timber, of the falling of the houses, and a dismal and loud roaring under ground, drowned the cries of the dismayed people. Those who happened to be in their houses, were, for the most part, buried under their ruins; such as were walking in the streets and in the squares, were, by the violence

^d SPART. in Adr. ^e DIO. ibid. ^f DIO. p. 785. ^g AMMIAN. l. XXIV. p. 265. ^h EUTROP. ibid. FEST. RUF. brev. p. 553. SPART. ibid. ⁱ LUCIAN. in philopatrie, dialogo. Et BACON. 2d ann. 114. ^k DIO. p. 781.



of the shock, dashed against one another, and most of them either killed or dangerously wounded. As the earthquake continued, with some small intermission, for many days and nights together, many thousands perished by it, and among the rest the consul *Marcus Peto Virgilianus*, with many other persons of great distinction. The most violent shock of all was, as we read in the acts of *St. Ignatius*, on a Sunday, the twenty-third of December. *Trajan* himself was much hurt, but nevertheless *Trajan* escaped through a window out of the house where he was. *himself is* *Dion Cassius* pretends, that he was taken out of the window, *hurt.* and carried away by one, who in tallness exceeded the human size. The same writer adds, that mount *Lison*, which stood at a small distance from *Antioch*, bowed with its top, and threatened to fall down upon the city; that other mountains fell; that new rivers appeared; and others, that had flowed before, forsook their course, and vanished. When the earthquake ceased, the voice of a woman was heard crying under the ruins; which being immediately removed, she was found with a sucking child in her arms, whom she had kept alive, as well as herself, with her milk. Search was made for others; but no one besides was found alive, except a child that was still sucking its dead mother¹. This dreadful earthquake is mentioned by *Eusebius*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Evagrius*, who all speak of it as the greatest calamity recorded in history^m.

THE next consuls were *L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Verus*. From an inscription of this year, the nineteenth of *Trajan's* reign, we learn, that the senate and people of *Rome* returned the emperor solemn thanks, for having facilitated the entry into *Italy* on the side of the *Adriatic* sea, by a port made by his orders at *Ancona*, as he had some years before made one on the *Mediterranean*, at or near *Centumcellæ*, now *Civita-Vecchia*. Upon the return of the spring, *Trajan*, leaving *Antioch*, visited the conquered countries; and finding them all in a state of tranquility, he made various regulations; and then imbarquing on board his fleet, sailed down the *Tigris*, being desirous to view the *Persian* gulph, which *Dion Cassius* calls the *Red Sea*, or *Mare Erythræum*, supposing it to have taken that name from *Erythrus*, a prince once very powerful in those partsⁿ. The storms, the rapidity of the river, and the tides, rendered his navigation both troublesome and dangerous. However, he made himself master of *Mesene*, an island formed by the *Tigris*, and obliged *Atabylus*, who reigned there, to pay him tribute. He was well received by the inhabitants of *Charax Spasinæ*,

The port of
Ancona.

Trajan
sails down
the Tigris
into the
Persian
gulph.

¹ DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 781. IGNAT. acta. p. 53. 54. ^m EUSEB. chron. p. 208. & l. i. c. 12. ⁿ DIO. p. 784.

He reduces
Arabia
Felix.

the metropolis of *Athambylus's* dominions, which most geographers place at the mouth of the *Tigris*. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that *Trajan* sailed into the *Ocean*, meaning perhaps the *Persian* gulph; for it is not probable, that, with the ill-built boats, of which his fleet consisted, he pursued his course beyond *Ormuz*, where the gulph ends. It was, we conjecture, on this occasion, that he reduced *Arabia Felix*. *Cornelius Palma*, governor of *Syria*, had some years before subdued *Arabia Petraea*; as we have observed above, and reduced it to a *Roman* province. But now *Trajan* made himself master, it seems of *Arabia Felix*; for *Arrian*, in his book on the navigation of the *Red Sea*, observes, that in the reign of *Trajan*, there were at *Leuca*, a borough upon that sea, a centurion, and some troops, with a receiver, who claimed the fourth part of all the goods that were landed there °. The same writer places upon the south coast of *Arabia*, beyond the straits of *Bebel Mander*, a city called *Arabia*, and surnamed *Eudæmon*, or the *Happy*, from its having been formerly enriched by means of the trade that was carried on there; but adds, “A little before our time it was destroyed by *Cæsar*, and is at present only a village p.” As he places it in the country of the *Homeritæ* q, some writers take it to have stood where the present city of *Aden* stands. Besides, it appears from several medals, or pieces of money, coined after the year 111, the fourteenth of *Trajan's* reign r, that he reduced *Arabia*, not by his lieutenants, but in person s. *Festus* too mentions the conquest of *Arabia* t; and *Eutropius* seems to reckon the reducing of that country to a *Roman* province amongst the last actions of *Trajan* u. A writer, who is supposed to have flourished about this time, after having said, that the power of the *Persians* and *Parthians* had yielded, adds, that *Susa* itself was taken, and that all *Arabia* would soon submit to the victorious and invincible prince w. This must, without all doubt, be understood of *Arabia Felix*, which it is thence plain he did not subdue, till after the conquest of *Assyria*, that is, before this year, the nineteenth of his reign, and the 116th of the christian æra. Some read in *Festus* x, that he conquered the country of the *Saracens*; but as no mention is made of that people by any other writer of those times, we readily fall in with those who, instead of *Saraceni*, read *Osroeni*, who inhabited one of the provinces of *Mesopotamia*, called *Osroene*, from a king of the Country named *Osroes* y.

• ARRIAN. in peripl. Erythr. p. 6. p Idem, p. 8. q Idem, p. 46. r BIRAG. p. 116. s OCCO. p. 215. t FEST. in brev. p. 551. u EUTROP. in Trajan. w LUCIAN. philos. z FEST. p. 551-553. y PROCOPIUS. l. i. Pers. c. 18.

Trajan having reached the ocean, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, and there discovering a ship bound to *India*, wished he was young, that he might extend, as *Alexander* had done, his conquests to that country ^z. *Eutropius* tells us, that he had a fleet ready equipped in the *Red Sea*, with a design to invade *India*; that he informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting, of the *Indians*; and that he envied the happiness of *Alexander*, who had subdued them, and extended his conquests far beyond the bounds of the *Roman* empire. The *Romans* had even the vanity to brag, that they had brought *India* under subjection, as *Eusebius* observes ^a; but by *India* they perhaps meant *Arabia Felix*. *Trajan* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the success of his arms, and naming the several nations, which he had conquered, and which were utterly unknown. They decreed him extraordinary honours; among the rest, that he should, upon his return to *Rome*, triumph over each particular nation, which he had subdued; which was decreeing him not one, but many triumphs: a triumphal arch was built in his own forum, to perpetuate the memory of his conquests; and the people of *Rome* made great preparations to receive him with the utmost pomp upon his return. But to *Rome* he never returned; nor was the end of his actions answerable to the beginning. For most of the nations, which he had conquered, revolted and shook off the yoke, after having driven out or massacred the garisons that had been left amongst them. The *Jews*, who had been dispersed into all parts of the world, fell into a dreadful rebellion in all the provinces of the empire, being prompted thereunto by the absence of the emperor, and the late terrible earthquake, which, as they imagined, portended the ruin and downfall of the *Roman* empire. They rose at the same time in *Alexandria*, all over *Egypt*. and in *Libya Cyrenaica*, against the other inhabitants of those countries, whom historians call *Greeks*, and against the *Romans*, who were very numerous in those provinces, which had been long subject to *Rome*. In *Egypt*, which was then governed by *Lupus*, they assembled in vast crouds, committed dreadful disorders, and falling upon the inhabitants, who endeavoured to suppress the tumult, defeated them at the very first onset with great slaughter. But this advantage cost them dear; for the *Egyptians*, who had the good luck to escape the general carnage, sheltering themselves in *Alexandria*, seized and massacred, without distinction of sex or age, all the *Jews* who dwelt in that city ^b. The *Jews* indeed sold their lives dear, but were in the end overpowered, and all

He envies Alexander, who conquered India.

Extraordinary honours decreed him by the senate.

The Jews revolt in several places.

^z Dio. p 784.
c. 2.

^a Euseb. chron. p. 206.

^b Euseb. l. i.

And com-
mit un-
heard-of
cruelties.

to a man cut in pieces ^c. The *Jews* of *Cyrene*, who were, it seems, the ringleaders of the revolt, finding they could not receive the assistance which they had promised themselves from their brethren in *Alexandria* (for they had formed a design of seizing that city), entered *Egypt*, committing every-where most dreadful devastations and unheard-of cruelties. They were headed, according to *Eusebius* ^d, by one *Lucua*, whom he styles king; but, according to *Dion Cassius* ^e, by one named *Andrew*, whom they had chosen for their leader. However that be, their rage and fury was so great and boundless, their barbarities so heinous and outrageous, that they are scarce to be matched in history. For, not satisfied with inhumanly massacring *Greeks* and *Romans* of all ranks, ages, and degrees, they devoured their flesh, washed themselves in their blood, wore their skins, and made themselves garlands with their intrails; some they sawed asunder; others they threw to wild beasts, or obliged them to fight till they killed one another, after they had put them to all kinds of torments. Thus they destroyed in *Libya* above two hundred thousand persons; an incredible number in *Egypt*, not specified by historians; and in the island of *Cyprus*, where they likewise rose, two hundred and fifty thousand: *Salamis*, one of the chief and most populous cities of that island, they laid in ashes, after having, with that cruelty which was ever peculiar to the *Jewish* nation, murdered all the inhabitants, without sparing either women or children ^f. By these massacres, the province of *Libya* was so dispeopled, that it would have been left quite uninhabited, had not the emperor *Adrian* sent thither a few years after several colonies ^g. *Trajan*, informed of these barbarities, resolved in a great rage to pursue those impious wretches, not as rebels, but as monsters, and enemies to mankind. Accordingly he dispatched into *Libya*, *Marcus Turbo*, with a strong body of horse and foot and a considerable fleet, injoining him to pursue them both by sea and land, with revenge answerable to the enormity of their crimes. *Turbo* defeated them in a pitched battle, and put great numbers of them to the sword, but not without the loss of many of his best men, the *Jews* of *Cyrene* having been joined before the battle by those of *Egypt* ^h. Neither was the victory complete, nor the battle decisive; for the war continued till the reign of *Adrian*, who succeeded *Trajan* on the eleventh of *August* of the year 117. That prince is said by *St. Jerom* to have conquered the *Jews*, who had revolted a second time ⁱ; which *Se-*

They are
defeated in
Africa by
Turbo.

^c OROS. l. vii. c. 12.

^d EUSEB. *ibid.*

^e DIO. l. lxxviii.

p 786.

^f DIO. *ibid.*

^g OROS. l. vii. c. 12. EUSEB. in

chron.

^h EUSEB. l. iv. c. 2.

ⁱ HIER. in chron.

liger and others understand with respect to the first revolt under *Nero*. Besides, *Spartian* tells us, that *Turbo*, having, in the very beginning of *Adrian's* reign, ended the war with the *Jews*, was sent by that prince against the *Moors*, who had begun to make incursions into the *Roman* territories before the death of *Trajan*^k. In the island of *Cyprus*, the *Jews* were, by the *Romans* and inhabitants, all cut off to a man; and those of that cruel and treacherous nation forbidden, upon pain of death, ever to set foot upon that island; which prohibition the inhabitants extended even to such as were driven thither by stress of weather, and whom consequently they put immediately to death*. They likewise revolted in *Mesopotamia*, but were there soon quelled by the brave *Lusius Quietus*, who defeated them in a pitched battle, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and drove the rest out of the country^l. The example of the *Jews* was followed by most of the countries which *Trajan* had conquered, the inhabitants rising every-where up in arms, and murdering or driving out the *Roman* garisons. Against them the emperor dispatched *Lusius Quietus*, and *L. Appius Maximus*, who were attended with very different success; for *Maximus* was defeated and killed; by whom, history does not inform us: but *Lusius* distinguished himself as usual, gained great advantages over the enemy, recovered the city of *Nisibis*, besieged, stormed, and laid in ashes, the city of *Edessa*. On the other hand, *Erucius Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*, two other commanders of the emperor, retook the city of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, and several others, which had shaken off the yoke. *Lusius* was, for his gallant conduct, rewarded with the government of *Palestine*^m, no doubt, to keep that province in awe, which was chiefly inhabited by *Jews*, and seemed inclined, as *Spartian* informs usⁿ, to revolt and raise new disturbances in the empire. For these advantages, and the recovery of his conquests, *Trajan* took the tenth and last time the title of emperor^o. During these disturbances, *Sambelus*, king of *Mesene*, continued faithful to *Trajan*. Neither did the *Parthians* make any attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, or rather of their former condition. But *Trajan*, fearing they would soon shake off the yoke, thought it advisable to oblige them, by giving them, instead of a *Roman* governor, a king of their own nation. With this design he repaired to *Ctesiphon*; and having there assembled in a large plain the *Romans* and *Parthians*, he ascended a high throne, and declared one *Parthamaspates* king

And all cut
to pieces in
the island
of *Cyprus*.

Most of the
countries
conquered
by *Trajan*
revolt.

But are
again re-
duced.

Trajan
gives a
king to the
Parthians.

^k SPART. in *Adr.* p. 3.

* DIO l. lxxviii. p. 785.

^l DIO.

p. 786. AMMIAN l. xxix. FUSEB. l. iv. c. 2.

^m DIO. in excerpt.

Val. p. 720.

ⁿ SPART. in *Adr.* p. 6.

^o GOLTZ. p. 86.

of the *Parthians*, putting, with great pomp and solemnity, the crown upon his head. *Parthamaspatēs*, whom *Spartian* calls *Psamatesfiris*, continued faithful to the *Romans*; but was despised by the *Parthians* as a slave to *Rome*, and had scarce any authority over them ^p. In several coins, which have reached our times, is represented a king prostrate before *Trajan*, with this legend on some, *He gives a king to the Parthians*; and on others the following, *He distributes kingdoms* ^q.

He besieges
Atra.

THE following year, the twentieth and last of *Trajan's* reign, *Niger* and *Apronianus* being consuls ^r, the emperor marched into *Arabia*, and there made war upon the *Hagareni*, or *Agareni*, who had likewise revolted. What part of *Arabia* they inhabited, we cannot determine, since we find no farther mention made of them till the times of the *Constantinopolitan* empire, when the name of *Hagareni* became common to the *Saracens* and *Arabians* in general. The emperor laid siege to their city, which by *Xiphilin* is called *Atra*. It was neither great nor beautiful, says *Dion Cassius* ^s, but thought to be very rich, by reason the sun was worshipped there, which drew crowds of people thither with rich presents from the neighbouring countries ^t. It was situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, well peopled, and surrounded with strong walls ^v. But its chief strength consisted in the barrenness of the neighbouring country, destitute, to a great distance, of grass, wood, and even of water; so that a great army could not long subsist before it; hence it was neither taken now by *Trajan*, nor afterwards by *Severus*, though they had both made a breach in the wall. *Trajan* narrowly escaped being killed in one of the attacks; for having laid aside the ensigns of his dignity, that he might not be known, he headed his men in person: but the enemy, knowing him, notwithstanding that disguise, by his grey hairs and majestic air, aimed chiefly at him, wounded his horse, and killed a horseman by his side. Besides, as often as the *Romans* advanced to the attack, they were driven back by violent storms of wind, rain, and hail, and dreadful flashes of lightning. At the same time, they were in a strange manner infested in their camp by swarms of flies: so that *Trajan* was in the end obliged to raise the siege and retire. Soon after, as he was stricken in years, and worn out with so many long marches, he was seized with a dropsy and palsy, which he ascribed to poison, but others thought natural. However, he was still for returning into *Mesopotamia*, to reduce some places, which had revolted there.

But raises
the siege.

^p DIO. p. 786. ^q OCCO. p. 213. EIRAG. p. 163.
& CASSIODOR. in fast. ^s DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 785.
l. lxxv. p. 854. ^t HERODIAN. l. iii. p. 528.

^r IDAT.
^v Idem,

But his distemper increasing, he left the command of the army *Is taken ill,* to *Adrian*, whom he had appointed governor of *Syria*, and im- *and sets sail* barqued for *Italy*. It was no sooner known, that he had set *for Italy* sail, than all the countries, which he had conquered at a vast charge, and by exposing himself to innumerable dangers, shook off the yoke, and recovered their former condition, in spite of the troops which he had left to keep them in subjection. The *The Par-* *Parthians* drove out *Parthamaspates*; the *Armenians* chose *thians* themselves a king; and the greatest part of *Mesopotamia* re- *drive out* *volted from Rome*, and submitted to the king of the *Parthians*. *their king.* Thus all the pains he had taken, all the toils he had undergone, and the immense sums he had expended, proved in the end to no effect. Upon his arrival at *Selinus* in *Cilicia*, which was afterwards from him called *Trajanopolis*, he was seized with a flux, which in a very short time put an end to his life. He died in *Trajan* the beginning of *August*, after having reigned nineteen years, *dies at Se-* *linus in* six months, and fifteen days, counting from the death of *Ner-* *Cilicia.* *va* to the eleventh of *August* (for we know not the precise day on which he died), when *Adrian* received at *Antioch* the news of his death, which had been concealed for some time, and thereupon caused himself to be proclaimed emperor^w. *Eutro-* *pius*, and such as have copied him, tell us, that *Trajan* died at *Seleucia* in *Isauria*. But *Seleucia* is at a great distance from the sea; and most writers agree, that he was going to *Rome* by sea. Besides, it appears from several inscriptions^x, from the author of the verses commonly ascribed to the *Sibyls*, and from the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that he died at *Selinus*. Hence *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* wonder, how any one can call in question a thing so well attested^y. His body was burnt at *Selinus*, and *His ashes* *are con-* *veyed to* *Rome, and* *deposited* *under his* *column.* his ashes carried by his wife *Plotina* and his niece *Matidia*, or *Matidia*, in a golden urn, to *Rome*, where they were received with extraordinary pomp, and deposited under the stately column, which he had erected, though it stood within the walls, where no one before him had been buried^z. Sports, called *Parthic Sports*, were for many years celebrated in memory of his victories in the east^a. From an antient inscription, we learn, that *Phidemon* his freedman, his chamberlain, cup-bearer, and secretary, died a few days after him, on the twelfth of *August*, of grief for the loss of so good a master^b. *Trajan* left

^w DIO. p. 786. AUREL. epit. JULIAN. Cæsar. p. 39. ^x Vide P. PAGI ad ann. 117. ^y Vide CASAUBON. in Spart. not. C. p. 10. & SCALIGER. in Euseb. chron. p. 341. ^z DIO. l. lxix. p. 788. CIACCON. col. Traj. VICT. epit. ^a DIO. ibid. ^b EUSEB. chron. p. 208.

Whether
he adopted
Adrian.

no children^c; nor are we told that he ever had any. Some write, that he designed, in imitation of *Alexander the Great*, to die without naming a successor; others tell us, that he intended to name ten persons to the senate, leaving it in their power to chuse which of them they judged best qualified for the sovereignty^d. We read in *Dion Cassius*^e, that once at a banquet he desired his friends to name ten persons, whom they thought capable of, and equal to, the supreme power. Both *Trajan* himself and his friends seemed, according to *Spartian*, to judge *Neratius Priscus*, who was the greatest civilian of his time, the best qualified for succeeding him in the empire^f. That writer adds, that one day he addressed him thus: *To you, Neratius, I recommend the provinces, in case I should die*. He had likewise some thoughts of leaving the empire to *Servianus*^g, whose daughter *Adrian* had married; and to *Lusius Quietus*, of whom he deservedly entertained a mighty opinion^h. But in the end, *Adrian* was preferred to all the rest; which was rather owing to the favour of *Plotina*, than to any extraordinary kindness of *Trajan* towards him. For though the emperor was nearly related to him, had been his guardian, and given him his niece in marriage, yet he never took great notice of himⁱ; nor did *Adrian* shew any particular affection for *Trajan*. Hence it was commonly believed, that *Trajan* did not adopt him; but that *Plotina*, who was a great friend to *Adrian*, introduced, after the death of her husband, a supposititious person, who, counterfeiting the voice of the dying emperor, declared, that he adopted *Adrian*. *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that *Trajan* never adopted *Adrian*; but that the whole affair was managed by *Plotina* and *Atianus*, or rather *Tatianus*, who had been, jointly with the emperor, *Adrian's* guardian; and adds, that for this reason the emperor's death was for some days concealed. This *Dion Cassius* learnt of his father *Apronianus*, who, as he had been governor of *Cilicia*, where the emperor died, had thence certain intelligence of what had passed at his death. Besides, the letters written to the senate concerning this adoption were not signed by *Trajan*, but *Plotina*, who had never before signed any of her husband's dispatches^k. A modern writer, of no mean character^l, looks upon what *Dion Cassius* relates of the supposititious adoption of *Adrian* as an arrant fable; and pretends, that he was adopted by the emperor a whole year before his death; which, if true, would have left no room

^c THEMIST. orat. 16. ^d SPART. in Adri. p. 3. ^e DIO. l. lxix. p. 795. ^f SPART. ibid. ^g DIO. p. 795. ^h THEMIST. orat. 16. ⁱ DIO. p. 795, 788. SPART. ibid. ^k DIO. l. lxix. p. 787, 788. ^l DODWELL. in append. ad dissertat. Cyprianic. Oxon. 1684. p. 67.

even for such a fable. What induced him to embrace this opinion is, that *Adrian*, as we read in most authors, and as appears from several antient inscriptions, reigned twenty-two years: on the other hand, it is certain, that he died on the tenth of *July* in 138. He must therefore have begun to count the years of his reign from the ninth of *August* of the year 116, that is, a year before *Trajan's* death; for that prince died in the beginning of *August* in 117; he thence concludes, that *Adrian* must have been adopted a year before; and from the time of his adoption reckoned the years of his reign. This objection, which we shall endeavour to answer at the end of *Adrian's* reign, as in a more proper place, is not of such weight with us as to make us look upon the account, which *Dion Cassius* gives of *Adrian's* adoption, as an *arrant fable*. We shall close the history of this great emperor's reign with a succinct account of his noble and useful works. *Aurelius Victor* ^{Great} will have him to have first introduced the use of post-chaises; ^{works per-} but that invention is generally ascribed to *Augustus* ^m, and was ^{formed by} probably only improved by *Trajan*, as it was after his time by *Trajan*. Several other emperors, as appears from *Gothofredus*, who treats of this subject at length in his comments upon the *Theodosian code* ⁿ. He made, at an immense charge, a large and convenient road, leading through many barbarous nations, from the most distant coasts of the *Euxine* sea to those of the *Ocean* in *Gaul* ^o. He built several magnificent libraries in *Rome*, and a stately theatre in the field of *Mars* ^p. He adorned the city with many magnificent edifices, enlarged the circus, repaired a great number of antient buildings, and supplied with plenty of water those quarters of the city, which by other princes had been neglected. But the most magnificent of all his works ^{His square} was the great square, which he made at *Rome*, and called ^{and co-} from his own name, having for that purpose levelled a hill an ^{lunz.} hundred and forty-four foot high. In the midst of the square, he erected the famous column, which is still to be seen, to serve him for a tomb, and at the same time to shew the height of the hill, which he levelled, as appears from the inscription on the basis, dated the seventeenth year of his tribunitial power, which was the 114th of the christian æra. The emperor *Constantius*, when he came to *Rome* in 357, found nothing in that stately metropolis which he admired so much as *Trajan's* square ^q. The architect employed by *Trajan* in this inimitable work, as *Constantius* styled it, was one *Apollodorus*. *Ciacconius* tells us,

^m Vide Cod Theodof. tom. ii. p. 510, 511. ⁿ GOTH. in cod Theodof. tom. ii. p. 506, &c. ^o AUR. VICT. ^p PLIN. Paneg. p. 96. Dio. l. lxxviii. p. 778. ^q AMMIAN. l. xvi. p. 71.

that on the top of the column, which stood in the midst of the square, was placed *Trajan's* statue, holding a golden apple in its right hand; and adds, that in this apple were deposited the ashes of the deceased prince^r. But *Eutropius* and *Victorinus*, whom we have followed, tell us, that he was buried under the column. During this prince's reign, most of the provinces of the empire suffered greatly by earthquakes, and were grievously afflicted with a dreadful plague, with famine, and frequent conflagrations^s. At *Rome* the *Tiber* overflowed its banks with incredible violence, laid great part of the city under water, overturned many houses, and greatly damaged the fields; tho' *Trajan* caused a great canal to be dug in order to drain them, and to convey the water into its natural chanel^t. *Phlegon* tells us, that in *Trajan's* time a woman was delivered at *Alexandria* of five children the same day, three males and two females, who were brought up with great care by the emperor. The next year, the same woman was delivered of three children^u. We read in *Plutarch*^w, that in *Trajan's* reign a vestal, named *Helvetia*, going on horse-back, was struck dead with a flash of lightning, and thrown quite naked on one side, and her horse on the other; which the soothsayers looked upon as presaging something highly dishonourable to the vestals and the *Roman* knights. Accordingly, not long after, the slave of a knight, named *Buteces*, came of his own accord, and deposed, that his master and several others of the equestrian order had for a long time carried on a criminal conversation with three vestals, *Æmilia*, *Licina*, and *Martia*, who were immediately punished, and the knights too their accomplices. But the pontiffs, having first consulted the books of the *Sibyls*, declared, that the crime was to be expiated by burying alive in the *forum boarium*, or the *ox-market*, two men and two women, natives of *Greece* and *Gaul*; which was done accordingly, tho' they had not long before condemned the same crime in others. For the *Britons* having immolated a human victim to their gods, their magistrates had been ordered to punish them; though they were afterwards pardoned upon their pleading an antient custom, but at the same time commanded, under the severest penalties, to forbear such sacrifices for the future^x. *Trajan*, notwithstanding his humanity and good-nature, suffered the christians to be inhumanly persecuted in most provinces of the empire. As he published no new edicts against the christian religion, he is not

Three vestals punished.

Two men and two women buried alive at Rome.

^r DIO. p. 789. ^s CIACCON. de col. Trajan. c. 14. ^t VICT. epit. ^u PLIN. l. viii. ep. 17. ^w PHLEG. mir. c. 29. ^x PLUT. quest. Rom. ^y Idem ibid.

as *Baronius* observes ^y, reckoned by *Tertullian* among the per- *Trajan*
secutors of the church. But that he was an enemy to the *suffers the*
christians, and highly prejudiced against them, is manifest from *christians*
Pliny's letter to him ^z, and his answer to *Pliny* ^a. This may *to be perse-*
be ascribed to his looking upon the christians, who were already *cuted.*
very numerous and multiplied daily, with a jealous and suspicious
eye, as the underminers of the religion of the empire, and ene-
mies to the gods adored at *Rome* and in all the *Roman* provin-
ces. Besides, he perhaps accounted them establishers of *hete-*
riæ, or *illegal societies*, which usually breed factions and seditions;
whence all societies, or colleges, not settled by an imperial edict, or a decree of the senate, were forbidden, and the
persons frequenting them adjudged guilty of treason. But after
he had been informed by *Pliny* of their innocence, he could
not, nor indeed did he, as appears from his answer, entertain
any sinister opinion of them. But nevertheless, instead of putting
an immediate stop to the persecution, he sent directions into
Bithynia, where it chiefly raged, repugnant to good sense, and
altogether inconsistent with his so much boasted justice, huma-
nity, and good-nature. For he commanded, that no inquisition
should be made for the christians, but that such as were accused
should be punished; which was, as *Tertullian* observes in his *His unjust*
excellent apology ^b, declaring them innocent, and at the same *proceedings*
time ordering them to be treated as criminals. If they are guilty, *against*
says that writer, addressing himself to the emperor, why do *them.*
you forbid any search to be made after them? If they are inno-
cent, why do you command them to be punished? This ordi-
nance, however iniquitous and absurd, continued in vigour till
the persecution of *Severus*, that is, for almost a whole century.
But for a more particular account of the unjust proceedings,
even of the best emperors, against the christians, we refer our
readers to *Tertullian* ^c and *Eusebius* ^d, where they will find, that
by some emperors it was forbidden, upon pain of death, to ac-
cuse the christians, who nevertheless were, by a strange incon-
sistency, to be capitally punished, when accused or discovered ^e.
As *Trajan* was, what every prince ought to be, a generous en-
courager of learning, under him the efforts of genius and study
began to revive ^f; and his reign became famous for a great
number of eminent historians, poets, orators, and philosophers,
of whom we shall speak in our notes (A).

^y BARON. ad ann. 100. ^z PLIN. l. x. ep. 102. ^a Idem ibid.
ep. 103. ^b TERTULL. apol. c. 2. ^c TERTULL. in apol.

^d EUSEB. l. v. c. 21. ^e TERTULL. apol. c. 5. ^f PLIN. pan. p.
84. TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2, 3.

(A) These were *Julius Frontinus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Pliny the*
younger, *Pompeius Saturninus*, *Titinius Capito*, *Claudius Ptole-*
my.

Verginius Romanus, &c. *Sextus Julius Frontinus* was prætor in the first year of *Vespasian's* reign, but yielded that dignity to *Domitian*, after having held it but one day, or two at most (1). Some years after he commanded in *Britain* with great reputation and success, till the ninth year of *Vespasian's* reign, when he was succeeded by the celebrated *Agricola*. As that command was given to such only as had been consuls, *Frontinus*, no doubt, had been honoured with the consulship before he was sent into *Britain*. He is thought to have been consul a second time under *Nerva*, and a third under *Trajan* (2). He was likewise augur, and succeeded in that dignity by *Pliny* the younger, in the fourth year of *Adrian's* reign (3); whence we conclude, that he died that year, the 100th of the christian æra, the augurate being an employment for life. He was a great civilian, and highly esteemed by all the men of learning who flourished in his time, especially by *Martial*, who mentions and commends him in his epigrams. In his last will he desired, that no tomb might be erected to him, saying that without such monuments the world would remember him, if his life had deserved it (4). *Tacitus*, speaking of *Frontinus*, says, that he was a man as great and able as he found scope and safety to be (5). He was one of the greatest commanders of his time (6), and gave signal proofs both of his bravery and conduct, in utterly subduing the powerful and warlike nation of the *Silures*, tho' besides the courage of the enemy, he was likewise obliged to struggle with the difficulties of places and situation (7). He wrote four books of *stratagems*, which have reached our times, and are supposed to have been inscribed to *Trajan*. As he flatters *Domitian* in several places of his work, we may thence conclude, that it was composed in his reign. In the preface, which he prefixed to this work, he tells us, that he had studied the military art with great application; and, besides the book of *stratagems*, written some others upon the same subject. We read likewise in *Vegetius*, that what *Frontinus* compendiously wrote on military discipline, and copied in great part from *Cato* the censor, was greatly esteemed by *Trajan* (8). *Ælian* quotes another work done by him, in which he seems to have collected whatever he found in *Homer* upon the subject of war (9). *Nerva* committed to him the care of the fountains and aqueducts of *Rome*; on which occasion he wrote the treatise of *aqueducts*, which has reached us; as have done some other small pieces of his, and are to be found in the collection which *Scribnerius* has made of the antients, who have treated of the military art, and published at *Antwerp* in 1607. From these pieces it appears, that they were written during the war with the *Dacians*; which some understand of *Domitian's* war with that people; others of *Trajan's* (10). As for the treatise of *colonies*, which

(1) *Tacit. l. iv. c. 39.* (2) *Noris epist. consul p. 61, 62.* (3) *Plin. l. iv. epist. 8.* (4) *Plin. l. xix. epist. 19.* (5) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 17.* (6) *Ælian. tact. p. 3.* (7) *Tacit. ibid.* (8) *Veg. l. i. c. 18.* (9) *Ælian. tact. c. i p. 1.* (10) *Veg. l. i. c. 4.*

Scribnerius ascribes to *Frontinus*. it either was not done by him, or has been since altered; for mention is there made of *Adrian*, *Severus*, *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, and other emperors, who reigned long after *Frontinus*'s time.

Cornelius Tacitus, the greatest orator, statesman, and historian, of his time, was, as is commonly supposed, the son of *Cornelius Tacitus*, a Roman knight, and procurator of *Belgic Gaul*. His promotion in the state was begun, as he himself informs us (11), by *Vespasian*, augmented by *Titus*, and by *Domitian* advanced yet higher. He was prætor under *Domitian* in the year of the *Christian æra* 88, the seventh of that prince's reign, and consul under *Nerva* in 97, being substituted to *Verginius Rufus*, whose panegyric, or funeral oration, he composed and pronounced (12). He married in 77, or 78, the daughter of the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* (13). *Lipsius* is of opinion, that he left children by her, since the emperor *Tacitus* pretended to be descended from him, or to be of the same family; for he called the historian, as *Vopiscus* informs us (14), his kinsman; and *Sidonius* counts him among the ancestors of *Polemus*, prefect of *Gaul* (15). He had been four years absent from *Rome*, when *Agricola* died (16); which has given occasion to some writers to suppose, without any foundation, that he was banished by *Domitian*. He pleaded at the bar, even after he had been consul; and, by his eloquent speeches, gained the reputation of the greatest orator of his time (17). He was much admired by *Pliny*, who lived in close friendship with him, and by all men of learning, who reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with a person of his extraordinary accomplishments (18). He seems to have published some speeches, and likewise verses (19), which have been long since lost. One of his letters has been conveyed to us amongst those of *Pliny*. Tho' he was the greatest orator of his time, he is now known only by his historical works, which can never be sufficiently admired and commended. He seems to have written his description of *Germany* during the second consulate of *Trajan*, that is, in 98. His life of *Agricola*, which *Lipsius* thinks one of the finest pieces in the *Latin* tongue, was, as we conjecture from the preface, one of the first pieces he composed, and probably published in the very beginning of *Trajan*'s reign. The work which comprises the lives of the emperors, from the death of *Galba* to that of *Domitian*, ought to be placed next; for in his annals he refers the reader to his account of the reign of *Domitian* (20). That work, which is by *Tertullian* (21), and other antients called the history of *Tacitus*, comprised the transactions of the *Romans*, both at home and abroad, from the year 69 to the year 96, of the *Christian æra*; but only

(11) *Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 1.* (12) *Plin. l. ii. ep. 1.* (13) *Tacit. vit. A. r. c. 9.* (14) *Vopis. in Tacit.* (15) *Sid. l. iv. epist. 4.* (16) *Tacit. ibid. c. 44.* (17) *Plin. l. ii. epist. 1, 11.* (18) *Ilem, l. iv. epist. 13, 15. l. ix. epist. 10.* (19) *Plin. l. ix. ep. 10.* (20) *Tacit. annal. c. 11.* (21) *Tertull. ap. c. 16. & lib. de spectac.*

his account of the year 69, and part of the year 70, have reached our times. Having ended his history, he began his *annals*, (for so he himself styles them) from the death of *Augustus* to the reign of *Galba*, in which there are many lamentable chasms, as we have observed in the preceding volume. He had reserved, as he himself tells us (22), for the study and employment of his old age, the reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*; but that work, it seems, he never undertook, no mention being made of it by any of the antients. He likewise proposed writing the history of *Augustus's* reign; but *St. Jerom* knew of no other historical works of *Tacitus*, except his history and annals, which were in all thirty books (23). Of these are now remaining, not without many chasms, only sixteen books of his annals, and five of his history. As to his style, it is sublime and expressive; his thoughts are great, his phrase elevated, and his words few. He shews himself, throughout his whole work, an upright patriot, zealous for public liberty and the welfare of his country; a declared enemy to tyrants, and to the tools of tyranny; a lover of human kind, a man of virtue, who adores liberty and truth, and every where recommends them. As no man had seen more, and few thought so much, he draws events from their first sources, takes off every disguise, and penetrates every artifice. He saw every thing in a true and uncommon light; whence his reflections are masterly and profound, like mirrors, where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper size and colours. His style is a kind of language peculiar to himself, weighty, grave, and well-adapted to his subject. The older he grew, the more he curtailed his style; for his history is much more copious and flowing than his annals; so that what has by some been reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. His *Latin* is pure and classical; he has few or no words which had not been used by approved writers; nor does he often give new ideas to old words. However, as he is sparing of his words, and, after having started the idea, leaves the reader to pursue it, he is thence charged by the moderns with obscurity. The emperor *Tacitus* directed his books to be placed in all the libraries; and, for their better preservation, ordered ten copies of them to be transcribed every year at the public expence (24). But notwithstanding this care, many of them have been long since lost, as we have observed above. As for the dialogue on the decay of eloquence, which is by some ascribed to *Tacitus*, by others to *Quintilian*, and was written in the sixth year of the reign of *Vespasian*, *Lipsius*, from the style, is more inclined to adjudge it to *Quintilian* than to *Tacitus*. But of that piece we have spoken in the foregoing part of this volume (25). The unjust censure of *Mr. Bayle* and others upon *Tacitus*, as if he derived the actions of his princes, even the most innocent, from wicked counsels and designs, is fully confuted by *Mr. Gordon*, in the discourses which he has prefixed to his excellent translation of that historian (26); a translation which has been of great use to us in compiling part of this volume.

(22) *Tacit. hist. l. i. c. i.* (23) *Hier. in Zac.* (24) *Vopisc. in Tacit.* (25) See before p. 449. n. (G). (26) *Gord. p. 18-23.*
Pliny

Pliny was a native of *Comum*, now *Como*, the son of *L. Cæcilius*, by the sister of *Pliny* the elder, by whom he was adopted, and thence took the name of *C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus* (27). He was born in the eighth year of *Nero's* reign, the 61st of the christian æra, and studied eloquence under *Quintilian* (28) with such success, that he and *Tacitus* were reckoned the two greatest orators of their time. In his youth he followed the profession of arms (29), was prætor under *Domitian*, and under *Trajan* consul, augur, and governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*. But his chief employment was to plead causes, which he did with great eloquence and equal disinterestedness, not accepting of his clients fees or presents of any kind, even before the law forbidding them passed in the senate. He published several harangues or speeches, none of which have reached our times, except his panegyric upon the emperor *Trajan*. An inscription quoted by *Vossius* (30), ascribes to him some historical pieces; but of these no mention is made by any antient writer: nay, *Apollinaris Sidonius* tells us, that *Tacitus* did not apply himself to the writing of history, till he had in vain endeavoured to engage *Pliny* in that province (31). The letter, in which *Pliny* excuses himself from that task, is still extant (32), but inscribed to one *Capito*; perhaps in the time of *Sidonius*, that is, in the fifth century, it passed for a letter written to *Tacitus*. Some make *Pliny* author of the *lives of illustrious men*, which by most critics is ascribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, but by *Vossius* to *Aurelius Victor* (33). *Pliny* often mentions his own verses; but, as they have been long since lost, we can give no account of them. He himself made and published a collection of such of his letters as he thought the most diverting and instructing (34); and of these are still extant ten books, which have been of signal use to us in describing the reign of *Trajan*. He was, as appears from his letters, a man of great honour, probity, disinterestedness, and good-nature; of which we find innumerable instances in his letters. He presented the city of *Comum*, where he was born, with a valuable and numerous collection of books, which he bought at a great rate, and allotted a large fund to be employed, partly in purchasing other books, and partly in maintaining and bringing up the children (35). As the citizens of *Comum* used, for want of proper masters at home, to send their children to be educated at *Mediolanum*, now *Milan*, he prevailed upon them to contribute towards the hiring and maintaining of professors in all arts and sciences, and was himself at the third part of the charge; he would have willingly paid the whole, had he not believed, that the parents of the children, by being obliged to disburse two thirds of the requisite sum, would be thence more effectually induced to chuse professors well qualified for that trust, than if the whole charge were born by him; in which

(27) *Plin. prol. & l. v. ep. 8.* (28) *Idem, l. ii. ep. 14.* (29) *Idem, l. i. ep. 10.* (30) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 30.* (31) *Sidon. l. iv. ep. 23.* (32) *Plin. l. v. ep. 8.* (33) *Voss. ibid.* (34) *Plin l. i. ep. 1.* (35) *Idem, l. i. ep. 8. l. vii. ep. 18.*

case, favour, he apprehended, might prevail over merit (36). Besides his countrymen, he presented others with considerable sums, namely, *Quintilian*, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter (37); the poet *Martial*, when he left *Rome*, to return to *Spain*, his native country, (38); and one *Romanus Firmius*, to make up the sum that was requisite for his being raised to the equestrian order (39). He was not himself possessed of a large estate; but by bestowing little upon himself, he could afford bestowing a great deal upon his friends, as he had no children (40). A lady of merit, named *Corellia*, for whom *Pliny* had a particular value, having betrayed to him a desire of having lands on the lake of *Cemo*, he generously offered her a small estate, lately fallen to him, which bordered on that lake. *Corellia* refused the present, and desired to know the value of it; when one of *Pliny's* freedmen, no doubt by private orders from his master, undervalued it, and sold it to her at a very low rate; which *Corellia* afterwards knew, but *Pliny* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept the full value of the land (41). He at once discharged all the debts of one of his friends, substituting himself in the room of all his other creditors, who had brought him into great trouble. When his friend died, his daughter *Calvina* was for renouncing the inheritance; but *Pliny*, to save the reputation of the deceased, generously forgave her what she owed him, tho' he had contributed a considerable sum towards her fortune, when she was married (42). The reader will find in *Pliny's* letters innumerable other instances of his generosity, disinterestedness, and good-nature, which the brevity we have proposed to ourselves will not allow us to relate in this place.

Pompeius Saturninus flourished under *Trajan*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*, with whom he lived in great friendship, as an excellent orator, poet, and historian (43). *Pliny* published nothing without submitting it first to the judgment of *Saturninus* (44). This is perhaps the same *Saturninus* who died in the fifth year of *Trajan's* reign, and bequeathed part of his estate to *Pliny* (45). His works have been long since lost. *Titinius Capito* is likewise mentioned by *Pliny* as a writer of no mean character. He described the deaths of illustrious men, amongst whom were some of his cotemporaries, condemned, no doubt, by *Domitian* (46). *Pliny* tells us elsewhere (47), that with excellent verses he celebrated the actions of great men; and adds, that he prevailed upon the emperor, *Nerva* or *Trajan*, to erect a statue in the forum to *L. Silanus*, who was by *Nero's* orders put to death in the year 65, the eleventh of that prince's reign. *Cataneus*, in his notes upon *Pliny* (48), tells us, that *Lactantius* quotes a book upon the public shows written by *Titinius Capito*. *Claudius Pollio*, who is likewise greatly commended by

(36) *Idem*, l. iv. ep. 13. (37) *Idem*, l. vi. ep. 32. (38) *Idem*, l. iii. ep. 21. (39) *Idem*, l. i. ep. 19. (40) *Idem*, l. ii. ep. 4. (41) *Idem*, l. vii. ep. 11. & 14. (42) *Idem*, l. ii. ep. 4. (43) *Idem*, l. vii. ep. 16. (44) *Idem* *ibid.* ep. 8. (45) *Idem*, l. v. ep. 7. (46) *Idem*, l. viii. ep. 12. (47) *Idem*, l. i. ep. 17.

Pliny (49), wrote the life of *Musonius Bassus*, his benefactor. *Suidas* speaks of one *Asinius Pollio*, who was a native of *Tralles* in *Asia*, and a celebrated sophist and philosopher, and ascribes to him several pieces; amongst the rest, one giving an account of the memorable actions and sayings of the philosopher *Musonius*; but he adds, that *Musonius* taught at *Rome* in the time of *Pompey the Great* (50); but is commonly thought to have been therein guilty of a great oversight (51). *Pliny* likewise mentions and commends one *Verginius Romanus* who wrote comedies and other poetical pieces (52). Under *Trajan* flourished, according to *Vossius* (53), two Greek poets, *Serapio*, an *Athenian*, *Plutarch's* friend, and *Rufus*, an *Ephesian*, author of the six books upon simples, known to *Galen* and other physicians. *Pliny* seems to have entertained a mighty opinion of the sophist *Icæus*, who came to *Rome*, when he was about sixty (54), and there gained, as appears from *Juvenal* (55), the reputation of an eloquent orator. He was a native of *Assyria*, and in his youth had led a most debauched life; but afterwards changing his conduct, applied himself to the study of philosophy and eloquence (56). He seems to have left no other works behind him, except his declamations. Of *Plutarch*, *Suetonius*, *Epietetus*, and several other writers, who lived under *Trajan*, but died after him, we shall speak anon.

- (48) *Plin. l. i. ep. 17.* (49) *Idem, l. vii. ep. 31.* (50) *Suidas, p. 579.* (51) *Vide Jons. l. iii. c. 7.* (52) *Plin. l. vi. ep. 31.* (53) *Voss. poet. Græc. p. 73.* (54) *Plin. l. i. ep. 3.* (55) *Juv. sat. iii. ver. 74.* (56) *Philostr. soph. c. 20. Suidas, p. 1274.*

C H A P. XXI.

The history of Rome, from the death of Trajan, to the death of Marcus Aurelius, when the power of the Roman empire began to decline.

Adrian.

His ex-
traction,
employ-
ments, &c.

Adrian, who succeeded Trajan in the empire, was the son of *Ælius Adrianus Afer*, cousin-german to that prince, and of *Domitia Paulina*, sprung from an illustrious family in *Cadiz*. His family came originally from *Italica* in *Spain*, the native city of Trajan, whither Adrian, in the account he wrote of his own life, pretended, that his ancestors had removed, some ages before, from the city of *Adria* in the country of the *Picentes*, now the dukedom of *Atri* in *Abruzzo*. *Marullinus*, his great-great-grandfather, was the first Roman senator of the family ^b. He was born, according to *Spartian*, in *Rome*, on the twenty-fourth of *January*, in the year seventy-six of the christian æra, while *Vespasian* was consul the seventh time, and *Titus* the fifth ⁱ. *Eutropius* writes, that he was born in *Italica*; but *Casaubon* thinks he was therein mistaken ^k. He was named *P. Ælius Adrianus*, or *Hadrianus*, to which names he added, after his accession to the empire, that of *Trajan* ^l. His father, dying when he was but ten years old, left him under the guardianship of Trajan and *Cælius Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, as *Salmasius* calls him, a Roman knight ^m. He applied himself to the study of the *Greek* tongue, and was, at the age of fifteen, so thoroughly acquainted with that language, that he was commonly surnamed the *Young Grecian*. He then went to serve in *Spain*, and staid there till he was recalled by Trajan, with whom he lived as his son. He was soon after appointed by *Domitian* one of the decemvirs, and thence raised to the command of the second auxiliary legion, with which he was sent into *Mæsia* about the latter end of that prince's reign. We are told, that in *Mæsia* an astrologer assured him, that the sovereign power was by the fates destined to him; which was confirming what his great-uncle *Ælius Adrianus*, who was likewise skilled

^b SPART. in Adrian. p. 1—3. Paris. 1620.
PAGI, p. 30. ^k CASAE. in not. ad Spart.
786. ^m SPART. ibid.

ⁱ Idem ibid. & P.
^l DIO. l. lxxviii. p.

in astrology, had foretold many years beforeⁿ. When *Trajan* was adopted by *Nerva*, he was sent to him with the congratulations of the army upon that occasion, and soon after removed by *Nerva* from *Mæsia* into *Upper Germany*; whence he hastened, upon the death of that prince, which happened soon after, to carry the first tidings of it to *Trajan*. *Servianus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, and was no friend to *Adrian*, tho' he had married his sister *Paulina*, detained him, till he had dispatched an express to *Trajan* with the news of *Nerva's* death, and afterwards supplied him with an old chariot, which broke down by the way, that he might not ingratiate himself with the new emperor, by first informing him of his accession to the empire. But nevertheless *Adrian* pursued his journey on foot with such expedition, that he arrived in *Lower Germany*, where *Trajan* then was, before the express^o. *Trajan* kept him with him; but though he was his kinsman, his guardian, though he gave him afterwards his sister's grand-daughter, *Sabina*, in marriage, yet he never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him. In his youth he had squandered away his estate, and contracted great debts; which, with his other vices, *Servianus* took care to exaggerate to the emperor, in order to estrange his mind from him, and prevent his adopting him; for *Servianus* entertained a very indifferent opinion of *Adrian*, and believed, that *Rome* could never be happy under such a prince^p; and truly he was a person of most extraordinary parts, and had some great virtues, but allayed with no less vices. He was endowed with a memory almost beyond belief; he could repeat by heart a whole book, however difficult and intricate the subject of it was, after having once perused it; he knew the name of every soldier in the army, and remembered the names of all the old soldiers, who had once served under him, though they had been long disbanded. He excelled in every branch of learning, and was without comparison the best orator, poet, grammarian, philosopher, and mathematician of his time; thoroughly skilled in physic; well acquainted with the virtues and properties of most herbs and minerals; in drawing and painting he was equal to the greatest masters; sung, and played upon all kinds of instruments, so as to be reckoned the most skilful musician of the age he lived in. He even applied himself to the study of judicial astrology and magic. He used at the same time to write, dictate to several secretaries, give audience to his ministers, and discourse with them about affairs of the greatest importance; for no man was better acquainted with his domestic affairs, than he with those of the whole empire. His court was constantly

Trajan
conferred
no extra-
ordinary
honours
upon him.

His extra-
ordinary
memory,
learning,
&c.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

• Idem, p. 4.

• Idem, p. 3.

*Favours
the learn-
ed.*

*Instances
of his cle-
mency.*

*Remem-
bers and
punishes
some inju-
ries done
him in
Trajan's
time.*

crouded with philosophers, orators, poets, mathematicians, &c. for whom he always shewed a particular esteem, and took great pleasure in disputing with them, and challenging the poets by extemporary verses, at which he had an extraordinary talent. Having one day excepted against an expression used by *Favorinus*, that philosopher modestly yielded, though he might have produced out of good authors sufficient authority for his expression; which seeming strange to his friends, *Do you think*, said pleasantly *Favorinus*, *that I will pretend to be more learned than one who has thirty legions at his beck?* In the beginning of his reign, he gave many instances of his clemency and good-nature; but afterwards caused several persons to be unjustly put to death: whence some writers cry him up as a most merciful prince, while others represent him as naturally inclined to cruelty, but often forgiving injuries, through fear of undergoing the fate of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*. In the very beginning of his reign, *Tatianus* advised him to put three persons to death, who, he said, would not fail to raise disturbances, viz. *Bæbius Macer* governor of *Rome*, *Laberius Maximus*, and *Craffus Frugi*, of whom the two latter had conspired against *Trajan*, and were then in banishment; but the emperor would not hearken to any suggestions against them saying, It would be highly unjust and tyrannical to punish any one for a crime, which he was only likely to commit¹. *Spartian* writes, that he freely forgave all those who had any-ways injured him while he was a private person; and that one day meeting one of them after he was emperor, he told him, that he had escaped by his promotion to the empire². On the other hand, *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he remembered, and punished with great severity, some injuries done him in *Trajan's* time; and that he never forgave the famous architect *Apollodorus*, who had spoken contemptuously of him before that prince³. He allowed every one free access to him, and seemed never better pleased than when they spoke to him with liberty, or admonished him of his faults. Of this we read the following instance: A woman having one day applied to him on occasion of a troublesome law-suit, the emperor told her, That he was not then at leisure to hear her. The woman, not satisfied with this answer, cried out to him aloud, *To what purpose then are you emperor?* With which frankness *Adrian* was so well pleased, that, postponing all other affairs, he heard her with great patience, and dismissed her fully satisfied⁴. The *Roman* people demanding one day with great noise in the theatre

¹ Idem ibid. AMMIAN. l. xxx. DIO. l. lxxix. p. 790. ² SPART. p. 10. ³ Idem. p. 8. ⁴ DIO. l. lxxix. p. 789. ^u Idem, p. 790.

something, which *Adrian* was no-ways inclined to grant them, he ordered the public crier to command silence with the imperious word *Tacete, Be silent*, used by *Domitian* on the like occasion; but the crier, instead of obeying him, said only, *The emperor begs you would be silent*; which *Adrian* was so far from resenting, that he commended his prudence, and amply rewarded it ^w. He was courteous and affable towards persons of all ranks, conversed familiarly with his friends and visited them, nay, and his freedmen, when indisposed, twice or thrice a day, comforting them in their sickness, and assisting them with his counsels. He frequently entertained them at his table, and honoured them with his company at their houses, without being invited, conversing with them more like a private person than a prince. He refused them nothing which he thought reasonable to grant them, and enriched some who had never asked him the least favour ^x; but at the same time gave ear to slanderers, and believed every tale that was whispered against them; whence all those whom he had most favoured and raised to the highest honours, were in the end disgraced, treated by him as enemies, and either put to death or banished ^y. His liberality knew no bounds; he allotted large sums for the maintenance of poor children of both sexes, and in that excelled even *Trajan*. Upon such of the senators as were, by misfortunes, reduced to poverty, he settled pensions suitable to their rank, and the number of their children. Among the populace he distributed yearly an immense quantity of corn, made large presents to such of the knights as were not able to support their dignity, and supplied all those whom he appointed governors of provinces, or commanders of armies, with horses, mules, cloaths, and money to defray the charges of their journey. During the feast of *Saturn*, he used to send presents to his friends, laying hold of that opportunity to reward them for their fidelity and attachment to his person. His presents to kings and princes always exceeded those which they had sent him. Such of the public professors as were no longer able to discharge their office as they ought, he dismissed with marks of honour and handsome allowances. As he spent most part of his reign in visiting the provinces of the empire, he left every-where marks of a magnificence truly great and princely ^z. He is said never to have seized unjustly any man's property ^a; neither would he ever receive legacies left him by persons who were not known to him, or by such of his friends as had children ^b. He shewed on all occasions a high

Bears to be admonished.

Kind to his friends.

But gives ear to slanderers.

His liberality.

^w Idem, ibid. ^x Idem. p. 7. DIO. p. 791. ^y SPART. & DIO. ibid. ^z SPART. p. 10. DIO. p. 790. PHILOST. soph. c. 27. ^a DIO. ibid. ^b SPART. p. 9.

*Respects
the senate.*

*Is impar-
tial in the
admini-
stration of
justice.*

*Allows no
power to
his freed-
men.*

*He revives
the ancient
military
discipline.*

respect for the senate, consuls, and other magistrates, transacting nothing without their advice. He scarce ever failed assisting at their assemblies, when he was either at or near *Rome*, and usually waited on the consuls to their houses. He would not suffer the *Roman* knights to sit as judges in the cause of a senator, tho' that had been customary when the cause was pleaded before the emperor in person; neither would he allow of any appeals from the senate to him^c. He administered justice with great impartiality, following therein the advice of *P. Jumentius Celsus*, *Salvius Julianus*, and *Neratius Priscus*, all three men of great probity, and the best civilians in *Rome*. He narrowly inquired into the conduct and behaviour of his ministers, discharging them when guilty of the least injustice or misdemeanor. He allowed his freedmen no power; and such as pretended to have any, in order to gain by that means credit or wealth, he punished with the utmost severity. Observing one day from his window one of his freedmen walking between two senators, he sent one of his attendants to give him a box on the ear, and tell him, that it did not become him to walk between two persons, to whom he might one day be a slave^d. He was an enemy to all pomp and parade; whence he would never suffer the senators to attend him but upon business. He usually returned from the senate in a sedan, that the senators might be dispensed from accompanying him to the palace. His medals are all very plain, without the usual titles of *emperor*, *high pontiff*, *father of his country*, &c. He would not suffer his name to be put upon any of the stately buildings which he erected, except upon the temple which he built in honour of *Trajan*; but at the same time was pleased that several aqueducts and cities should bear his name^e. Out of *Rome* he laid quite aside the port and majesty of an emperor; in his garb and dress he little varied from a common soldier; his diet was such as chance presented; he usually marched on foot, with his head bare, making no distinction between the frozen mountains of the *Alps*, and the scorching deserts of *Africa*; he visited the soldiers in person when sick, took particular care of their provisions, made them presents, &c. but at the same time put down the use of arbours, shady walks, bowers, &c. banishing from the camp whatever seemed in the least to encourage luxury and idleness. He was acquainted with every soldier in the army, knew his age, remembered his exploits, if he had performed any, &c. He preferred none but men of courage, strength, and good characters, saying, Such as the officers are, such will the soldiers soon be. By this means he revived and restored the

^c Idem, p. 17.

^d Idem, p. 10.

^e Idem, p. 9, 10.

ancient

ancient military discipline, which, by the negligence of many princes, had been decaying ever since the time of *Augustus*^f. He is generally blamed by the ancients as too inquisitive, and prying into every one's secrets, tho' they no-ways concerned him; as addicted to the most infamous pleasures, and abandoned to all manner of superstition; which was the chief cause of his persecuting the christians, whom he looked upon as enemies to the idolatrous worship of his gods^g. He took great delight in hunting, and is said to have killed bears, lions, and other wild beasts, with his own hand. He founded a town in *Mæsia*, which he called *Adrianotheræ*, that is, *Adrian's chace*, because he had killed a bear there. He loved his hunting-horses and dogs to such a degree, that he built them tombs, and wrote himself their epitaphs^h. He was the first emperor, as *Spartian* observesⁱ, who let his beard grow, to cover some scars, which disfigured that part of his face. He married, as we have related above, *Julia Sabina*, grand daughter to *Marciana*, *Trajan's* sister; but treated her more like a slave than a wife, and often declared, that, had he been a private person, he would have divorced her. However he suffered her to be honoured with the title of *Augusta*, when he took that of the *father of his country*^k. He is thought in the end to have poisoned her, being no longer able to bear with her haughty and imperious temper. She seems to have been a woman of a very indifferent character; for she is said to have publicly bragged of her having prevented *Adrian* from having any children by her, and by that means saved the world from utter destruction^l. Having thus premised a succinct account of the virtues and vices of *Adrian*, we shall now proceed to the history of his reign, according to the order of time. Having caused himself to be declared emperor on the eleventh of *August* of the year 117, he immediately wrote to the senate, excusing his having assumed that title without their consent and authority, alledging, that he had been forced to it by the soldiery. He begged they would confirm the title, without conferring other honours upon him till he deserved them. In the same letter he solemnly promised never to put any senator to death, nor to transact any affair of consequence without their counsel and advice^m. He doubled the donative given by other emperors to the soldiery, and appointed *Tatianus*, or *Attianus*, formerly his guardian, with *Similis*, captains of the prætorian guards. *Similis* was a man

*His vices.**Dislikes his wife Julia Sabina.*

^f Idem, p. 5. DIO. p. 790—792. ^g DIO. & SPART. ibid. AMMIAN. l. xxv. HIER. chron. TERTUL. apol. c. 5. ^h SPART. p. 12, 13. DIO. p. 792. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k EUSEB. chron. OROS. l. vii. c. 13. ^l VICT. epit. ^m DIO. l. lxix. p. 788.

The characters of
Similis and
Tatianus
captains of
the præ-
torian
guards.

Adrian
abandons
the coun-
tries con-
quered by
Trajan.

of great probity, moderation, and prudence, and had distinguished himself in quality of centurion under *Trajan*, who had a particular value for him. As it was much against his will that he accepted the command conferred upon him by *Adrian*, he resigned it three years after, withdrew into the country, and there spent in retirement the seven remaining years of his life. A little before he died, he composed his own epitaph, importing, that he had been seventy-six years upon the earth, but lived only seven ⁿ. *Tatianus* was a man of a quite different character; for he advised *Adrian*, upon his accession to the empire, to put several persons to death; and was thought to have been the chief author of the murders, which that prince committed about two years after ^o. *Adrian* had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he deprived the brave *Lusius Quietus*, who had served with great credit under *Trajan*, of the command of his countrymen the *Moors*, suspecting him as if he aspired at the empire. As to the conquests made by his predecessor, he resolved to abandon them all; and accordingly withdrew his troops from *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*; so that the *Euphrates* became anew the boundary of the *Roman* empire. He allowed the *Armenians* to chuse themselves a king; and as the *Parthians* were dissatisfied with *Parthamaspates*, whom *Trajan* had raised to the throne, he appointed him king of some neighbouring nation, and suffered the *Parthians* to recal *Cosroes*, whom *Trajan* had driven out two years before ^p. He was likewise determined to abandon *Dacia*; but his friends prevailed upon him to keep a province, in which such numbers of *Roman* citizens had settled. However, he ordered the arches of the famous bridge built by *Trajan* over the *Danube* to be broken down, fearing the barbarians might make themselves masters of it, and invade the *Roman* territories ^q. *Adrian*, having giving the necessary orders for maintaining the tranquillity of the east, and appointed *Catilius Severus* governor of *Syria*, left *Antioch*, and set out for *Rome*, which he did not reach till the next year ^r. *Epiphanius* tells us, that before he left the east, he went into *Egypt*; and that passing by *Jerusalem* forty-seven years after it had been taken by *Titus*, on that occasion he resolved to rebuild it; which design, however, he did not put in execution before the latter end of his reign ^s.

ⁿ SPART. cum not. Salmaf. p. 19. DIO. p. 796. ^o SPART. & DIO. ibid. ^p SPART. p. 10. DIO. l. lxxviii. p. 776. ^q EUTROP. in Adrian. & DIO. ibid. ^r SPART. p. 3. ^s EPIPHAN. mens. c. 14.

THE following year, *Adrian* entered upon his second consulship, having been named to that dignity by *Trajan* before he died, together with *Fuscus Salinator*, who had married the daughter of *Servianus*, *Adrian's* niece ¹. This year *Adrian* returned to *Rome*, where he was received by all ranks of men with extraordinary demonstrations of joy; but he could by no means be prevailed upon to accept the triumph, which had been prepared for *Trajan*, and was by the senate decreed for him. At his motion that honour was conferred upon the image of *Trajan*, which *Adrian* himself seems to have carried ^u. Soon after his entrance into the city, he remitted to the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy* all debts, without restriction, due from them to the exchequer, and to particular persons in the provinces what was owing by them for the last sixteen years, burning in *Trajan's* new square all the bonds and registers relating to those debts, in order to secure every one against such claims. The sum, which he forgave on this occasion, amounted to seven millions of our money and upwards. No wonder therefore, that such a generous action is so much extolled by the historians of those times, and mentioned in most of the inscriptions and medals of this and the following year. On one of the medals which has reached our times, *Adrian* is represented with a torch in his hand, setting fire to the bonds, with this legend, *He enriches the whole world* ^w. Besides, he lessened the taxes both at *Rome* and in the provinces, and eased the cities of the great burden which had been laid upon them by *Trajan*, of supplying such as travelled for the service of the public with horses, chariots, and carriages, which was thenceforth done at the charge of the emperor ^x.

He arrives at Rome; but refuses the triumph decreed him by the senate.

Remarkable instances of his generosity.

THE following year, *Adrian* was consul the third time; but resigned the fasces after four months, and never after resumed them. He had for his colleague one *Rusticus*, of whom we find no further mention. This year the *Sarmatians* and the *Roxolani*, whose country bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*, invaded *Illyricum*; which obliged *Adrian* to leave *Rome* and hasten into *Mæsia*, where he defeated the barbarians upon their return from *Illyricum*. Those who escaped saved themselves by swimming across the *Danube*, and soon after sent ambassadors to *Adrian*, who granted them honourable terms, and by that means put a speedy end to the war. They afterwards quarrelled with one another, and chose *Adrian* for their umpire, who composed their differences to the general satisfaction of both parties. Having thus both terrified the barbarians and at the same time gained their affections, he appointed *Martius Turbo*, whom he had re-

The Sarmatians and Roxolani defeated.

¹ IDAT. CASSIODOR. ONUPH. in fast.

^u SPART. p. 3.

^w SPANH. l. ix. p. 811, 815.

^x SPART. p. 17.

Four con-
sulars put
to death.

called from *Mauritania*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and led his army into *Illyricum*; whence he wrote to the senate, complaining of *Cornelius Palma*, *L. Publius Celsus*, *Domitius Nigrinus*, and *Lusius Quietus*, as if they had formed a conspiracy against him. They were all consulars, men of extraordinary parts, and had been greatly esteemed and beloved by *Trajan*; but nevertheless the senate, out of complaisance to the emperor, ordered them to be immediately put to death, without so much as acquainting them that they had been accused. As no one believed them guilty of the crime laid to their charge; their death drew upon the emperor the public hatred, who thereupon left *Illyricum* and hastened back to *Rome*, where he publicly declared upon his oath, that they had been executed against his will and without his knowledge; but was not believed, says *Dion Cassius*, by those who knew, that *Palma* and *Celsus* had been always his enemies, and that he was jealous of *Nigrinus* and *Quietus*, who were equally beloved and esteemed by the *Roman* people ^r. Besides these four excellent men, as *Dion Cassius* styles them, several other persons of great merit and distinction were accused and condemned, as privy to the supposed conspiracy; which filled the city with dread and terror. But *Adrian* himself, having got rid of those whom he chiefly feared, put a stop to the cruel and unjust proceedings of the senate, by an edict, forbidding any one to be accused or tried upon the law of majesty. He was desirous of having *Tatianus*, formerly his guardian, and now captain of the prætorian guards, put to death; for he was a man of a haughty and imperious temper, and assumed greater power and authority, than the emperor was willing to grant him; but nevertheless *Adrian*, not thinking it adviseable to spill more blood, dissembled his hatred for the present, and prevailed upon *Tatianus* to resign his command, by offering him a place in the senate, and the consular ornaments, which he readily accepted. *Martius Turbo*, governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, and one of the best officers of his age, was put in his room, as was *Septicius Clarus* in the room of *Similis*, who this year resigned of his own accord, and retired from the city ^z. Towards the end of the year the emperor went into *Campania*, where he relieved with great generosity the poor inhabitants of all the cities through which he passed.

THE next consuls were *L. Catilius Severus*, whom *Adrian* had appointed governor of *Syria* three years before, and *Titus Aurelius Fulvus*, who succeeded *Adrian* in the empire, and

^r Dio. l. lxxix. p. 788. ^z Idem. p. 795, 796. SPART. p. 7.

is commonly known by the name of *Antoninus Pius*^a. This *Adrian* resolves to visit all the provinces of the empire. year *Adrian*, who used to say, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, who illuminates not one place, but all the corners and regions of the earth, began his progress, with a design to visit in person all the provinces of the empire, and examine the state of each country subject to *Rome*, that he might not be obliged to depend intirely upon the accounts transmitted to him by his ministers and governors. Thus he employed almost the whole remainder of his reign, that is, near seventeen years. From several antient coins we learn, that he visited the following countries, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Mauritania*, *Africa*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Achaia* or *Greece*, *Eubæa*, *Macedonia*, *Egypt*, and the city of *Alexandria*, *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Asia*, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and *Dalmatia*^b. No mention is made on any of the medals, which have reached us of *Britain*, *Armenia*, or *Dacia*; which provinces, it is certain, he visited, as we shall relate anon. He began his progress with *Gaul*, where he viewed all the chief cities and *Roman* forts, and signalized himself by extraordinary bounties, relieving with great generosity the poor inhabitants in all the places through which he passed. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, where lay the flower of the *Roman* troops; and therefore he spent some time there, in order to revive and establish among them the antient military discipline; for he did not leave *Germany* till the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*, grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Augur*, or, as he is called in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, *Augurinus*, were consuls. During their consulate, *Adrian*, leaving *Germany*, returned to *Gaul*, and from thence passed over into *Britain*, where he is said to have reformed many abuses^c. The greatest part of the island was, when he arrived in *Britain*, subject to *Rome*; but the northern nations had, upon the departure of *Agricola*, revolted, and recovered their antient liberty. *Adrian* did not think it advisable, nor worth his while, to make war upon them, and reduce them anew; but, in order to secure the countries belonging to the *Romans* against the incursions of the warlike *Caledonians*, he caused a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty miles in length^d. In other countries too, where the barbarians were not separated from the *Romans* by rivers, he ordered walls to be made of earth, says *Spartian*^e, which were strengthened with

He goes into Gaul, and thence into Germany.

Crosses over into Britain.

His wall there.

^a ONUPH. in fast. p. 220. ^b BIRAG. p. 175, 177. ^c SPART. p. 6. ^d Idem ibid. USSER. Britan. eccles. antiq. p. 1024. Dublin 1635. ^e Idem ibid.

sharp stakes driven deep into the ground. In *Britain* he disgraced and discharged his secretary *Suetonius Tranquillus*, no doubt the historian, and *Septicius Clarus*, captain of the prætorian guards, for their disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina*^f. Having settled the affairs of *Britain*, he returned to *Gaul*, and built at *Nisme* a magnificent palace, in honour of *Plotina*, *Trajan's* widow. No remains of this statel edifice, or *basilic*, as *Spartian* calls it, are now to be seen; but the antiquaries take the magnificent amphitheatre, which the inhabitants calls *les Arenes*, the *Pont du gard*, and several other antient buildings, which are still to be seen in that city, to have been raised by *Adrian*, or by his successor *Antoninus*^g. From *Gaul* *Adrian* went into *Spain*, and passed the winter at *Tarraco*, now *Tarragona*, where he rebuilt the temple of *Augustus* founded by *Tiberius*, and held a general assembly of the states of *Spain*, in order to compose the differences which reigned amongst them, about the raising of levies to recruit the *Roman* armies. At *Tarraco* he narrowly escaped being killed by a slave, who, while the emperor was walking in his master's garden, assaulted him with a drawn sword. *Adrian*, closing with him, seized him, and delivered him to the guards, who were hastening to his assistance; but afterwards, finding the slave was distracted in his senses, he committed him to the care of the physicians, and took no farther notice of the attempt. *Adrian* did not visit the city of *Italica*, whence his family originally came; but distinguished it with many privileges^h. *Gellius* quotes a discourse made by the emperor in the senate in favour of *Italica*, *Utica*, and other free cities, demanding the rights and privileges of colonies, tho' *Adrian* himself thought the condition of free cities preferable to that of the coloniesⁱ. From *Spain* the emperor returned to *Rome* in the month of *April*, as appears from an antient inscription, *Acilius Aviola* and *Cornelius Pansa* being then consuls; but he did not stay there long; for either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, when *Quintus Arrius Pætinus* and *Caius Ventidius Apronianus* were consuls, he was, according to *St. Jerom*, and *Eusebius*^k, at *Athens*. During his stay in that city, the *Cephissus* happening to break over its banks, and lay under water great part of the city of *Eleusina*, he caused a bridge to be built over that river, and provided against its overflowing for the future^l. From *Athens* he passed into the east, where he apprehended a war with the *Parthians*; but prevented it by a conference, with whom history does not inform us;

He returns
to Gaul.

And thence
goes into
Spain.

Where he
is in dan-
ger of be-
ing assassi-
nated.

Returns to
Rome.

Goes to A-
thens, and
from
thence into
the east.

^f Idem ibid.

^g Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 23.

^h Idem, p.

6. & DIO. p. 792.

ⁱ AUL. GELL. l. xvi. c. 13.

^k EUSEB.

chron. p. 211.

^l HIER. in chron.

but it was in all likelihood with *Cosroes* king of the *Parthians*. The following year, *Manius Acilius Glabrio* and *Caius Belli-*
cus Torquatus being consuls, *Adrian* returned from the east *Visits se-*
through *Asia*, and visited *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cappa-*
docia, *Bithynia*, and *Phrygia*, ordering temples, squares, and *veral pro-*
other edifices, to be built at his expence, in most of the chief *vinces, and*
cities of those provinces, especially in *Nicomedia*, *Nicæa*, and *passes the*
Cyzicus. He likewise visited the islands of the *Archipelago*, *winter at*
and arrived in the beginning of the following year, *P. Cornelius*
Scipio Asiaticus and *Vettius Aquilinus* being consuls, in *Achaia*,
and passed the remaining part of the winter at *Athens*, where
he was initiated in the rites of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, called the
Eleusinian mysteries, following therein the example of *Hercules*
and *Philip* king of *Macedon*. From *Athens*, after he had pre- *Visits Sici-*
sided there at the public games, and bestowed innumerable fa- *ly, and re-*
vours upon the *Athenians*, he sailed to *Sicily*, where he was *turns to*
led by his curiosity to visit the top of mount *Ætna*, in order *Rome*.
to view from thence the rising sun, believed to exhibit there all
the colours of the rain-bow. From *Sicily* he returned to *Rome*
in the beginning of the following year, when *Annius Verus*,
grandfather to the emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, was the third
time consul, with *L. Varius Ambibulus* ^w. The two next years,
the eleventh and twelfth of *Adrian's* reign, and 127. and 128.
of the christian æra, are quite barren of events. The consuls
were *Titianus* and *Gallicanus*, *Torquatus Asprenas* and *Annius*
Libo ^x. The following year, *P. Juventius Celsus* and *Q. Ju-*
lius Balbus Marcellus being consuls, the cities of *Nicomedia*, *Rebuilds*
Cæsarea, and *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, were almost intirely over- *several*
turned by an earthquake; but rebuilt at the expence of the em- *cities at his*
peror, who was thence styled the *Restorer of Bithynia*, as ap- *own ex-*
pears from some medals ^y. In the beginning of this year, *Adri-*
an was still at *Rome*; for on the third of *March* he proposed
some difficulties touching inheritances, which were resolved by
a decree of the senate, dated the fourteenth of the same month ^z.
But soon after he set out again on a new progress, passing first *Crosses*
into *Africa*; where, upon his arrival, it rained, after a five *over into*
years drought, which, together with the many favours he be- *Africa,*
stowed upon the inhabitants of that province (for he left every- *whence he*
where signal marks of his liberality and good-nature), gained *returns to*
him the affections of all ranks of men. From *Africa* he re- *Rome*.
turned to *Rome*, and there caused the obsequies of *Plotina*, to
whom he was indebted for the empire, to be performed with

^w NORIS. epist. consul p. 78. DIO. l. lxxix. p. 797. ^x IDAT.
ONUPH. &c. in fast. ^y EUSEB. in chron. p. 211: BIRAG. p. 123.
^z Digest. v. c. 3. l. xx. NORIS. epist. consul. p. 421.

Plotina the utmost pomp and magnificence. She died either while *dies, and is ranked among the gods.* *Adrian* was in *Africa*, or soon after his return from thence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, composed verses in her praise, and caused her to be ranked among the gods ^a.

The temple of Venus and Rome. THE next consuls were *Q. Fabius Catullinus* and *M. Flavius Aper*, during whose administration a temple was built at *Rome*, in honour of that city and of the goddess *Venus*, which was called the *Temple of Rome*, and the *Temple of the fortune of Rome* ^b. On account of this temple *Adrian* changed the ancient name of the feast, which was yearly kept on the twenty-first of *April* for the foundation of *Rome*, calling it *Romana*, instead of *Palilia* ^c. This temple was one of the wonders which the emperor *Constantius* chiefly admired when he came to *Rome* ^d. It was afterwards consumed by accidental fire, and rebuilt by *Maxentius* ^e. When the fabric was ended, *Adrian* sent the plan of it to the famous architect *Apollodorus*; which was tacitly telling him, that he was not the only great architect in the world: and this was what the emperor meant by sending the plan after the building was accomplished; for though he himself had employed him, yet he bore him a private grudge, on account of his having checked him with great acrimony, for pretending, in *Trajan's* time, to give his opinion concerning certain buildings. *Apollodorus*, who was no flatterer, after having viewed the plan, desired those who brought it, to tell the emperor from him, that the fabric was too low for the place in which it stood; and, on the contrary, the statues of *Rome* and *Venus* too tall: the architect, added he pleasantly, has taken care, that the goddesses shall not rise, nor walk out. *Adrian* was so offended at the freedom of this answer, that though he had desired *Apollodorus* to acquaint him with his sentiments concerning the building, yet he banished him, and soon after, under some pretence or other, caused him to be put to death ^{*}. *Apollodorus finds fault with it, which costs him his life.*

Adrian returns to Asia, In the beginning of the summer, *Adrian* set out from *Rome*, with a design to visit anew the provinces of the east; and, passing through *Athens*, pursued his journey to *Asia*, where he consecrated several temples. In *Cappadocia* he purchased a great number of slaves for the servile offices of the camp. To *Cosrroes* he sent back his daughter, who had been taken prisoner by *Trajan*, and promised to restore to him his golden throne; but never performed his promise. He invited to a conference all the neighbouring kings, and many of them complied with the invitation, viz. *Malasses* king of the *Lazi*, *Resmagas* king of *the*

^a DIO p. 792.^b AMMIAN. I. XVI.^c ATHEN. I. VIII.^d AMMIAN. ibid.^e AUR. VICT. p. 526.^{*} DIO. p. 789.

the *Abafgi*, *Spadages* king of the *Sauni* or *Sauniges*, *Staquim-fan* king of the *Zydretæ*. The territories of these princes lay partly east, partly north, of the *Euxine* sea. Besides these, several other petty kings came to wait upon *Adrian*, and were by him entertained with great pomp and magnificence, and loaded with rich presents upon their departure. The *Bactrian* princes did not come, but sent ambassadors to conclude an alliance with the people of *Rome*. The kings of *Albania* and *Iberia* neither sent ambassadors, nor came in person; which they repented when they understood how the others had been received and entertained^f. In *Syria* he went up to the top of mount *Casius* in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, to observe from thence the rising sun, and to offer a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, who was worshipped upon that mountain; but he was there overtaken by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which fell both upon the priest and the victim^g. From *Syria* he passed into *Palestine* and *Arabia*, and from thence into *Egypt*^h. It is observed in the *Alexandrian* chronicle, that the famous colossus of *Rhodes* shook this year, the fourteenth of *Adrian's* reign, for the first timeⁱ. He visits Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt.

THE next year *Servius Octavius Lænas Pontianus* and *M. Antoninus Rufinus* were consuls. During their administration, *Salvius Julianus*, one of the most learned civilians of his age, compiled, by the emperor's command, the *perpetual edict*, containing all the laws which had been yearly published by the prætors in their edicts. This collection was called the *edictum perpetuum*, because it was to continue in force for ever, to be as a body of standing laws, to prevent the great confusion occasioned by the new edicts, and to serve as a guide and rule in the administration of justice throughout the whole empire^k. *Adrian* continued in *Egypt* all this and the following year, when *Augurinus* and *Sergianus* were consuls. At *Pelusium* he visited the tomb of *Pompey the Great*; and finding it almost intirely demolished, he ordered it to be repaired at his own expence^l, and performed the usual ceremonies in honour of the deceased hero. He disliked the fickle, turbulent, and satirical, temper of the *Egyptians*, especially of the *Alexandrians*. In a letter which he wrote to *Servianus* his brother-in-law, he tells him, that the *Christians*, *Sarmatians*, and *Jews*, of that country, were always ready to change their religion, because they all adored one and the same god, their own interest; and adds, that they all super- The edictum perpetuum. He dislikes the satirical temper of the Alexandrians.

^f SPART. p. 27. ARRIAN. in perip. Pont p. 7. ^g SPART. p. 7. ^h Dio. p. 792. ⁱ Chron. Alexand. p. 598. ^k Vide VOEURG. hist. Roman. Germanic. tit. i. p. 401. Francofurt. 1645. ^l Dio. p. 792. SPART. p. 7.

*He repairs
the city of
Alexan-
dria, and
restores to
the Alex-
andrians
their an-
cient pri-
vileges.*

*He visits
the mu-
seum.*

stitiously observed the motion and aspects of the stars, and pretended to be skilled in divination^m. He speaks of a patriarch, who now-and-then visited *Egypt*, meaning, no doubt, the patriarch of the *Jews*ⁿ. He concludes with this observation, that at *Alexandria* no one was suffered to be idle; insomuch, that even those who were blind followed some profession^o. That city had, it seems, forfeited many of its antient privileges, probably on account of some sedition; for St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was almost intirely ruined by the *Romans*^p; but *Adrian* not only repaired both the public and private buildings, and restored to the inhabitants their former privileges, but heaped new favours upon them; for which they returned him solemn thanks, and conferred upon him what honours they could. But this sense of gratitude was not in them long-lived; for he no sooner left their city, than they published most bitter and virulent lampoons against him and his favourites. In the palace at *Alexandria*, which took up the third part of the city, one quarter was consecrated to the muses and sciences, and thence called the *Museum*. There were lodged and entertained, at the expence of the public, men of learning, divided into several companies or colleges, according to the different sciences and sects which they professed. They were all under one head, who was named by the emperor, and honoured with the title of *pontiff*. This institution is generally ascribed to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, who placed there his famous library. The emperor *Claudius* to the antient museum added a new one, with large revenues. In the museum were always persons eminent in all the branches of literature, and it was by the learned deemed a great honour to be admitted into this society, or, as it is sometimes expressed, to this table. This distinction *Adrian* granted to *Dionysius* the sophist, whom he greatly esteemed, and to an *Egyptian* poet named *Panocrates*^q. *Adrian* did not fail visiting this place, and conversing with the most eminent men of that learned society: he examined them, and suffered himself to be by them examined, asking them many questions, and answering those which they proposed to him^r. The emperor *Caracalla* suppressed this society in the year 216^s; but it was afterwards re-established, and subsisted till the civil wars in the time of *Aurelian*, when that quarter, named *Bruchium*, was utterly demolished^t; insomuch, that about the latter end

^m VOPISC. vit. Sat. p. 245. ⁿ Vide PEARS de Ignat. c. 3. & VOPISC. ibid. ^o VOPISC. ibid. ^p HIER. chron. ^q SEXTABO, l. xvii. p. 793, 794. AMMIAN. l. xxii. DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 873. ATHEN. l. vi. & xxvi. ^r SPART. p. 10. ^s DIO. ibid. p. 873 ^t AMMIAN. l. xxii.

of the fourth century, it was quite deserted, and at some distance from the city ^u. *Adrian* from *Egypt* passed into *Libya Cyrenaica*, *He passes into Libya Cyrenaica* where he killed (for he took great pleasure in hunting) a lion of a monstrous size, which had committed great ravages in that country, and even unpeopled some parts of it ^w. What most of all rendered *Adrian's* journey into *Egypt* remarkable, was the death of *Antinous*, a beautiful youth, greatly beloved by a prince addicted to the most unnatural pleasures. He fell accidentally into the *Nile*, as he was sailing on that river with the emperor, and was drowned. This is the account which *Adrian* himself gave of his death. But *Dion Cassius* assures us, that the emperor, who had applied himself to the study of magic, being, by the false and execrable principles of that art, misled into a belief, that he should prolong his life by sacrificing a human victim to the infernal gods, was obliged to accept of the tender which *Antinous* made him of his life, all the rest preferring their own safety to the emperor's. *Adrian* would by choice have rather sacrificed his dearest friends, than his beloved catamite; but as no constraint was to be used, and none of them cared to prolong the emperor's life at the expence of their own, the offer of *Antinous* was accepted, and he sacrificed ^x. Be that as it will, the emperor bewailed him, says *Spartian* ^y, with all the tenderness and weakness of a woman lamenting the death of her husband. To allay in some measure his grief, he desired the *Greeks* to rank him amongst the gods; which they did accordingly: so that in a short time all the eastern provinces were filled with statues, temples, and chapels, consecrated to this new divinity. At *Mantineia* in *Arcadia* a magnificent temple was erected to him by *Adrian*, solemn sports instituted, and priests appointed to offer victims in honour of the deified *patric* ^z. It was even pretended, that he uttered oracles; but his answers were commonly thought to have been composed by *Adr. an* ^a. The astrologers, having discovered, or pretended to discover, a new star, gave out, that it was *Antinous* ^b. The deifying of *Antinous*, and the sacrilegious worship paid him, was made use of by the christian writers as an argument to impugn the divinity of the other gods, who were more antient, but had no better claim to their godhead, than the infamous *Antinous*, and to expose the pagan religion. This argument we find wonderfully handled by *Justin* the martyr, who was converted about this time to the christian religion, and likewise by *Hegesippus*, *He is ranked among the gods.*

^u Vide CASAUB. in Span. p. 36.

^w ATHEN. I. XV. p. 677.

^x DIO. I. LXIX. p. 793.

^y SPART. p. 7.

^z DIO. ibid. SPART.

p. 8 SPANH. I. VII. p. 652.—657.

^a SPART. p. 7. DIO. ibid.

^b DIO. ibid.

Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. *Adrian* caused the body of *Antinous* to be buried with the utmost magnificence, built a city in that place, and changed his tomb into a temple, where he was said to work miracles^c; which we find exposed and ridiculed by the pagans themselves.

Adrian returns to Syria.

THE following year, when *Hiberus* and *Sisenna* were consuls, *Adrian* left *Egypt*, and returned to *Syria*, where he passed this and the following year, and honoured *Servianus* his brother-in-law with a third consulship, and gave him *C. Vibius Juventius Varus* for his colleague. While *Servianus* was consul, the emperor wrote a letter to him, giving him an account of the state of *Egypt*, and of *Alexandria* its metropolis^d. At the same time, he sent some presents, both to him and his wife *Paulina*, the emperor's sister, who died soon after. As *Adrian* conferred no extraordinary honours upon her after her death, the Roman senate and people were the more displeased with those he had bestowed upon *Antinous*^e. Early in the spring, he left *Syria*, in order to return to *Italy*; but made a long stay at *Athens*, after having visited *Thrace* and *Macedon*. During his stay at *Athens*, the *Jews* revolted, provoked chiefly, says *Dion Cassius*^f, at *Adrian's* sending a Roman colony to *Jerusalem*; at his calling that city, after the name of his family, *Ælia Capitolina*, and his erecting a temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the place where the ancient temple stood. *Spartian* tells us, that *Adrian* published an edict, forbidding them to be circumcised; which prompted them to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty. Be that as it will, *Adrian* had no sooner left *Syria*, than they openly revolted, under the conduct of one *Barcoquebas*, whom *St. Jerom* calls *Coquebas* and *Coquibus*^g; but his true name was, as *Scaliger* informs us, upon the authority of the rabbies^h, *Cozeb*, that is, *Lyar*, or *Barcozebas*, that is, *the son of a lye*; but being ashamed of that name, he called himself *Coquebas*, which imports *a star*, or *Barcoquebas* signifying *the son of a star*; for to himself he applied the prophecy of the *Star* which was to go forth out of *Jacob*, and pretended to be the promised *Messiah*ⁱ. The *Jews* flocked to him from all parts, appointed him their king, and looked upon him as the deliverer and restorer of their nation^k. He over-ran all *Judæa* and *Syria*, committing every-where most dreadful ravages, and exerting his cruelty chiefly against the christians,

Visits Thrace and Macedon and returns to Athens.

The Jews revolt.

And commit dreadful ravages.

^c ORIGEN. in Cels. l. iii. p. 132.

^d VOPISC. vit. Sat p. 245.

^e DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 714.

^f DIO. l. lxix. p. 793.

^g HIER.

in Dan.

^h SCALIG. in chron. Euseb.

ⁱ EUSEB. l. iv. c. 6.

^k Idem ibid.

whom

whom he put to most exquisite torments, in order to oblige them to blaspheme Christ, and join him against the *Romans* ¹. *Titinius*, or *Tinnius Rufus*, who had been formerly governor of *Thrace*, as appears from some medals ^m, and commanded at that time in *Judæa*, being reinforced with some troops, which *Adrian* sent him upon the first notice of the revolt, fell upon the rebellious *Jews*, and, without distinction of sex or age, put all to the sword who fell into his hands. The *Jews* at first durst not appear in the open field; but either kept within the strong-holds which they had seized, or concealed themselves in caves, which for that purpose they had dug to an incredible depth, sallying from thence, and often surprising the *Romans* with great slaughter. However, *Adrian* seemed to despise them, till being joined by an infinite number of *Jews* from most provinces of the empire, and by many others who were not of that religion, but hoped to enrich themselves with plunder, they became formidable. Then the emperor, fearing a general insurrection, *Julius Severus* dispatched an express to *Julius Severus*, governor of *Britain*, and the greatest commander of his time, ordering him to leave that island, and hasten into *Palestine*, to take upon him the command of the *Roman* army there. *Severus*, upon his arrival, did not think it adviseable to venture an engagement, the *Jews* being very numerous, and fighting, as he observed in some skirmishes, like men in despair. He therefore contented himself with intercepting their provisions, straitening their quarters, and cutting off the parties which they sent out to forage. By this means he did not doubt, but he should reduce them at last to submit without any considerable loss on his side ⁿ. *Tinnius Rufus* commanded under him; for to him chiefly is ascribed, by *St. Jerom* and *Eusebius*, the glory of having intirely reduced the rebels ^o. The *Jews* made themselves masters of *Jerusalem*, after having driven out, or rather massacred, the *Romans* who had settled there by the emperor's orders. But *Severus* besieged it anew, took the place, and laid it in ashes, as we read in *St. Jerom* ^p, *Eusebius* ^q, *Chrysostom* ^r, and *Appian* ^s, who lived at this time. If credit is to be given to the tradition of the *Jews*, *Turanus Rufus*, or rather *Tinnius Rufus*, caused the ground where the temple had stood to be ploughed up; which, among the *Romans*, was a mark of the greatest ignominy, and

Julius Severus
governor
of *Britain*,
sent a-
gainst
them.

The *Jews*
make
themselves
masters of
Jerusalem,
which is
besieged
anew,
taken and
laid in
ashes.

¹ JUST. apol. ii. p. 72. Sulp. l. ii. p. 148. ^m NORIS. epit. consul. p. 399. ⁿ DIO. p. 793, 794. ^o HIER. in Dan. EUSEB. in chron. ^q HIER. in chron. ann. 124. in Joel. i. p. 55. in Jer. xxxi. p. 342. in Dan. ix. p. 595. in Ez. v. 390. ^r EUSEB. l. i. c. 38. l. iii. c. 5. l. vi. c. 13. ^s CHRYS. c. i. hom. 3. ^t APPIAN. Syr. p. 83.

Bether
taken.

The Jews
utterly de-
feated.

The Jews
who out-
lived the
slaughter,
sold for
slaves.

utter desolation, no one being, according to their laws, allowed to build, without an express decree of the senate, in places where that inauspicious ceremony had been performed ^t. The taking and razing of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian* happened, according to *St. Jerom* ^u, in the month of *August*, the twentieth year of that prince's reign, and 136. of the christian æra. The *Romans* were more vigorously opposed by the *Jews* in *Bittber* or *Bether*, a strong city at a small distance from *Jerusalem*, than in any other place. As great numbers of *Jews* had retired to that place, and the siege lasted a long time, the besieged were reduced to the utmost extremity, for want of provisions. At length, most of them being starved to death, and the rest no longer able to manage their arms, the place was taken, says *St. Jerom*, the same day on which *Jerusalem* had been reduced by *Nebuchadonisor*, and the temple burnt by *Titus* sixty-five years before ^w. The reduction of *Bether* did not put an end to the war, which was, according to *Dion Cassius*, long and troublesome ^x. It lasted according to the *Jewish* tradition, three years and a half ^y, according to *St. Jerom* ^z, two or three years, and was ended by a complete victory, which the *Romans* gained over the *Jews*, *Barcoquebas* their leader being taken prisoner ^a, and, no doubt, punished according to his deserts. In the course of this war the *Romans* demolished fifty castles of great strength, nine hundred and eighty-five towns, and killed, in battle, skirmishes, and sieges, five hundred and eighty thousand men; for those who perished by famine, fire, and distempers, are almost without number ^b. The *Romans* too lost many of their best troops, notwithstanding the great caution used by *Severus* and the other generals; insomuch, that *Adrian*, in the letter which he wrote to the senate acquainting them with the last victory, omitted the expression used by other emperors and commanders, *If you and your children are well, I and the army are well* ^c. Of the *Jews* who outlived this second general massacre of their nation, incredible numbers were sold at the same price as horses in a famous fair called the fair of *Terebinthus*, or of the *Turpentine-tree* ^d; which was on that account ever after abhorred by the *Jews* ^e. *St. Jerom* tells us, that a great fair was yearly held at the tent of *Abraham* ^f, which some writers take to be the fair mentioned here; for in the valley of *Manre* near *Hebron*, where that patriarch pitched his tent, and received the three

^t Vide SCAL. isag. l. iii.

^u HIER. in Zach. viii. p. 262.

^w Idem ibid. ^x DIO. p. 793. ^y Vide SCALIG. ibid. ^z HIER. in Dan. v. p. 592.

^a EUSEB. l. iv. c. 6.

^b DIO. p. 794.

^c Idem. ibid.

^d HIER. in Jer. xxxi p. 342. Chron. Alexan. p.

590. ^e HIER. in Zac. xi. p. 272. ^f Idem ibid.

angels, there was in the fourth century, as *Eusebius* informs us^g, a turpentine tree, which the natives of the place pretended to have stood there from the beginning of the world. The *Jews*, who were not sold at the fair of *Terebinthus*, were carried to *Gaza*, and there exposed to sale at another fair established by *Adrian*, and thence called after his name^h. Such as were not disposed of in *Palestine*, were transported to *Egypt*, where they perished either by famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants, who, as we have often observed, bore them an irreconcilable hatredⁱ. The *Jews* were by several presages forewarned of this dreadful calamity, among which the most remarkable was the falling of the sepulchre of *Solomon*, which was held by them in great veneration, and fell a little before this war broke out^k.

When the war was ended, *Adrian* published an edict, which was confirmed by the senate, and hung up in all public places, forbidding all *Jews* on pain of death, to set foot in *Jerusalem*, to approach that city, or any place whence it could be seen^l. *St. Jerom*^m and *Tertullian*ⁿ extend this decree to all *Judæa*; which seems to have been the opinion of the *Jews* themselves, for in their calendar is marked a fast, instituted, as is said there, on account of the decree, by which their forefathers were forbidden to set foot in the land of *Judæa*^o. This fast is marked on the ninth of their fifth month, called by them *Ab*, and answering part of our *August*. But, on the other hand, *Clement* of *Alexandria* tells us, that he studied in *Palestine* under one who was of *Jewish* extraction^p; and it is manifest from *Origen*^q, that in the third century there were *Jews* in *Palestine*; and from *Epiphanius*, that, in the reign of *Constantine*, their patriarch resided at *Tiberias*^r. *St. Austin*^s likewise and *St. Hilarius*^t tell us, that they were excluded from *Jerusalem*, but not from the other cities of *Palestine*. *Julian* the apostate, out of hatred to the christians, countenanced the *Jews*; whence in his reign they undertook the rebuilding of their temple. But the succeeding emperors renewed the prohibition of *Adrian*, allowing, however, the *Jews*, upon their paying a considerable sum, to enter, or rather approach, the city once a year; that is, on the day in which it had been destroyed and laid in ashes by the *Romans*^u. They were then suffered to bewail

All Jews
forbidden,
on pain of
death, to
set foot in
Jerusalem.

They are
after-
wards al-
lowed to
visit Jeru-
salem once
a year.

^g EUSEB. chron. p. 209. & demonstr. evang. l. v. c. 9. ^k Chron. Alexan. p. 596. ⁱ Dio. l. lxxix. p. 794. ^h Idem ibid. ^l EUSEB. l. iv. c. 6. ^j Hier. in Is. vi. p. 36. ^m Just. apol. ii. p. 84. ⁿ TERTUL. apol. c. 21. ^o Hier. in Dan ix. p. 595. ^p TERTUL. ibid. ^q Scalig. isag. l. i. c. 6. ^r Clem. Strom. l. i. ^s Orig. ad Afric. p. 244. ^t Epiphanius l. xxxii. c. 4. ^u Aug. civit. Dei l. xvi. c. 21. ^v Hilar. in psal. xlviii. ^w Orig. in Josuah. xvii. NAZIAN. orat. xii. Hier. in soph. i.

their misfortunes, and to be eye-witnesses, says St. *Jerom*^w, of the accomplishment of the prophecies. From the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, which is supposed to have been written before the time of *Julian* the apostate, about the year 333, we learn, that on this occasion they assembled chiefly in the place where the temple had formerly stood, and there performed certain ceremonies altogether idolatrous^{*}. Thus all the attempts of that perfidious nation, towards the recovery of their former condition, served only to heighten and aggravate those calamities, with which they had been so often threatened by the prophets, and to reduce them to the deplorable state in which we now see them, being a crew of contemptible vagabonds dispersed all over the world, without king, temple, or pontiff; driven from their own country, and not daring to set foot in it even as passengers and strangers. The edict of *Adrian*, excluding all *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, extended to such of them as had embraced the christian religion; so that they too being obliged to quit that city, the church was by that means delivered from the servitude of the law; for, till that time, not only the bishops of *Jerusalem* had been chosen from among the circumcised christians, but all the converted *Jews* joined to the observance of the gospel that of the law. When the *Jews* were banished *Jerusalem*, the church began to be composed only of converted *Gentiles*; and before the death of *Adrian*, which happened in 138, St. *Mark*, who was one of them, was appointed bishop of that city, and succeeded by *Cassianus* in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus's* reign, and 156 of the christian æra^b. The *Jews* being thus driven out of *Jerusalem*, that city began to be peopled only by *Gentiles*, and by another *Roman* colony, which *Adrian* sent thither after the war. Upon the ruins and ashes of the antient city, the emperor built a new one, giving it, as we have observed above, the name of *Ælia Capitolinus*^c; by which means the antient name of *Jerusalem* was for some ages so intirely forgotten, that a martyr saying, when he was examined at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, that he was a native of *Jerusalem*, neither the governor of the province, nor any who were present, could conceive what city he meant^d. *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Hilarius*, and other fathers, tell us, that *Jerusalem* was no more; and truly that which *Adrian* built, was quite different from the antient city, as to its inhabitants and buildings, and in some measure as to its situation; for it extended more to the north, and took in mount *Calvary* and our

Jerusalem
rebuilt by
Adrian,
and named
Ælia Ca-
pitolina.

^w Hier. ibid.

c. 6. & l. v. c. 12.

^{*} EUSEB. de pal. c. 11.

^{*} Itin. Burdig. p. 43.

^b EUSEB. l. iv. c. 6.

^c Dio. l. lx. p. 793.

^d EUSEB. l. iv. c. 6.

Saviour's sepulchre; and less to the south; for about the middle of the fourth century, the celebrated mount *Sion*, formerly the place where the priests resided and the doctors of the law, was quite uninhabited, cultivated like an open field, and planted with citruls, (as had been in express terms foretold by *Isaiah*) and other greens^c. The temple lay in ruins, and the place where it stood was covered with a wood. The other quarters of *Jerusalem*, which *Adrian* had not comprised within the precincts of his new city, were filled with ruins; and thence were taken stones and other materials both for public and private buildings. At the sight of these ruins, infinite numbers of persons of all ranks, says *Eusebius*, embraced the christian religion, seeing evidently fulfilled in them our Saviour's predictions touching *Jerusalem*^f. The name of *Ælia* still obtained in the time of *St. Chrysostom*, and long after, in all the public acts and registers; but by the christians the city was still named *Jerusalem*, especially after *Constantine's* time. *Adrian* in his new city erected a theatre and several temples, employing for that purpose the stones of the temple and sanctuary of the *Jews*. Two statues of the emperor, and others of the gods, were erected in the place where the temple had stood, and over the gate which led to *Bethlehem*, one of marble, representing a hog, to signify the utter reduction and servitude of the *Jewish* nation^g.

A theatre and several temples erected in the new city.

Dion Cassius, after having described the war which *Adrian* waged with the *Jews*, speaks of another which broke out about the same time with the *Alani* or *Massagetæ*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who, under the conduct of *Pharasmanes* their king, committed dreadful ravages in *Media*, entered *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*; but soon withdrew from thence, not caring to encounter *Flavius Arrianus* governor of that province, who was preparing to meet them^h. The instructions given by *Arrian* concerning the march of the *Roman* army against the *Alani*, and the order to be observed in the battle, which, it was thought, would ensue, have reached our timesⁱ. The *Roman* army consisted, as appears from these instructions, of troops from various nations, commanded by one *Xenophon*, who, no doubt, served under *Arrian* governor of the province, since *Arrian* directs him how he is to conduct himself both in the march and battle. We have a description of the *Euxine* sea by *Arrian*, probably the governor of *Cappadocia*, addressed by way of a letter to *Adrian*. The author begins his relation

The Alani invade the provinces of the empire.

^c EUSEB. dem. evang. l. vi. c. 13. & l. viii. c. 3. CYR. cat. xvi. Iter. Burdig. ^f EUSEB. dem. evang. l. viii. c. 3. ^g Chron. Alexand. p. 598. EUSEB. ibid. Iter Burdig. p. 43. ^h DIO. l. lxi. p. 794. ⁱ ARRIAN. mandat. in Alan. Upsalæ. ann. 1664.

Arrian's
description
of the
Euxine
sea.

with his arrival at *Trebizond*, where, by the emperor's orders, a temple was then building in honour of *Mercury*. He imbarqued at *Trebizond*, in order to view the eastern coasts of the *Euxine* sea; which he did accordingly, visiting every-where the *Roman* garisons; obliging the soldiers to perform their military exercises before him; paying them their arrears, &c. and acquainting the emperor with the state of each garison †. He sailed by the mouth of the *Phasis*, the waters of which river he observed swimming a long time, on account of their lightness, upon those of the sea. At the mouth of the *Phasis* stood a castle garisoned by four hundred *Roman* soldiers, and a town inhabited by some veterans and sea-faring men; which, for the greater security of the place, he strengthened with a new ditch. He ended his voyage at *Sebastopolis*, the most distant city garisoned by the *Romans*. Of all the barbarous nations, along whose coasts he sailed, the *Sanni*, called by *Xenophon* the *Drilli*, were the most fierce and warlike. They had then no king; and as they had formerly paid tribute to the *Romans*, *Arrian*, in his letter to the emperor, offers either to reduce them anew, or to extirpate the whole nation *. We are sure he did not extirpate them; for we find them mentioned many ages after; neither are we told that he reduced them. To the account of his voyage along the coasts of the *Euxine* sea, he adds a description of the coasts of *Asia*, from *Byzantium* to *Trebizond*, and another of the country, from *Sebastopolis* to the *Bosporus Cimmerius*, and from thence to *Byzantium*, that the emperor might take what measures he thought proper, in case he designed to concern himself with the affairs of *Bosporus*, the king of that country, by name *Cotys*, being just then dead. From this relation it appears, that at this time a port was forming by the emperor's orders at *Trebizond* †.

Adrian, in the mean time, continued at *Athens*, being mightily taken with the customs and learning of the *Athenians*. He was there admitted to the great mysteries of *Eleusina*, different from those in which he had been initiated some years before, and celebrated, according to *Eusebius* ^m, the second year of each olympiad; that is, every fourth year. He therefore had not left *Athens* in the beginning of the nineteenth year of his reign, which was the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the christian æra, and the second of the two hundred and twenty-eighth olympiad. As he had been created archon of *Athens* before he was emperor, he assumed the habit peculiar to that dignity, and, with the other magistrates, celebrated the great festival of *Bacchus*, distributing

† ARRIAN. perip. pont. Euxin. p. 1, 2, 3.
Idem, p. 7—10.

* Idem, p. 4—7.

^m EUSEB. chron. p. 214.

on that occasion, large sums and an immense quantity of corn among the populace ⁿ. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he subjected to *Athens*, the whole island of *Cephalenia* ^o; but in an inscription addressed to *Adrian Olympicus*, as he is there called, the city of *Pale* in that island styles herself *autonomos*, that is, free, and governed by her own laws ^p. He embellished the city of *Athens* with many stately buildings, especially with a library of marvellous structure. These edifices had been by his orders begun before, but were finished this year, and consecrated by the emperor himself ^q. He likewise finished the magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympius* ^r, begun, according to *Philostratus* ^s, five hundred and sixty years before. In this temple he consecrated an altar to himself, and suffered the *Greeks* to build and consecrate a temple to him, which they called *Panellenian* ^t, instituting on this occasion annual sports. In short, he embellished *Athens* with so many noble buildings, that he was looked upon as the second founder of that city; whence one quarter of it was from him called *Adrianopolis*. Many monuments of his generosity towards the *Athenians* are still to be seen ^u. From a decree of this prince concerning the sale of oil, produced by *Wheeler*, it appears, that at this time all controversies were determined at *Athens* by the senate and people assembled by the magistrates, with an appeal to the proconsul, or to the emperor ^v. The *Athenians* employed part of the money, with which he presented them, in building a city in the island of *Delos*, which they called *Adrian's new Athens and Olympia* ^x. The *Athenians* of *Delos* are mentioned in an inscription still to be seen at *Venice* ^y; but now remain only some ruins of this city, as well as of the many magnificent buildings, which by the superstitious pagans were erected in that island ^z.

THIS year, the nineteenth of *Adrian's* reign and the one hundred and thirty-fifth of the christian æra, the emperor left *Athens*, and returned at length to *Rome*, *Lupercus Pontianus* and *Rufus Atilianus* being consuls ^a. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that in the shows which he exhibited soon after his arrival, the people pressing him to declare free one of the charioteers of the circus, who belonged to a private person, he returned the following answer; It does not become the *Roman* people to beg of their emperor the liberty of one who

ⁿ Dio. p. 795. SPART. p. 9. ^o Idem ibid. ^p Vide REIN. inscript. p. 335. ^q Hier. chron. WHEELER'S travel, p. 437. SPART. p. 7. ^r Dio. ibid. ^s PHILOSOP. xxv. ^t SPART. cum not. Casaub. p. 26. ^u Vide WHEELER p. 421—471. ^v Idem. p. 470. ^x EUSEB. chron. p. 215. ^y GRUT. p. 405. ^z WHEELER. p. 93. &c. ^a NORIS epist. conf.

Where he
receives
Pharasma-
nes
king of
Iberia.

He falls
into a
lingering
disease.

Begins to
think of a
successor.

He adopts
Commo-
dus Verus

does not belong to him, nor the emperor to oblige the person to whom he belongs to grant him it ^b. He had not been long in *Rome*, when ambassadors arrived from *Vologeses*, probably king of *Armenia*, with complaints against *Pharasma*nes king of *Iberia*, and from the *Iazyges*, a people of *Sarmatia*, who were desirous to have their antient treaties with the people of *Rome* confirmed by the emperor. *Adrian* received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to the senate, and there read to them an answer, which, at the request of the senate, he had composed before-hand. *Pharasma*nes came to *Rome* in person, with his wife and his son, to answer the complaints of *Vologeses*, bringing with him rich presents for *Adrian*, who repaid them with others far more valuable, and besides presented him with fifty elephants and five hundred chosen men, to serve him as a guard; enlarged his dominions; suffered him to sacrifice in the capitol: caused an equestrian statue to be erected to him; and assisted in person at a military exercise performed by him, his son, and the chief men of his court ^c. Nevertheless, by a strange whim, as we may call it, after so many presents and such extraordinary honours, he introduced into the amphitheatre three hundred criminals to be devoured by the wild beasts, or to fight as gladiators, in the embroidered tunics with which *Pharasma*nes had presented him, as if they had been fit only for such uses ^d. But this, no doubt, happened after the departure of the *Iberian* prince. After *Adrian* had travelled, we may say, all over the known world, he fell into a lingering disease, attended with a frequent bleeding at the nose, which the physicians of those days ascribed to his going constantly with his head uncovered in the greatest colds, heats, showers, &c. The loss of blood, as he was stricken in years, was followed by a dropfy, from which, as he entertained no hopes of ever recovering, he began to think of a successor; when several persons of great merit occurred to him, namely, *Servianus*, who had married his sister, and was now in the ninetieth year of his age; *Fuscus* the grandson of *Servianus*, and his own great nephew; *Pletorius Nepos*, his antient and intimate friend; and *Terentius Gentianus*, a man greatly beloved and esteemed by the senate. These he judged, among the great men of *Rome*, the most capable of the supreme power; but nevertheless neglecting them, nay, conceiving an irreconcilable hatred to them, for no other reason but because they were equal to the empire, contrary to the expectation of all and the advice of his friends, he made choice of *L. Aurelius Annius Ceionius Commodus Verus*, for he is called by all these names, and *Adrian* added those of *Ælius*

^b Dio p. 795.

^c Idem, p. 794.

^d SPART. p. 9.

and *Cæsar*. He was sprung from an illustrious family, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter; was endowed with many good qualities; had the port and air of a prince; was well versed in most branches of learning, especially in poetry; and thought rather not unfit for the empire, than equal to it. He was of a very weak and infirm constitution, and at the same time intirely addicted to lewdness and debauchery; nay, it was commonly thought, that his beauty chiefly recommended him to *Adrian*, who is said to have adopted him upon condition, that he should consent to his satisfying the passion which he had conceived for him. But what passed between them on this occasion was never well known, says *Spartian*^c, both *Adrian* and *Verus* having bound themselves by a solemn oath to keep it secret. The adoption of *Verus* occasioned great rejoicings in *Rome*. *Adrian* gave a largess to the people; distributed three thousand sesterces among the soldiery; exhibited games in the circus, combats of gladiators, &c. But as the new *Cæsar*'s weakness daily increased, and he began to vomit blood, *Adrian* soon repented his choice, telling the captain of his guards, That he had placed his hopes and support in a falling wall; that he had lost the four thousand sesterces which he had distributed amongst the people and soldiery; and adopted not a son, but a god, alluding to the custom which obtained among the *Romans* of deifying their emperors and *Cæsars*. These words being told by the captain of the guards to others, came at length to the ears of *Verus*, and so sensibly affected him, that they are thought to have greatly contributed to his death, which happened in the beginning of the following year, as we shall relate anon. The captain of the guards was immediately discharged and banished the court. *Verus*, a few days after his adoption, was created prætor, and sent to govern the province of *Pannonia*; in which employment he acquitted himself with reputation, and shewed himself well qualified for the command of an army. In an inscription of the following year, the twenty-first of *Adrian*'s reign, he is styled *imperator*^f; whence we may conclude, if there is not some mistake in the inscription, as father *Pagi* pretends^g, that he waged war in those parts; of which, however, no mention is made by historians.

Adrian repents his choice.

Verus is sent into Pannonia.

THE following year, *Adrian* raised to the consulship his adopted son *Verus*, and gave him for his colleague *Sex. Veturius Civica Pompeianus*, whose sister *Verus* had married^h. This year *Adrian* retired to *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, where he employed his time in building a magnificent villaⁱ, the stately ruins of

Adrian retires to Tivoli.

^c SPART. in *Æl. Ver.* p. 14. ^f GRUTER. p. 23. ^g PAGI, p. 137. ^h NORIS. *epist. conf.* p. 98. ⁱ SPART. p. 15.

which

Abandons
himself to
cruelty,
ordering
several il-
lustrious
persons to
be put to
death.

which are still to be seen in the possession of the *Roman* jesuits at a small distance from *Tivoli*. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that in this retreat he abandoned himself, as *Tiberius* had done formerly at *Caprea*, to all manner of lewdness; but he was soon seized with a bloody flux, which reduced him to a miserable condition. In that state, abandoning himself to his natural cruelty, which till then he had restrained, he ordered many illustrious persons, under various pretences, to be arraigned and executed, and others to be privately murdered. Among the former were *Servianus* his brother-in-law, and his great-nephew *Fuscus*, who, he pretended, had formed a design of seizing the empire. *Fuscus* was but eighteen, and *Servianus* ninety. We are told, that the latter, before he was executed, called the gods to witness his innocence, and begged of them that they would punish the cruelty and injustice of *Adrian*, by reducing him to such a state, that he should wish for death, and not have it in his power to die; which happened accordingly, as we shall relate anon^k. To palliate his cruelty, to which he had, says *Spartian*, a great bias, he used to lament the unfortunate condition of princes, whose lives, he said, were never thought to have been in danger till they were killed^l. But for this saying, which we do not ever find to have been used by any good prince, he was indebted to *Domitian*. The following year, *Ælius Verus* *Cæsar* was consul, the second time, with *P. Cælius Balbinus Vibullius Pius*, who had been raised by *Adrian* to the rank of a patrician, and was one of the ancestors of *Cælius Balbinus*, whom we shall see preferred to the empire in the year 237, that is, a hundred years after^m. This year the *Jewish* war being ended, *Julius Severus*, who had utterly reduced that rebellious nation, was appointed governor of *Bithynia*, where he behaved with such justice and moderation, having nothing in view but the welfare and happiness of the people committed to his charge, that his name was famous in that province a hundred years after and upwardsⁿ. The next consuls were *Camerinus* and *Niger*^o. In the beginning of this year *Verus*, who had spent part of the preceding year in *Pannonia*, being returned to *Rome*, and finding himself greatly indisposed, took a medicine, which proving too strong for him, he fell into a sleep, and died the very day in which he was to return thanks to the emperor for the honour he had done him. The speech which he had prepared for this purpose is commended by *Spartian*, in whose time it was still extant^p. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he was carried off by a

Verus
dies, and is
ranked
among the
great.

^k DIO. p. 795. SPART. p. 12.
IDAL. & C. GRUTER. p. 393.
PROSPER. & C. SPART. p. 11.

^l SPART. ibid.
ⁿ DIO. p. 793.

^m ONUTH.
^o IDAL.

violent voiding of blood^a. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and grandeur, and his ashes deposited in the stately mausoleum, which *Adrian* had begun for himself. The emperor caused him to be ranked among the gods, and in several cities ordered temples to be built and statues erected to him^r. He was, as we have hinted above, extremely addicted to luxury and voluptuousness, and passed most of his time in the company of lewd women; which his wife resenting, he used to tell her, that *wife* was a name of honour, not of pleasure. He had always in his hands, and even in bed with him, *Ovid's* books of love, together with *Martial* the epigrammatist, whom he used to call his *Virgil*. When he travelled, he was attended by a great many domestics, who ran by his chariot, with wings to their cloaths, attired like so many *Cupids*, and called by the names of the winds, *Boreas*, *Notus*, *Aquilo*, *Circius*, &c. He had married the daughter of *Nigrinus*, whom *Adrian* put to death in the beginning of his reign, as we have related above, and had by her a son named *L. Verus*, whom we shall soon see raised to the throne with *Marcus Aurelius*, and several daughters, of whom one was by *Adrian* betrothed to *Marcus Aurelius*, who nevertheless did not marry her. This daughter is thought to be that *Fabia*, who is but too famous in history. *Verus* being dead, *Adrian* was some time in suspense whom he should chuse in his room^s; but at length seeing himself despised, says *Aurelius Victor*^t, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind, he declared his intention of adopting *Titus Antoninus*, upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Annius Verus*, called afterwards *M. Aurelius*, and *L. Verus*, the son of the deceased prince of that name. *Antoninus* having taken some time to deliberate, whether he should accept of the adoption upon the terms proposed by the emperor, in the end consented to it; and was accordingly adopted with the usual ceremonies, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of this year, the 137th of the christian æra, and at the same time invested with the tribunitial and proconsular power^u. Many were displeased with this adoption; but no one more than *Catilius Severus*, governor of *Rome*, who aspired at the empire himself, and began privately to pave himself a way to it; but being discovered, he was deprived of his place, which was an employment for life. The empress *Sabina* died, it seems, after the adoption of *Antoninus*; *Sabina* for in an antient inscription he styles her his mother^w. She is *Augusta* thought either to have been poisoned by *Adrian*^x, or so ill-used, dies.

His debaucheries.

Adrian adopts Titus Antoninus.

^a DIO. p. 796. ^r SPART. in VERO. ^s SPART. Ver. p. 16.
^t Adrian. vit. p. 11. ^u JULIUS CAPITOL. in vit. Antonin.
p. 18. ^w ONUPH. p. 223. ^x SPART. p. 11.

that she chose to lay violent hands on herself ^y. *Adrian* caused her to be ranked among the gods ^z, not caring whether she was in the supernal or infernal regions, provided he was no longer troubled with her bad humour, or pleased his own.

Adrian's
impatience
in his sick-
ness.

Attempts
to lay vio-
lent hands
on himself.

Adrian bore his distemper a long time with firmness and patience; but being in the end tormented with violent pains in each joint of his body, he had recourse to magic, says *Dion Cassius* ^a, and by that means once discharged his body of the watery humour with which it was filled. But the humour being soon recruited, and his pains increasing daily, he became in a manner furious, put several senators to death, and ordered *Antoninus* to take care, that several others, whom he named, were executed. But that good-natured prince warned them of their danger, and advised them to keep themselves concealed; which they did accordingly, and were saved ^b. In the mean time, the emperor, desiring to end his insufferable pains with his life, often called for a dagger, and for poison, promising impunity, and a great reward, to such as should bring him either. But no one could, by any promises, be prevailed upon to contribute to his death. Having one day by chance found a dagger, he would have stabbed himself with it, had it not by one of his domestics been wrested out of his hand. He then commanded his chief physician to give him poison: but he chose rather to kill himself in his presence, than obey his command ^c. He often conjured his most faithful freedmen to dispatch him, and constrained a *Jazygian*, by name *Maſtor*, to promise it; but *Maſtor* fled, and never appeared till the emperor was dead. Another, whom he had obliged to make the same promise, hastened to *Antoninus*, and acquainted him with it, who thereupon flew to the emperor's room attended by the captains of the guards, and besought him to bear his illness, since it was unavoidable, with more patience and constancy; which so provoked him, that he commanded the person, who had discovered his design, to be put to death; but *Antoninus* saved him, and thenceforth narrowly watched the emperor night and day, saying, he should think himself a parricide, if he neglected to preserve his life as long as he could ^d. *Spartian* writes, that two blind persons were restored to sight by *Adrian* while in this condition; but at the same time owns, that *Marius Maximus*, who flourished before him, looked upon the whole as a fiction and contrivance of *Antoninus*, to persuade *Adrian*, that he would recover, and by that means divert him from laying vio-

^y *Vict. epitome.*

^z *BRAG. p. 185.*

^a *Dio. p. 77.*

^b *Aur. Vict. in Adri. p. 12. Antonin. vita, p. 17.*

^c *SPART.*

^d *Idem ibid.*

lent hands on himself. One of these blind persons was a woman, who, as she gave out, had been admonished in a dream to forbid *Adrian* to kill himself, because he would one day recover; which she neglecting to do, had been struck blind, and ordered to return upon the same errand, having been first assured, that when she had done it, and kissed *Adrian's* feet, she should receive her sight again. The woman complied with the heavenly admonition, and was accordingly cured, after having washed her eyes in the water of the temple of the place from whence she came. The other was a blind man, who coming out of *Pannonia*, touched *Adrian*, and that instant received his sight. The emperor was then in a violent fever, which is said to have immediately abated^e. From *Rome*, *Adrian* removed to *Baiæ* in *Campania*, and there neglecting the advice of his physicians, and often saying, that a multitude of physicians serves only to dispatch the sooner a patient, he lived without any rule, chose what food and drink he liked best, and by that means hastened his death. He was convinced of the immortality of the soul, and seemed apprehensive of its future state, as appears from the celebrated verses (B) which he composed and uttered a little before he expired, inquiring of his soul, *whither it designed to go?* He died at *Baiæ* on the tenth of *July*, after having lived sixty-two years, five months, and seventeen days, and reigned twenty years and eleven months, wanting one day^f (C). *Antoninus*, whom he had left at *Rome*, and

Two supposed miracles.

Adrian removes to *Baiæ*.

His death.

^e Idem ibid. ^f Idem ibid. DIO. p. 797. EUTROP.

(B) The verses were :

*Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca.
Pallidula, rigida, nudula?
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.*

Spartian seems to despise them, which shews, that he understood as little of poetry, as he did of history.

(C) Most writers agree, that *Adrian* began his reign on the eleventh of *August* 117, and that he died on the tenth of *July* 138, and consequently reigned twenty years, and eleven months, wanting one day. But on the other hand, in some antient inscriptions is marked the twenty-second year of his tribunitial power; which induced the learned *Dodwell* to maintain, as we have observed above, that *Adrian* was adopted by *Trajan* a year before that prince's death; and consequently, that the account given by *Dion Cassius* of his adoption ought to be looked upon as a mere fable. But cardinal

*These acts
are for an-
nulling his
acts;*

and sent for, when he found himself at the point of death, arrived according to *Spartian*^g, just before, according to others, soon after, he expired. His body was burnt at *Puteoli*, and his ashes conveyed by *Antoninus* to *Rome*, where they were exposed in the gardens of *Domitia*, and afterwards deposited in the magnificent mausoleum, which *Adrian* had built for himself near the *Tiber*, that of *Augustus* being quite full^h. *Adrian* had, by the cruelties committed in the beginning and the end of his reign, provoked the public hatred to such a degree, that the senate were for annulling all his acts, and calling several persons to an account, who had raised themselves by abusing the interest they had with him. They therefore at first unanimously opposed *Antoninus*, demanding for him the same honours which had been decreed to other emperorsⁱ. But *Antoninus* remonstrating with great modesty, that they could not condemn the memory of *Adrian* without annulling his own adoption, and degrading him from the empire, the respect and veneration they all had for that prince, who added tears to his intreaties, inclined them at last to comply with his demands, especially when they saw a great number of persons appear, who were thought to have been murdered by *Adrian*, but had been saved and carefully concealed by *Antoninus*^k. The senate dreaded likewise the soldiery, who were greatly attached to *Adrian*^l. And thus a prince, abhorred by all as a cruel and bloody tyrant,

^g Idem ibid. ^h JUL. CAPIT. in Anton. DIO. ibid. ⁱ EUTROP. Antonin. vit. p. 18. ^k AUR. VICT. in Heliog. p. 103. ^l DIO. p. 799.

Noris (57), *Petavius* (58), and *F. Pagi* (59), observe, that these inscriptions were made in distant provinces, where the death of the emperor might not have been known a month after it had happened. Besides, as only one month was wanting to the twenty-second year of the emperor's tribunitial power, the author of the inscription probably looked upon it as begun; whereof there are not wanting instances both in antient times and our own. Cardinal *Noris*, misled, as he himself owns, by these inscriptions, maintained, that *Adrian* died in 139, but afterwards finding the arguments proving his death to have happened in 138, unanswerable, he changed his opinion, and rejected the inscriptions as faulty (60). *Dodwell* owns, that *Adrian* died in 138, but will have him to have been invested with the tribunitial power a year before the death of *Trajan*, contradicting therein all the antients, who tell us, that he was adopted by that prince not long before he expired.

(57) *Nor. de cenotaph. Pisan. c. 3. p. 86.* (58) *Petav. doct. temp. l. xi. c. 23.* (59) *Pagi, p. 35.* (60) *Noris. ep. con. p. 85.*

was

was ranked among the gods, and divine worship decreed him. *But deify him, at the request of Antoninus.* *Antoninus* built a temple at *Puteoli*, and instituted annual sports to his honour, with priests, fraternities, victims, &c.^m. But what gave *Antoninus* a far better claim to the title of *pious*, was his interceding with the senate in behalf of those who had been banished by *Adrian*, and whom that prince, said he, would have recalled, had he lived longerⁿ.

No prince, perhaps, ever raised so many public and private edifices as *Adrian*; for he built in most cities of any note, especially at *Athens*; and *Greece*, as appears from *Pausanias*, was full of his edifices, bridges, and aqueducts. In an antient inscription, mention is made of a famous aqueduct begun by him in *New Athens*, and ended by *Antoninus* in the third year of his reign and 140. of the christian æra. By *New Athens* some understand a city of *Liguria*, others *New Athens* in the island of *Delos*^o. At *Rome* he rebuilt the *Pantheon*, the temple of *Neptune*, the square of *Augustus*, the baths of *Agrippa*, and an infinite number of other public edifices, consecrating them anew, but leaving them the names of their first founders*. His house at *Tivoli* was an extraordinary structure, and adorned with fine paintings, representing in one apartment the infernal regions. This palace he styled his *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Prytanæum*, *Canopus*, *Pæcile*, and *Tempe*, names of the most celebrated places abroad, and gave to the several apartments of it the names of the different provinces^p. He built a new bridge over the *Tiber*, now known by the name of *Ponte Sant Angelo*, and near it his own mausoleum^q, which, from the description *Procopius* gives us of it^r, appears to have been rather a castle than a tomb. In the time of the emperor *Justinian* it was made use of as a castle, and is at present the chief, we may see the only, fortress of *Rome*, called by the present *Romans* *Castel Sant Angelo*. *Spartian*, to give us some idea of the height of this lofty building, tells us, that the chariot placed on the top of it, seemed very small to those who stood on the ground; but nevertheless was of so large a size, that a corpulent man could with great ease pass through the openings which represented the eyes of the horses^s. Many cities, either built, repaired, or peopled by *Adrian* with colonies, bore for some time his name, or that of his family, which was *Ælia*, viz. *Carthage*, *Jerusalem*, two cities in *Spain*; *Mursa*, now *Essek*, in *Pannonia*; *Stratonice* in *Macedon*, *Palmyra*

His house at Tivoli.

His bridge on the Tiber, and mausoleum.

Many cities called by his name.

^m SPART. p. 17. ⁿ ANTON. in vit. p. 19. ^o Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 53. * SPART. p. 8. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIO. P 797. ^r PROCOP. de bell. Goth. l. i. c. 22. ^s SPART. cum not. Salmas. p. 51.

in Syria, *Neocesarea* in Pontus; *Adrianopolis* in Thrace, which still retains it; *Adriane*, or *Adrianopolis*, in Libya Cyrenaica; *Antinopolis* in Egypt; called also *Adrianopolis*; *Adrianothera* in Mysia, which still retained that name in the fifth century; and *Adriane*, in the same province, the birth-place of *Aristides* the sophist, which, however, some writers will have to be the same city with *Adrianothera* ^t.

His mili-
tary insti-
tutions.

THE regulations, which *Adrian* established for the preservation of the discipline among the troops, were afterwards observed as the military laws of the Romans, and are often quoted by *Vegetius*. *Vossius* is of opinion, that the books of *Mauritius*, which we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter, are a collection of the military constitutions of *Trajan* and *Adrian* ^u. *Adrian* was the first who appointed, that each cohort should have its proper masons, architects, and such artificers as were employed in raising buildings, and adorning them ^w. The regulations which he introduced, with respect to the army, to the court, and to the tribunals of justice, were still observed in the end of the fourth century ^x. He was the first who employed Roman knights in quality of secretaries, and committed to them the care of his domestic affairs, other emperors having employed in such offices only their freedmen ^y. *Gothofredus* supposes *Adrian* to have been the author of a new jurisprudence, especially by his *perpetual edict*, which he styles the fountain of all laws in force among the Romans, at least till the publication of the code by *Theodosius* the younger ^z. *Spartian* mentions some of the laws published by *Adrian*, namely, that the children of proscribed persons should enjoy the twelfth part of their fathers estates; that if any one found a treasure in his own grounds, it should be intirely his; if in those of another, the owner of the ground should have a moiety of it; if in any public place, it should be equally shared with the exchequer: that such as had squandered away their estates, should be publicly whipt in the amphitheatre, and banished the city: that men and women should use separate and distinct baths: that if a master should be found killed in his house, not all his slaves should be put to death; nay, that those only should be put to the question, who were near enough to have prevented the murder: that masters should no longer have power of life and death over their slaves, but that such slaves as deserved to be capitally punished, should be tried and condemned by the magistrates ^a. *Porphyrius* in-

His laws.

^t Vide SALMAS. *ibid* ^u VOSSII. *epist. additæ ad Pearson. Ignatiana*, p. 234. ^w VICTOR. *epit.* ^x Idem *ibid.* ^y SPART. p. 11. ^z GOTHOFRED. *cod. Theodos. prol.* p. 283. ^a SPART. *cum. not. Salmas.* p. 52.

forms us, upon the authority of *Pallas*, who wrote before his time, that *Adrian* published an edict prohibiting all human sacrifices, which were still offered in several provinces of the empire ^b. However, this execrable custom was afterwards revived, and obtained in *Africa*, where children continued to be immolated to *Saturn* till the time of the proconsul *Tiberius*, who caused the inhuman priests of that deity to be crucified on the trees, which formed the grove round his temple. Those who executed the sentence of the proconsul were still living in the beginning of the third century, as we read in *Tertullian* ^c; whence it is manifest, that *Tiberius* did not, as some have imagined, govern *Africa* in *Adrian's* time. It appears, from the antient writers, that human sacrifices were, notwithstanding *Adrian's* prohibition, immolated to *Diana* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and even in *Rome*, during the solemn mysteries, till the time of *Constantine*, or rather of *Gratian*, who utterly abolished that execrable practice ^d. The *Romans* had on their estates what they called manufacturies, or work-houses, where they kept great numbers of people, especially slaves, at work. These houses were like so many prisons, whither masters sent such of their slaves as had disobliged them, and even kept them there in chains. Many, to avoid being lited, or punished for crimes they had committed, fled to these work-houses, and were there kept concealed. Besides, the owners of these manufacturies were thought to seize passengers and strangers, whether slaves or freedmen, to shut them up in these houses, and oblige them to work, without their ever being afterwards heard of. *Adrian* therefore, to obviate such inconveniencies and disorders, put down all the work-houses, except those which belonged to the emperor or to the public ^e. *Onuphrius* ^f supposes *Adrian* to have made a new division of the provinces of the empire, and is therein followed by the learned *Pietro Giannone* in his excellent history of the kingdom of *Naples* ^g; but the antients only tell us, that *Adrian* divided all *Italy* into four districts, which were by his appointment governed by four consulars, that is, senators who had been consuls ^h. The division of the provinces, which *Onuphrius* ascribes to *Adrian*, was by him copied from *Festus*, who wrote in the time of *Valentinian I.* and none of the antients speak of any charge made in the provinces by *Adrian*, except that which we have just now men-

He forbids human sacrifices.

He abolishes all private work-houses.

^b PORPHYR. apud. Euseb. in triennial. Constantin. c. 16. ^c TERTULL. ap. c. 9. ^d LACT. inst. l. i. c. 21. EUSEB. ibid. PRUD. in Sym. l. i. p. 217. TATTIAN. p. 164. ^e Vide SALMAS. in Spart. p. 49. ^f ONUPH. de rep. Rom. comment. ^g GIANN. hist. civil. l. i. c. 5. p. 25. ^h SPART. p. 11.

tioned.

Adrian's
edict in
favour of
a woman
brought to
bed eleven
months af-
ter her
husband's
death.

Adrian
first suffers
the christi-
ans to be
persecuted,
and then
puts a stop
to the per-
secution.

tioned. That which *Onuphrius* supposes to be *Trajan's*, ought, in our opinion, to be rather ascribed to *Dioclesian*, who divided the empire, as we read in *Lactantius* ⁱ, into innumerable provinces, in order to multiply offices and officers, and by that means keep the people in awe and terror. *Aulus Gellius* tells us ^k, that in *Adrian's* time, a woman of known modesty and an unblemished character, was brought to bed eleven months after her husband's death. The legitimacy of the child being questioned by the heirs of the deceased, the cause was tried before the emperor, who, after having examined a great many unexceptionable witnesses concerning the character of the woman, and with great care and attention consulted the books of the antient philosophers and physicians, declared by a special decree, that a child might be born eleven months after its conception, *Aulus Gellius* assures us, that he himself had read this decree. In *Adrian's* time a violent persecution was raised against the christians, which *Sulpicius Verus* accounts the fourth persecution; but it is not generally reckoned so by the fathers of the church, since no new edicts were issued against the professors of the christian religion, but only the laws still in force put in execution, *Adrian* being prompted by his superstition (for he was initiated in all the idolatrous ceremonies of the *Greeks*), to countenance the persecutors of those who were declared enemies to all superstition ^l. But after the persecution had raged for some time with great violence, *Adrian* himself put a stop to it, being, upon the perusal of the apologies presented to him by *Quadratus* and *Aristides*, fully convinced of the innocence of the christians, and the purity of their morals ^m; nay, he was even thought, if *Lampridius* is to be credited ⁿ, to have had a design of causing our Saviour to be acknowledged as God, and to erect temples to his honour; but was diverted from it by some persons, who, consulting the oracles, had received this answer, That if he suffered the God of the christians to have temples, those of the other gods would be soon abandoned. Under *Adrian* flourished many persons eminent in most branches of literature, of whom we shall speak in our notes (D).

THE

ⁱ LACT. de perf. p. 6. ^k AUL. GELL. l. iii. c. 16. ^l SULP. SEVER. l. ii. c. 45. HIER. ep. 84. EUSEB. l. iv. c. 26. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. ^m EUSEB. l. iv. c. 3. HIER. de vir. illustr. c. 19. &c. ⁿ LAMPRID. in vit. Alexandr.

(D) *Adrian* himself ought to be ranked amongst the writers who flourished at this time; for he published several works both in prose and verse upon various subjects; and among the rest, a *Greek* poem intitled the *Alexandriad*, of which we find the seventh book quoted by

THE emperor *Titus Antoninus* derived his origin, on the father's side, from the city of *Nemausus*, now *Nismes*, in *Languedoc*.
 Antoninus
 His the pious

• JUL. CAP. in Antonin. cum. not. Salmasi. Paris. 1620.

by some of the antients (61). *Spartian* speaks of certain books composed by him, and published under the title of *Catacriani*: wherein he pretended to imitate *Antimachus*, whom he preferred to *Homer*. These, says the above mentioned writer, were very obscure pieces (62); and truly, from the title, they appear to have been such as *Spartian* describes them. *Froben* printed in 1551, a dialogue between *Adrian* and *Epictetus*, wherein the emperor proposes several questions, which are answered by the philosopher (63). Some of his *Greek* and *Latin* verses have reached our times, besides those which we read in his life by *Spartian* (64), who speaks of them with great contempt. But his judgment is of no weight with us, who find them mightily cried up by the best writers of those times (65). *Photius*, who had perused his declamations, commends both his style and thoughts (66). We find the first book of his discourses quoted by the antients, and the quotation relates to some remarks on the *Latin* grammar (67). Besides his military institutions, some writers ascribe to him a treatise concerning the manner of drawing up an army in battalia, which was long unknown, and first discovered in the reign of the emperor *Anastasius*, about the latter end of the fifth century, and published with some additions by *Mauricius*, or *Urbicus*, then consul (68). In the year 1664, was printed at *Upsal* in *Sweden*, a treatise on the military art and stratagems, ascribed to *Mauricius*, but that piece was done long after the time of *Mauricius* the consul, since mention is there made of the *French*, *Turks*, *Sclavonians*, &c. (69). *Adrian* was, according to *Dion Cassius* and *Spartian*, so fond of glory, that he wrote his own life in several books, but caused them to be published under the names of such of his freedmen as were persons of learning (70). Among these was *Phlegon*, a native of *Tralles*, in *Asia*, who wrote a treatise on the long-lived, and another on wonderful things. Some fragments of these works are still extant (71); and from a passage in the former it appears, that he had not put the last hand to that piece in the nineteenth year of *Antoninus's* reign, the 156th of the christian æra. *Suidas* ascribes to *Phlegon* a description of *Sicily*, three books of *Fasti*, an account of the famous places in *Rome*, and their names, and sixteen books of the olympiads, to the 229th, begun in the

(61) Vide *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 11. Dio. l. lxxix. p. 788.*

(62) *Spart. in Adr.* (63) *Gesner. epit. p. 2.* (64) *Voss. ibid.*

(65) Vide *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 51. Et Salmas. in Spart.* (66) *Phot.*

c. 100. (67) Vide *Salmas. ibid. Et Aul. Gill. l. x. c. 13.*

(68) *Voss. epist. additæ ad Pearf. Ignatiana.* (69) *Maur. tactic.*

p. 253, 364, 384. (70) *Dio. p. 793. Spart. p. 6.* (71) *Phot.*

p. 256. *Suid. p. 1071. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 11.*

His ancestors are said by *Aurelius Victor* to have lived at *Lanuvium*, or rather *Lavinium* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*; perhaps

year 137, of the christian æra. This piece contained an account of the most remarkable things that in each olympiad had happened in any part of the world. From the 177th olympiad, which has been conveyed to us by *Photius*, that work seems to have been exceeding well digested: had it reached our times, it would have cleared up several obscure passages in history. *Photius* finds fault with the author for the trifling accounts he gives of all those who gained prizes in the *Olympic* games, and inserting in his work all sorts of oracles. He likewise censures his style, as not quite pure and altogether *Attic*. In *Photius's* time only the five first books were extant which ended with the 177th olympiad, but the author had carried his history down to *Adrian's* time. It was addressed to one *Alcibiades*, belonging to that prince's life-guard (72). In the thirteenth book of this work he is thought to have mentioned the darkness which happened at our Saviour's death (73): He speaks of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, concerning which *Photius* quotes a long passage out of his fourteenth book (74). He is frequently quoted by *Stephanus* the geographer. *Suidas* tells us, that *Pblegon* made an epitome of his sixteen books of the olympiads, which epitome consisted of eight books; and that he likewise abridged the history of the victors in the *Olympic* games; and adds, that he published other works, which he does not mention (75). *Pblegon*, in his book of *wonderful things*, describes a *hippocentaur*, taken on a mountain of *Arabia*, and sent by the king of that country to the emperor, without doubt, *Adrian*, while he was in *Egypt*. The monster died, but was embalmed by the governor, conveyed to *Rome*, and there placed in the imperial palace; where those may see it, concludes *Pblegon*, who question the truth of my relation (76). *St. Jerom* tells us, that *Antony*, the famous anchoret, was met in the desert by a *hippocentaur*, who spoke to him, and directed him what way he was to keep (77). *Pblegon* relates another history no less surprising of a young woman, who about six months after her death appeared again, walked, conversed, eat, and drank, as she had done formerly; which coming to the ears of her parents, they flew to see her, and, accordingly, had that satisfaction. But the young woman told them, that their curiosity would prove fatal to her, and put an end to her second life; which words she had scarce uttered, when she fell dead at their feet. Such a surprising event, being divulged in an instant, drew vast crouds to the place from all quarters. *Pblegon* hastened thither with the rest, and saw the body of the deceased laid out upon a bed; but not satisfied with that sight, I caused the burying-place of the family to be opened, says he, when I observed

(72) *Photius*, c. 97. (73) *Hier. chron.* p. 158. *Orig. in Mat. theum*, p. 438. (74) *Phot.* p. 167. (75) *Suid.* p. 1971. (76) *Pbleg. mir.* c. 34. (77) *Hier. in vit. Paul. heremit.*

haps they settled there, after having removed from *Nismè*. The *Aurelian* family, which was the present emperor's is thought

the bed, on which the young woman had been laid six months before, empty. He relates the most minute circumstances of this wonderful event, names the persons who were present, &c. (78).

Favorinus, well known by the writings of *Aulus Gellius*, who was his disciple, and by those of *Philostratus*, was a native of *Arles* in *Provence*, and from his birth an eunuch, by profession a philosopher and sophist, and well skilled both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He studied under *Dion Chrysostomus*, and, besides *Aulus Gellius*, had for his disciple the celebrated *Herodes Atticus*, whom he appointed his heir. He wrote a great many works quoted by the ancients (79); but his style seemed to some, destitute of the gravity becoming a philosopher (80). He was for a long time *Adrian's* chief favourite; but that prince growing in the end weary of him, as well as of the rest of his friends, took delight in mortifying him, by preferring to him persons of no merit; which the *Athenians* no sooner understood, than they pulled down and broke to pieces a statue, which they had erected to him. When *Favorinus* was informed of the affront, *Socrates*, said he, without the least emotion, *would have been glad to have come off so cheap* (81). *Suidas* observes, that he and *Plutarch* strove who should write most books. They lived in great friendship, and *Plutarch* even inscribed one of his works to *Favorinus* (82), who died, it seems, about the latter end of the reign of *Antoninus* (83). *Galen* mentions one *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, who imitating the style of *Favorinus*, whose disciple he was, used daily to declaim in public upon what subject soever was proposed to him (86). *Dionysius* of *Miletus* was likewise a philosopher of great note, highly favoured by *Adrian*, raised to the equestrian order, and appointed governor of some province, but in the end disgraced. He studied under *Isæus*, of whom we have spoken in the reign of *Trajan*. *Philostratus* clears him from a charge brought against him, namely, that of being addicted to the study of magic (87). *Heliodorus* likewise felt the effects of *Adrian's* inconstancy; for the emperor, being in the end disgusted with him, wrote some most virulent letters against him (88). One of the same name, perhaps the same person, was, according to *Dion Cassius*, for some time secretary to *Adrian* (89).

Of all the philosophers who flourished in those times, *Epietetus* is by far the most renowned: *Aulus Gellius* calls him the greatest man the sect of the stoics had ever produced (90). He is supposed

(78) *Pbleg. mir. c. 1. p. 13, 14.* (79) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 10. Suid. p. 1022. Philostr. vit. soph. p. 493.* (80) *Lucian. in vit. Demonaëlis, p. 549.* (81) *Philos. ibid. Dio. p. 719.* (82) *Jons. l. iii. c. 7. Gell. l. ii. c. 26.* (83) *Jons. ibid.* (86) *Galen. prog. com. p. 455.* (87) *Philos. ibid. p. 522, &c.* (88) *Spart. p. 7.* (89) *Dio. l. lxxix. p. 789.* (90) *Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 2.*

thought to have been very antient, but was not distinguished very early with preferments in Rome. His grandfather *Titus Aurelius*

to have been a native of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, was for some time a slave, and belonged to *Epaphroditus*, whom *Suidas* calls one of *Nero's* life-guard (91). This is, without all doubt, *Nero's* celebrated freedman, to whom *Josephus* inscribed most of his works, and who was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, as we have related in that prince's reign. *C. Iulius*, the famous champion of idolatry, writes of *Epietetus*, that while his master was one day squeezing his leg very hard in order to torment him, *Epietetus* said to him very calmly, *You'll break my leg*; which happening accordingly, *Did not I tell you*, said he, smiling, *that you would break my leg* (92)? *Epietetus* was, as is supposed, set at liberty but remained always very poor (93). Being obliged by *Domitian's* edict, banishing all philosophers, to quit *Rome* in 94, he retired to *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*, whence he returned upon that prince's death, and lived at *Rome* till the time of *M. Aurelius*, says *Suidas* (94), by whom, as well as by his predecessor, he was, according to *Themistius*, held in great esteem and veneration (95). But we cannot fall in with the opinion of these writers, since *M. Aurelius* used to look upon it as a great happiness, not that he had learnt any thing of, or conversed with, *Epietetus*, but that he had read his writings (96). *Epietetus* reduced all his philosophy to two points only, viz. to suffer evils with patience, and enjoy pleasures with moderation; which he expressed with these two celebrated words, ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι; that is, *suffer and abstain* (97). He was against the celibacy of the philosophers, but nevertheless seems to have observed it himself (98). He published several works, none of which, except his *enchiridion*, or *manual*, has reached us (99). But *Arrian*, his disciple, published a great work, which he pretends to consist intirely of what he had heard him say, and set down, as far as he could remember, in *Arrian's* own terms, (100).

Arrian, a native of *Nicomedia*, was one of the most learned men of his age, and, on account of his eloquence and knowledge, commonly styled the second *Xenophon*. He was preferred at *Rome* to the highest posts of honour, even to the consulship (1); whence most writers take him to be the *Flavius Arrianus*, who, while he was governor of *Cappadocia*, repulsed the *Alani*, as we have related above. He lived at *Rome* under *Adrian*, *Antoninus*, and *M. Aurelius* (2). *Themistius* tells us, that *Trajan* forced him from his retirement, in order to employ him as a minister in state affairs (3).

(91) *Suid.* p. 996. (92) *Orig. in Cels.* l. vii. (93) *Aul. Gell.* l. ii. c. 18. & l. xv. c. 11. (94) *Suid.* p. 996. (95) *Themist. orat.* 5. (96) *Jul. Cap. in Antonin.* (97) *Aul. Gell.* l. xvii. c. 19. (98) *Lucian. in vit. Demonac.* p. 555. (99) *Suid.* p. 996. (100) *Arrian. Epic.* p. 1. (1) *Phot.* c. 58. (2) *Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 11. (3) *Themist. orat.* 17.

Aurelius Fulvus, or *Fulvius*, was the first consul, of the *Aurelian* family. His father *Aurelius Fulvus* was likewise honoured with *His extraction and preferments.*

He published in eight books the familiar discourses of *Epietetus*: but only four of them have reached us (4), which are inscribed to one *L. Gellius*. He published twelve books more, containing the speeches of *Epietetus* (5), and wrote his life. *Photius* quotes several other books composed by him, viz. the history of *Bithynia*, his native country, the history of the *Alani*, and that of the *Parthians*, in seventeen books, which he brought down to the war which *Trajan* waged with them (6). He described the expeditions of *Alexander the Great* in seven books, which are still extant, and is thought by *Photius* to have excelled all who wrote on the same subject (7). He published, in ten books, the lives of the successors of *Alexander*; and gave in one book, says *Photius*, an account of *India* (8). This account of *India* is now reckoned the eighth book of the history of *Alexander* (9). Besides these works mentioned by *Photius*, *Lucian* ascribes to him the life of a famous robber, named *Telebous* (10). We have already mentioned his description of the coasts of the *Euxine Sea*; but that of the coasts of the *Red Sea*, tho' commonly ascribed to him, is thought by the learned to have been done by one who flourished before *Adrian*, and was contemporary with *Pliny* the elder (11). Besides the works of *Arrian* already mentioned, we have still his *tactica*, whereof the beginning has been long since lost: to his *tactica* are commonly added, his instructions concerning the march of the army against the *Alani*, and the order to be observed in the battle.

Plutarch was a native of *Chæronea* in *Boeotia*, where he was born in the reign of *Claudius*, about the year 50. of the christian æra. He studied under *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian* philosopher; in the reign of *Nero*, and in that of *Domitian* taught at *Rome*, where, amongst his other disciples, he had the famous *Arulenus Rusticus*, who was put to death by *Domitian* in 90 (12). We are told, that he was preceptor to *Trajan*; which we can hardly believe, since that prince was as old as *Plutarch* (13), and had from his youth been brought up in the camp. *Suidas* writes, that *Trajan* distinguished him with consular honours (15), meaning, no doubt, the consular ornaments, and ordered the magistrates of *Illyricum* to advise with him in all affairs of importance. He continued at *Rome* till the death of *Trajan*, when he returned to his own country, and there bore the chief employments (16). He had several children, one of whom, by name *Lamprias* published a catalogue of his father's historical

- (4) *Phot. c. 58.* (5) *Idem, c. 58.* (6) *Idem ibid.* (7) *Idem ibid.* (8) *Idem, p. 91.* (9) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 11.*
 (10) *Lucian. in vit. Alex. Præst.* (11) *Vide Salmas. in Solin.*
Et Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 7. (12) *Ruald. vit. Plut.* (13) *Idem, p. 29.* (14) *Vide Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 10.* (15) *Suid.*
p. 546. (16) *Ruald. c. 25.*

pieces,

with that dignity, and universally esteemed on account of his extraordinary accomplishments and integrity. *Arrias Antoninus*,

pieces, which has reached us, but is imperfect (17). The philosopher *Sextus*, one of the preceptors of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, was nephew to *Plutarch* (18). *Plutarch* published a great many works, which are to every one well known, being translated into all the modern languages. His style is not quite pure and *Attic*. Among the works commonly ascribed to him, some are thought to have been written by others; and many of his works have been lost, as appears from the citations of *Gellius*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoret*, and others. *Marcus* and *Caninius Celer*, two celebrated sophists, flourished under *Adrian*, and published some declamations (19). *Polemon*, another famous sophist, in great favour with *Adrian*, was a native of *Laodicea* upon the *Lycus*, which some place in *Caria*, others in *Phrygia*; but spent the greatest part of his life at *Smyrna*, whither the youth flocked from all parts to hear him. He was several times sent by that city in quality of ambassador to the emperor *Adrian*, of whom he obtained great sums for the inhabitants, though that prince was more addicted, says *Philostratus* (20), to the *Ephesians* than *Smyrneans*. As *Adrian* shewed an extraordinary kindness for him, he took care to turn it to his own advantage, and soon appeared with a train and equipage ill suiting his profession; which drew upon him the envy of many, and the hatred of all. *Antoninus* treated him with great respect, though he had just occasion to complain of his rusticity, or rather insolence. *Herodes Atticus* having heard him declaim, sent him a considerable sum, which, however, he refused as too small; so that *Herodes*, to content him, was obliged to send him one much larger, which he condescended to accept. The king of *Bosporus*, who was well versed in most branches of learning, coming to *Smyrna* to see that city, and the learned men there, shewed a great desire of conferring with *Polemon*: but the proud and self-interested philosopher would neither visit him, nor be visited by him, till the king had sent him a present of ten talents, and then he deigned to admit him into his house (21). Being greatly tormented with the gout, he retired to *Laodicea*, his native city, and there, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, placing himself among his dead ancestors, ordered the tomb to be shut up, that the sun, as he said, might never see him silenced (22). He left no writings besides declamations. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* flourished, according to *Suidas* (23), *Ptolemaeus Chennus*, *Zenobius*, *Cephaleo*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. *Ptolemaeus* wrote several books, and, among the rest, one intituled *the surprising history* (24). *Zenobius* taught at *Rome* under *Adrian*, and translated the history of *Sallust* into *Greek*. He likewise made a collection of proverbs, which is still extant (25). He

(17) *Idem*, c. 6. (18) *Idem*, c. 5. *Et Suid.* p. 729. (19) *Philostr.* soph. 24. (20) *Idem*, soph. 25. (21) *Idem* *ibid.* (22) *Idem* *ibid.* *Et Suid.* p. 554. (23) *Idem*, p. 646, 1126, 1447. (24) *Phot.* c. 190. (25) *Ioff.* c. 11.

nus, his grandfather on the mother's side, was twice consul, and esteemed one of the greatest and most virtuous men in Rome.

is sometimes called *Zenodotus*. *Cephaleo*, being banished his own country, retired into *Sicily*, where he published in the reign of *Adrian* a history, beginning with *Ninus*, and ending with *Alexander* (26). *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, descended from the famous historian of that name, was a sophist, and is commonly styled *Dionysius* the *Atticist*, and the *musician*, because he applied himself chiefly to the study of music, and published several works upon that subject, and one among the rest divided into thirty-six books, and containing an account of the most famous poets, and players upon instruments (27).

Herennius Philo, born in the city of *Byblus* in *Phœnicia*, wrote one book on *Adrian's* reign, twelve on the choice of books, and thirty on various cities, and the eminent persons they had produced: the latter work was abridged by one *Ælius Severus Athenæus*. *Origen* quotes a passage out of *Herennius Philo* concerning the *Jews*, for whom, it seems, he had no great kindness (29). *Philo* translated into *Greek* the history of *Phœnicia* written by *Sanconiatbo*, in his native language, about the time of the *Trojan* war (30). The preface, and some passages of this translation have been conveyed to us by *Eusebius* (31). *Philo* himself wrote the history of *Phœnicia*, which is quoted by *Eusebius* (32) and *Stephanus* of *Byzantium* (33). *Hermippus* of *Berytus*, or of that neighbourhood, was one of *Philo's* disciples, and highly esteemed by *Adrian*, though the son of a freedman. He wrote five books upon dreams, which are quoted by *Tertullian* and others (34). The book of *legislators*, quoted by *Origen* (35), is generally ascribed to another *Hermippus*, a native of *Smyrna*, who flourished long before *Adrian's* time. *Paulus* of *Tyre*, contemporary with *Philo*, published a treatise of *rhetoric*. He obtained of *Adrian* the title of *metropolis* for the city of *Tyre* (36). *Leander Nicanor* of *Alexandria*, the son of *Hermius*, published several grammatical and historical pieces (37). *Diogenianus*, a native of *Heraclea*, published several writings of grammar and geography, which *Hesychius* made use of in compiling his *lexicon* (38). His collection of antient proverbs is still extant. Under *Adrian* flourished, according to *Vossius* (39), *Jason* of *Argos*, who comprised in four books the history of *Greece*, to the death of *Alexander*. *Ælian*, author of the *tactica*, lived at this time; for he addressed his work to *Adrian*. Another writer of the same name flourished about a hundred years after; whence it is no easy task to determine, which of these two was the author of the *history of animals*, of the *historia*

(26) *Suid. ilid. Phot. c. 68.* (27) *Suid. p. 743. Voss. c. 12. Jonsf. l. iii. c. 8.* (28) *Suid. p. 1065. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 10.* (29) *Orig. in Cels. l. i. p. 13.* (30) *Voss. ibid. l. i. c. 1.* (31) *Euseb. præp. l. i. c. 9.* (32) *Idem ibid. l. iv. c. 16.* (33) *Voss. ibid. l. ii. c. 16.* (34) *Tertull. de anim. c. 46. Voss. ibid. Orig. in Cels. Suid. p. 1043.* (35) *Orig. ibid.* (36) *Suid. p. 465.* (37) *Suid. p. 229. Voss. ibid. l. ii. c. 12.* (38) *Suid. p. 737.* (39) *Voss. ibid.*

Rome ^p. He married *Boionia Procilla*, descended from an illustrious family ; and had by her *Arria Fadilla*, the mother of *Antoninus*,

^p Idem *ibid.* p. 17.

varia, and of other pieces which are by the antients ascribed to an *Ælian*, but long since lost.

Under *Adrian* flourished the two *Latin* historians *Suetonius* and *Florus*. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus* was the son of *Suetonius Lenis*, or *Lætus*, a Roman knight, who, at the battle of *Bebriacum*, commanded a legion in quality of tribune, as we have related in the foregoing part of this volume. The historian was born about that time ; for he was very young in 88. that is, twenty years after the death of *Nero* (40). *Pliny* the younger had a great kindness for him, kept him constantly with him, and wrote to one of his friends, that the more he knew him, the more he loved him, on account of his probity, ingenuity, prudent conduct, and application (41). We may therefore suppose him to be the *Tranquillus*, whom, in one of his letters, he encourages to plead a cause, without being under any apprehension from a dream, which seemed to threaten him with bad success (42). In another letter (43), he seems very anxious about purchasing for him a little place of retirement near *Rome*, proper for a man of study and application. In other letters he exhorts him to publish his writings, since they were finished (44) ; and asks his advice even as to his own conduct on a particular occasion (45). He obtained for him the post of a tribune ; which *Suetonius* begged him to confer upon *Cæsennius Silvanus*, his kinsman : this generous action is greatly cried up by *Pliny*. *Suetonius* married, but had no children. However, *Pliny*, from *Bithynia*, wrote to *Trajan*, begging him to grant to his friend the privileges, which those enjoyed who had three children (46). The emperor seldom granted such favours, but nevertheless could not help complying with the request of *Pliny* (47). *Suetonius* was afterwards secretary to *Adrian*, but discharged on account of his disrespectful behaviour towards the empress *Sabina* (48). *Suidas* styles him a *Latin* grammarian, and ascribes to him several grammatical works ; adding, that he likewise wrote a book upon the sports of the *Greeks*, two upon the shows of the *Romans*, two upon the *Roman* laws and customs, one of the life of *Cicero*, a catalogue of illustrious *Romans*, and the lives of the emperors, which has reached our times (49). He wrote likewise in three books the history of the kings, which *Paulinus* abridged in verse (50). His book concerning the institution of offices, quoted by *Priscian*, is probably the same with that of the *Roman* laws and customs. He wrote, according to the same *Priscian*, eight books of the *prætors*.

(40) *Suet. vit. Oth. & Dom.* (41) *Plin. l. x. ep. 200.* (42) *Plin. l. i. ep. 18.* (43) *Idem ibid. ep. 24.* (44) *Idem, l. v. ep. 11.* (45) *Idem, l. x. ep. 34.* (46) *Idem, l. x. ep. 100.* (47) *Idem ibid. ep. 101.* (48) *Spart. p. 6.* (49) *Suid. p. 934.* (50) *Auf. ep. 19.*

Antoninus, who, after the death of her husband *Aurelius Fulvus*, married *Julius Lupus*, and had by him a daughter named *Julia*

A book likewise intitled *de rebus variis*, is by some ascribed to him. From the great number of authors, who have quoted his works, it appears, that they were generally read, and greatly esteemed both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Tertullian* quotes his book of the *Roman* shows (51), and *St. Jerom* that of illustrious men, upon the plan of which he wrote his own (52): perhaps the lives of illustrious grammarians, orators, and poets, commonly ascribed to *Suetonius*, were part of that work. The life of *Pliny* the elder is thought not to have been done by *Suetonius*, but by a much more modern writer (53). *Vopiscus*, speaking of his history of the twelve *Cæsars*, calls him an impartial and correct writer; but adds, that he cannot compare him to *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, or *Trogus* (54). His writings are no less lewd and infamous, says *St. Jerom*, as quoted by *Vossius* (55), than were the lives of the emperors, whose history he writes. And truly, both he and *Lampridius* have mixed too much lewdness, as well as meanness, in their writings; whence they are justly censured by *Rualdus*, as teaching their readers to be vicious (56).

Florus is thought to have been a native of *Spain*, and of the family of the *Seneca's*; that his family-name was *L. Annaeus Seneca*, and that being adopted by one *Florus*, he took the name of *L. Julius Florus*. We read of one *Julius Florus*, who, in the reign of *Tiberius*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* with great applause (57). *Spartian*, in the life of *Adrian*, quotes some verses composed by a poet named *Florus*, whom most writers take to be the epitomizer of the *Roman* history; for that epitome was written in the reign of *Trajan*, and seems to be the product of a poetical genius. It is greatly esteemed by the learned, who nevertheless find fault with the author for not observing with due punctuality the order of time. It is not an abridgment of *Livy*; for with him the author often disagrees. Whether the summaries prefixed to each book of *Livy's* history were done by *Florus*, is uncertain (58). The poet *Florus* used, it seems, to frequent taverns and eating houses, which was looked upon in those days as highly unbecoming persons of a liberal education. Hence *Florus* having written to *Adrian* the following verses;

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.*

That is, *I desire not to be Cæsar, to ramble among the Britons, and to endure the frosts of Scythia*: *Adrian* answered thus:

(51) *Tertull. spec. c. 5.* (52) *Hier. vir. illus. præf.* (53) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 31.* (54) *Vopisc. in Firm.* (55) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 31.* (56) *Ruald. in vit. Plut. c. 28.* (57) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 30.* (58) *Voss. ibid.*

Julia Fadilla. This daughter died before the emperor; but left a son named *Mummius Quadratus*^q. *T. Antoninus* was born at *Lavinium*, on the nineteenth of *September* of the year 86, *Domitian* being then consul the twelfth time, with *Cornelius Dolabella*. He is styled by *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus*; but from several antient inscriptions it appears, that, instead of *Fulvius*, we ought to read *Fulvus*^r. As from his infancy he behaved himself in a very dutiful and obliging manner towards all his relations, many of them left him their estates, by which means he became exceeding rich. He was a great lover of the country and country-diversions, but nevertheless did not decline public employments, in which he acquitted himself with great reputation and universal applause. He was consul in 120, afterwards one of the four consulars appointed by *Adrian* to govern *Italy*, and then sent into *Asia* with proconsular authority; where, by the mildness of his government, his affability, and engaging behaviour, he gained the esteem and affections of persons of all ranks. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Adrian* appointed him one of his council, and transacted nothing without his advice^s. He married *Annia Galeria*, the sister of *Marcus Aurelius's* father, and had by her two sons and two daughters. The eldest of the daughters was married to *Lamia Syllanus*, but died soon after: she was probably named *Aurelia Fadilla*; for we find one of that name called in an ancient inscription the daughter of the emperor *T. Antoninus*^t. The other, named *Annia Faustina*, was married to *M. Aurelius*, her cousin-

His issue.

^q Idem, p. 25. ^r Vide SALMAS. in not. ad Anton. vit. p. 47.
^s DIO. l. lxx. p. 800. JUL. CAP. p. 17. ^t Vide MABILL. analect. c. iv. p. 500.

*Ego nolo Florus esse,
 Ambulare per tabernas,
 Culices pati rotundos.*

That is, *I desire not to be Florus, to ramble among the taverns and eating-houses, and to be stung with gnats* (59). *Aulus Gellius* mentions one *Terentius Scaurus*, a celebrated grammarian, who flourished under *Adrian*; and highly commends *T. Castricius*, whose disciple he himself had been (60); but neither of them seems to have left any works behind them. *Scaurus* had been preceptor to *Adrian*; his son was preceptor to *L. Verus*, and his grandson, or rather great-grandson, to *Alexander Severus* (61).

(59) Spart. p. 8. (60) Aul. Gell. l. xi. c. 15. & 13.
 (61) Vide Casaub. in vit. L. Ver. p. 35.

german^u. The two sons, *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*, and *M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus*, must have died very young; for no mention is made of them in history.

Antoninus is celebrated by all the antients as one of the best princes that every swayed a sceptre. His behaviour to all was extremely obliging: he was always ready to hear with patience the meanest of the people: to no one was ever admittance denied to his palace or presence, especially when they came to complain of his officers, ministers, or procurators. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and ostentation. His table says his historian, was rich without extravagance, and frugal without meanness. He never courted the favour of the people, but seemed rather to despise popular applause, which had been the idol of most of his predecessors. He never flattered others, nor suffered any one to flatter him. He observed with great exactness, but without the least affectation, the *Roman* laws and ceremonies. He offered in person, as high pontiff, the sacrifices, which for other emperors had been offered by inferior priests; and never failed to assist, unless prevented by some indisposition, at all public acts of religion, shewing always a profound respect for the deity^w. It appears from an inscription of the year 143, the fifth of his reign, that the senate erected a monument to his honour, in consideration of his great and extraordinary regard for the public ceremonies^x. As he never admitted any to his friendship with whom he was not thoroughly acquainted, he was a most constant friend, hearkened to no calumnies against them, nor entertained any fears or jealousies, as *Adrian* had done, who in the end was weary of all his old friends, and discharged them with ignominy. He was naturally of a sweet and mild temper, ever inclined to mercy, which he shewed even to the most vicious and wicked, chusing rather to deprive them of the means of doing mischief, than to punish them according to their deserts. During his long reign of twenty-three years, he is said never to have done any thing that favoured of cruelty, ill-nature, or could give to any person whatsoever just motive of offence^y. When he arrived in *Asia*, with the character of proconsul, he chose to lodge the first night in the house of *Polemon* the celebrated sophist, which was the best and largest in *Smyrna*. But the proud and unmannerly sophist, who was then in the country, returning home about midnight, and finding the proconsul in his house, instead of thanking him for the honour he had done him, made such complaints of the liberty he had taken, as the clown was pleased to

His character.

His religion, constancy in friendship, &c.

His clemency and mildness.

^u JUL. CAP. p. 18—23. ^w Idem ibid. PAUS. l. viii. ^x REIN. i. script. p. 308. ^y JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 18. DIO. ibid.

*Dissembles
affronts.*

style it, that *Antoninus*, to quiet him, was obliged to leave the house at that time of night, and seek for a lodging elsewhere. However, when *Antoninus* was raised to the empire, *Polemon* did not fail to come to *Rome* to wait upon him. The emperor received him in a most obliging manner, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace; but at the same time put him in mind of what had passed in *Smyrna*, by ordering his domestics to take care that no one turned him out of his apartment ^a. A comedian complaining to the emperor, that *Polemon* had driven him out of the theatre at mid-day, *Antoninus* answered, He drove me out of my lodgings at mid-night, and nevertheless I made no complaints ^a. As *M. Aurelius* was weeping for the death of one of his preceptors, the courtiers, creatures for the most part void of humanity, represented to him, that it was beneath a prince to shew so much tenderness and concern; but *Antoninus* checked them with the following remarkable words; *Pray let him to weep, and give him leave to be a man; for neither philosophy nor the imperial dignity ought to extinguish in us the sentiments of nature* ^b. The emperor going one day to see the fine house of *Valerius Omulus*, and admiring there, amongst other things, certain pillars of porphyry, he asked him where he had purchased them? But *Omulus*, instead of being pleased to see the emperor take notice of the ornaments of his house, returned him this rude answer, *In other peoples houses you must learn to be deaf and dumb* ^c. Thus *Omulus*, who was a man of a satirical temper, and given to raillery, treated on this, and several other occasions, the good-natured prince, who could not, as he often owned, prevail upon himself to punish any person for bare words, however free and disobliging. Having sent for *Apollonius*, the celebrated stoic, who resided at *Chalcis* in *Syria*, to instruct *M. Aurelius* in the principles of that sect, the philosopher flew to *Rome*, attended by a great number of disciples, all *Argonauts*, says *Lucian* ^d, gaping after the golden fleece. Upon their arrival, *Antoninus* invited *Apollonius* to court, in order to deliver his disciple to him. The haughty pedant answered with great insolence, that the master was not to come to the disciple, but the disciple to the master; which words being related to *Antoninus*, *Does Apollonius then*, said he, smiling, *think it a more troublesome journey from his lodgings to the palace, than from Chalcis to Rome?* However, he ordered *M. Aurelius* to wait upon him ^e.

^a PHILLOS. soph. 25. ^a Idem ibid. ^b JUL. CAP. ibid.
^e Idem ibid. ^d LUCIAN. in vit. Demonaet. p. 552. ^c JUL.
 CAP. p. 23.

T. Antoninus was adopted by *Adrian*, as we have related above, upon the death of *Ælius Verus Cæsar*. Some authors write, that *Adrian* was induced to prefer him to so many other great men, by the particular respect and tender regard which *Antoninus* shewed to his father-in-law, whom, as he was very old and decrepid, he used constantly to conduct to the senate, attending him like a slave: *Adrian* seeing him one day leading and supporting the old man, was so pleased with that sight, that he adopted him for that very reason^f. But *Adrian* could not by this alone be prompted to confer so great an honour upon one, who had given so many proofs of his extraordinary talents and ability. He chose him, therefore, because he judged him to be, of all the great men in *Rome*, the best qualified for the sovereign power^g. He was adopted on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138, and at the same time invested with the proconsular and tribunitial power, honoured with the name of *Cæsar*, now peculiar to the presumptive heir of the empire, and distinguished, as we conjecture from some ancient coins, with the title of emperor^h, which had hitherto been given to none but the sovereign. We are told, that his succession to the empire was presaged long before by many omens. While he governed part of *Italy* in quality of proconsul, one from among the croud cried out to him, while he was administering justice, *May the gods prosper your undertakings, O Augustus!* Upon his arrival in *Asia*, the priests of the city of *Tralles* in *Lydia* received him not with the usual salutation, *Ave, proconsul!* *Hail, proconsul!* but styled him emperor. At *Cyzicus*, a crown belonging to the statue of one of the gods was found upon that of *Antoninus*, &c.ⁱ *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus* upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Annius Verus*, the son of his wife's brother, and *L. Commodus*, the son of *L. Verus Cæsar*, which he did accordingly before the death of *Adrian*, probably the same day on which he himself was adopted^k. The next day *Antoninus* returned the emperor thanks in the senate for the honour he had conferred upon him, distributed large sums among the soldiery and populace, employing on this occasion his own, and not the public, money; and besides, paid what *Adrian* had promised them. All the cities of the empire used, on such occasions, to present the adopted prince with sums of money instead of crowns, which were thence called *aurum coronarium*. These sums the generous prince remitted intirely to the cities of *Italy*, and a moiety to all the rest. He even contributed out of his private fortune

What
prompted
Adrian to
adopt him.

His future
grandeur
presaged.

His gene-
rosity.

^f Idem, p. 17. ^g DIO. l. lxxix. p. 796, 797. ^h GOLTZ. p. 70. ⁱ JUL. Cap. p. 8. ^k SPART. in Adr. p. 12. JUL. CAP. p. 16. DIO. p. 797.

*He causes
Adrian to
be ranked
among the
gods.*

*Why ho-
noured
with the
title of
Pius.*

*Honours
conferred
upon him
by the se-
nate.*

a great deal towards the works which *Adrian* was carrying on, and obeyed that prince, so long as he lived, with as much respect and submission as the meanest of his subjects, except when he attempted to murder himself, or others ^l. *Adrian* dying at *Baia*, on the tenth of *July*, he prevailed upon the senate, much against their will, to confer such honours upon him as had been decreed to the best of emperors, and continued all those in their employments, who had been preferred by him. It was, according to some writers, on account of this tender and filial respect for the memory of his father, that the senate decreed him the glorious surname of *Pius*. Others think, that they distinguished him with that title in regard of the great care he had of his father-in-law in his old age, or of *Adrian* in his sickness, or because he saved many whom *Adrian* had commanded to be murdered, or finally, on account of the natural sweetness of his temper, and the extraordinary respect he shewed on all occasions for religion and all religious persons ^m. Be that as it will, he bears the epithet of *Pius* in several medals of this very year, and is chiefly known by it in history ⁿ. *Pausanias* thinks he deserved not only this title, but that likewise which was given to *Cyrus*, viz. *the father of mankind*, in consideration of the paternal care he seemed to have of all men ^o. *Commodus*, and the emperors who succeeded him, assumed the same title; which served only to render their wickedness the more remarkable ^p. This year, *Antoninus* was likewise honoured with the title of *Augustus* and of *high pontiff*, and his wife *Faustina* with that of *Augusta*. He refused many other honours which the senate offered him, and among the rest the title of *the father of his country* ^q; which, however, he accepted the following year ^r. We are told, that *Antoninus*, in the beginning of his reign, ordered the proconsul of *Africa* to consult the goddess *Cœlestis*, who was worshipped at *Carthage*, about his successors and the state of the empire; and that the pretended deity, after having uttered, like other oracles, many things obscure and unintelligible, repeated the name of *Antoninus* eight times; whence it was concluded, that *Antoninus* should reign eight years. But as he reigned near twenty-three, another construction was long after put upon the oracle, viz. that eight emperors should reign bearing the name of *Antoninus*; which interpretation we shall examine in the reign of the emperor *Opilius Macrinus*.

^l JUL. CAP. p. 18. ^m Idem. p. 17. PAUS. l. viii. p. 275.
DIO. l. lxx. p. 799. ⁿ SPANH l. viii p. 714. ^o PAUS. l. viii.
p. 275. ^p Idem ibid. ^q DIO. l. lxx. p. 799. JUL. CAP. p.
18. ^r GOLTZ. p. 71.

WE know but very little of the actions of this great prince, and are almost quite at a loss as to the order of them, with respect to what we know. *Julius Capitolinus*, who wrote his life and inscribed it to the emperor *Dioclesian*, is but a very indifferent historian, and greatly confused and perplexed in his accounts. What *Dion Cassius* wrote of *Antoninus* has been lost eight hundred years since, and consequently before *Xiphilin* undertook the epitomising of that author; so that we can only give our readers a general idea of this excellent prince's government and conduct. He lived, according to *Julius Capitolinus*, after his accession to the empire, in the same manner as he had lived while he was yet a private person; no alteration appeared in his behaviour towards his friends, nor had any of his enemies ever the least motive to be grieved for his preferment. He would suffer none but slaves to wait upon him, shewing on all occasions the greatest respect imaginable for the equestrian and senatorial orders. He never transacted any business of consequence without the advice of the senate, paying them, when emperor, that regard which he desired to see paid to them by other emperors, while he was a senator. He frequently gave an Account, even to the people, of all his actions and negotiations. When he demanded the consulship, or other employments, either for himself or his children, he appeared like a private person among the other candidates; which shews, that he allowed the people, according to their antient right, to chuse the magistrates. *M. Aurelius* owns, that *Antoninus* convinced him by his example, that one might lead a private life even in a court. He moderated most of the imposts and tributes, and strictly joined his receivers and collectors to exact them without any severity or oppression, saying, that he chose rather to be poor, than have his coffers filled at the expence of an oppressed people. He was no sooner raised to the empire, than he disposed of the greatest part of his private estate in favour of the indigent citizens; and the empress *Faustina* repining at his generosity, he told her; That a prince ought to have no private interest, no private property, and nothing in view, but the public welfare. He chose for governors of provinces such only as were persons of known integrity, and is said never to have preferred an underserving man to any employment whatsoever. Hence some continued in their posts during the whole time of his reign; for he was not for removing such as discharged their office to the satisfaction of the people, unless they themselves desired it, as did *Orfitus* governor of *Rome*, and some others. *Gavius Maximus* was for the space of twenty years captain of the prætorian guards;

His extraordinary respect for the senatorial and equestrian orders.

He lessens the tributes.

Prefers only men of merit.

* JUL. CAP. in Macrino. † JUL. CAP. p. 20—50.

*Takes care
of the
public re-
venues.*

*Instances of
his equity.*

*Favours
men of
learning.*

*His public
works.*

and others held their employments during the whole time of his reign. His paternal estate, which was very great, he laid out in bounties and largesses ; but was very sparing of the public money : whence at his death his private coffers were found empty, but the exchequer full. He deprived several useless persons of the pensions which had been settled upon them by *Adrian*, saying, he could not bear to see the state devoured by those who were no-ways serviceable to it, but lived in idleness upon the labours of others. Among those whom he thus treated, was *Mesomedes*, a lyric poet, whom *Adrian* had rewarded with a yearly pension, on account of some verses in praise of his beloved *Antinous*. Tho' he was thus sparing of the public money, yet no one ever charged him with avarice ; for he gave daily instances of an unbounded generosity. He would accept of no legacies from such as had children, and ordered the estates of those who had been condemned for extortion, to be restored to their children, after the persons, whom they had pillaged, had been fully satisfied. Under no prince fewer estates were confiscated than under him. He utterly extirpated the whole tribe of informers, and was ready, upon the least misfortune that happened to any city or province, to lessen their tribute and taxes ^u. Many obtained the privileges of *Roman* citizens for themselves, and not for their children, who, in that case, remained *Greeks*, according to the expression of an ancient historian, and consequently were incapable of enjoying their fathers estates, which fell to the exchequer, if the deceased had no *Roman* citizen amongst his relations. But this regulation, favourable indeed to the avarice of princes, but repugnant to humanity, *Antoninus* utterly abolished ^w. He bestowed great privileges and salaries, in all the provinces of the empire, upon such men of learning as undertook the educating of youth ; maintained incredible numbers of children, whose parents were indigent ; supplied all senators and magistrates with large sums to defray the expences of their necessary journies, and spent considerable sums in shows and spectacles, complying therein with the inclinations of the people, tho' he himself had an utter aversion to such diversions. Tho' he was no-ways addicted to building, yet he raised a great number of stately edifices at *Rome*, and in the neighbourhood. He caused a port to be made at *Caieta*, now *Gaeta* ; repaired that of *Terracina* ; finished *Adrian's* magnificent mausoleum ; built a stately palace at *Lorium* in *Hetruria*, about ten miles from *Rome*, in which place he had been educated ; and contributed large sums towards the repairing of several an-

^u PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273.
PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273.

^w JUL. CAP. p. 17—20.

tient buildings in *Greece*, *Ionia*, *Syria*, and *Africa*. The village of *Pallantium* in *Arcadia* was by him made a city, and exempted from all manner of tribute, because *Evander* was supposed to have built, and peopled with the inhabitants of that village, a city in the place where *Rome* stood *. He promised, *Promises to* in the beginning of his reign, to spill the blood of no senator; *put no senator to* which promise he observed so religiously, that one being convicted of parricide, he contented himself with banishing him, *death, and* even after he had owned his crime, to a desert island. *Attilius* *observes* *his promise.* *Tatianus* and *Priscianus* being accused of conspiring against the life of the emperor, the latter laid violent hands on himself, and the former was only banished. Of his son *Antoninus* took particular care, and brought him up as if he had been his own child. He would suffer no inquiry to be made after their accomplices, answering the senate, when they pressed him to it, I do not care the world should know by how many persons I am hated. He never engaged in any war which he could avoid, and was often heard to say, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand enemies. By this means he gained the affections, not only of his own people, who looked upon him as their father and protector, but likewise of the declared enemies of *Rome*, who entertained such an opinion of his equity, *Is esteemed even by the enemies of Rome.* justice and moderation, that in their disputes they chose him for their judge and arbitrator; and truly no *Roman* emperor was ever more esteemed and revered by all foreign nations than *Antoninus*. The king of the *Parthians*, having raised a formidable army and invaded *Armenia*, retired, contrary to the expectation of all, and disbanded his troops upon the receipt of a letter from *Antoninus*. The kings of *Hyrkania*, *Bactria*, and *India*, sent ambassadors to him, courting his friendship, and desiring his alliance. *Pharasmanes* king of *Iberia* came in person to wait upon him at *Rome*, and shewed a far greater respect and veneration for him, than he had formerly done for *Adrian*. The *Lazi*, the *Armenians*, the *Quadi*, and several other nations, readily received such princes as he was pleased to appoint over them, tho' they were not then subject to the empire †. *Antoninus* is by some historians compared, by others even preferred, to *Numa*, on account of the tranquility which *Rome* enjoyed during the greatest part of his reign, and his extraordinary care of all things belonging to the worship of the gods and to religion. *Julius Capitolinus* tells us, that he was by persons *And revered by all ranks of men.* of all ranks revered to such a degree, that neither the people nor soldiery could, for the space of a hundred years and upwards,

* JUL. CAP. p. 20. BIRAG. p. 194. SPART. l. ix. p. 831, 832.
 † SPART. in Geta, p. 90.

look upon any one as truly emperor, who did not bear the name of *Antoninus*; which was therefore assumed by all his successors during a whole century: nay, *Severus* appointed, that the name of *Antoninus* should be peculiar to the emperors, like that of *Augustus*^a; so great was the veneration he had for *Antoninus*! That great name was indeed profaned and dishonoured by *Antoninus Caracalla*; but nevertheless respected to such a degree, even after his reign, that the emperor *Macrinus* obliged his son *Diadumenus* to assume it, fearing the soldiers would not acknowledge him emperor, unless distinguished by that still venerable name^a.

Marries
his daughter
Faustina
to M.
Aurelius.

Adrian died, as we have related above, on the 10th of July 138, *Camerinus* and *Niger* being consuls. These were succeeded by the emperor *Antoninus*, the second time consul, and *Caius Bruttius Præfens*. This year *Antoninus* gave his daughter *Annia Faustina* in marriage to *M. Aurelius*, whom he created *Cæsar*, and at the request of the senate, tho' this year only quæstor, named for the consulate of the year ensuing; which he discharged with him, as appears from an antient inscription on a monument raised to the honour of *M. Aurelius* by the two captains of the prætorian guards, *Petronius Mamertinus* and *Gavius Maximus*, and by the other officers of the ten prætorian cohorts, and the city-guards^b. In another inscription, which antiquaries take to be of this year, *Antoninus* is styled the benefactor and preserver of the city of *Mopsuestia*, for having maintained the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges^c. From a third inscription we learn, that *Antoninus* ended this year an aqueduct, which had been begun by *Adrian* at *New Athens* in the island of *Delos*^d. The next consuls were *M. Peducæus Siloga* and *T. Hoenius Severus*^e, during whose administration one *Celsus* revolted; but all we know of his revolt is, that on this occasion the empress *Faustina* was greatly displeased with the kindness which the good-natured emperor shewed to his enemies^f. Soon after *Faustina* died, and was, notwithstanding the dissolute life she had led, at the request of *Antoninus*, honoured with divine worship, priests, temples, statues of gold and silver, &c. Games were instituted to her honour, and her statue was, by *Antoninus*'s order, carried amongst those of the other gods at the *Circensian* sports. The emperor was not unacquainted with her irregular conduct; but had done all that lay in his power to keep her disorders concealed from the multitude^g. The following year, *L. Cuspius Rufinus* and *L. Statius Quadratus* being consuls, *Antoninus* instituted so-

The em-
press Fau-
stina dies,
and is
ranked
among the
gods.

^a Idem in Diad.

^b GRUT. p. 258.

^c ONUPH. p. 225.

^d Idem, p. 224.

^e CUSPIN. p. 353. ONUPH. in fast. p. 225.

^f Coss. vit. per. VULCAT. p. 43.

^g JUL. CAP. p. 18.

lemn sports at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*, which were styled *Pia* and *Pialia*, and were to be celebrated the second year of each olympiad ^h. The next consuls were *C. Bellicius Torquatus* and *Atticus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes*. The latter, who is greatly Herodes cried up by *Aulus Gellius* ⁱ and *Philostratus* ^k, was a native of *is raised Athens*, and the most eloquent orator of his time. He had an ^{to the con-} extraordinary talent at making speeches off-hand; but not hav-^{fulship.} ing succeeded as he expected in one which he made while he was yet a youth before the emperor *Adrian*, he attempted to drown himself in the *Danube*. He instructed *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue, and was greatly esteemed by *Antoninus*, who appointed him governor of the free cities of *Asia*. He died in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, and 176 of the christian æra, and left behind him many speeches, letters, and other works, none of which have reached *The Bri-* our times. In the following consulship of *Lollianus Avidus* and *gantes re-* *Claudius Maximus*, the *Brigantes* in *Britain* revolted; but *volt, and* were soon reduced by *Lollius Urbicus* governor of that province, *are re-* who deprived them of great part of their country, subdued the *duced.* most northern nations, and built a new wall between the friths of *Forth* and *Clyde* ^l. For the victories gained by *Lollius*, *Antoninus* was honoured, as appears from some antient medals, with the title of *Britannicus* ^m. The next year *Antoninus* entered upon his fourth consulship, having for his colleague *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, the second time consul, and gave the manly robe to *Lucius Verus* his adopted son, who had ended the fourteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December* of the preceding year. He imitated therein *Augustus*, who had taken upon him the consular dignity when he gave the manly robe to his adopted children *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*. The same year *Antoninus* consecrated the temple which he had built to the honour of *Adrian*, and on that occasion distributed considerable sums among the populace ⁿ. In the next consulship of *Sex. Erucius Clarus* and *Cn. Claudius Severus*, some disturbances were raised in *Germany* and *Dacia*; but were soon composed by the governors of those provinces. The *Alani* likewise, attempting to invade the *Roman* dominions, were driven back into their own country with no small loss ^o. During the administration of the following consuls *Largus* and *Messalinus*, the emperor invested *M. Aurelius* with the tribunitial and proconsular power. By *Faustina*, the daughter of *Antoninus*, he had already a daughter named *Lucilla*, who was afterwards married

^h Idem, p. 13. PAGI, p. 211.

ⁱ AUL. GEL. l. ix. c. 2.

^k PHILOST. soph. xxvii.

^l Vide ALFORD. annal. Britan. ad

ann. 142. USSER. Britan. eccles. antiq. p. 1024.

^m Vide CA-

SAUB. in Spart. p. 50.

ⁿ JUL. CAP. p. 36.

^o Idem, p. 19.

Shews a
great
esteem for
M. Aure-
lius.

But none
for L.
Verus.

The two
brothers
Quintilii.

to *L. Verus*. The emperor on all occasions shewed a particular esteem for *M. Aurelius*, consulted him in all affairs of moment, often followed his advice, and suffered him to govern as if he had been his partner in the sovereign power, giving no ear to the malicious insinuations of those who attempted to estrange his mind from the young prince, as if he wished for his death^p. As the conduct of *L. Verus* was very different from that of *M. Aurelius*, the emperor treated him in a quite different manner, not bestowing upon him either the title of *Cæsar*, or any other peculiar to the apparent heir of the empire; nay, he did not, during the whole time of his reign, invest him with any power whatsoever; which was a plain indication, that he disliked him, and not without reason, as we shall see hereafter, and only suffered him, because he had been obliged by *Adrian* to adopt him^q. This year, being by the *Romans* reckoned the nine hundredth of their city, the secular games were celebrated by *Antoninus* with extraordinary pomp and magnificence^r. In the consulate of *Torquatus* and *Julianus*, the *Moors* took up arms, upon what provocation we know not, but were utterly defeated, driven quite out of their own country, and obliged to shelter themselves in the most distant parts of *Libya* beyond mount *Atlas*^s. The three following years were quite barren of events. In the first *Servius Scipio Orfitus* and *Q. Nonius Priscus* were consuls; in the second *Glabrio Gallicanus* and *Vetus*; and in the third *Quintilius Condianus* and *Quintilius Maximus*. The two latter were brothers, and are mightily cried up by the antients, on account of their learning, their experience both in civil and military affairs, their wealth, and, above all, in regard of their mutual unity and concord; for they acted on all occasions, says *Dion Cassius*, as if they had not been two, but one person: whence they are known in history by the name of the *Quintilii*. They governed the provinces together, the one being lieutenant to the other; were consuls together; wrote to the emperor, received answers, judged causes, published books in common, and were in the end unjustly condemned and executed together by order of the emperor *Commodus*, as we shall relate in the history of that prince's reign^t. They were natives of *Troas*, and highly esteemed by *M. Aurelius*, under whom they governed *Greece* in 173, and *Pannonia* in 178. They published a treatise on agriculture, whereof some fragments have reached our times^u.

^p Idem, p. 24.

^q Idem in Ver. p. 36.

^r AUR. VICT.

& NORIS. epist. conf.

^s PAUSAN. l. viii. p. 273.

^t DIO.

l. lxxi. p. 814. CASAUB. in Spart. p. 94. PHILOST. sophist. xxviii.

^u Vide CASAUB. in Spart. p. 94.

THE following year, the fifteenth of *Antoninus's* reign, *Sextus Junius Glabrio* and *C. Omullus Verianus* being consuls, that eminent champion of the christian religion, *Justin* the martyr, published his first apology, and presented it to the emperor, to his adopted sons, and to the senate. As *Antoninus* was a prince of a mild disposition, he was so far moved by it, and by the informations which he had received from other parts of the empire, that he wrote a letter to the whole province of *Asia* in favour of the distressed christians, which he concluded with these words; *If any one for the future shall molest the christians, and accuse them merely on account of their religion, let the person who is arraigned be discharged, though he is found to be a christian, and the accuser be punished according to the rigour of the law* ^w. At the same time the emperor wrote in behalf of the christians to the *Athenians*, *Thessalonians*, *Larisseans* in *Thessaly*, and to all the *Greeks* ^x. These letters put a stop to the persecution; which however broke out anew, and raged with great violence under *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus's* successor, as we shall relate hereafter. The following year, when *C. Bruttius Præfens* and *A. Junius Rufinus* were consuls, the *Tiber*, overflowing its banks, laid the lower parts of *Rome* under water. The inundation was followed by a fire, which consumed part of the city, and a famine, which swept off great numbers of the citizens, notwithstanding the care which the good-natured emperor took to have corn conveyed to the city from the most distant provinces. The same year the cities of *Narbonne* in *Gaul*, and *Antioch* in *Syria*, and the great square at *Carthage*, were in great part consumed by accidental fire; but soon restored by *Antoninus* to their former condition ^y. This year *L. Verus* discharged the office of quæstor, and exhibited on that occasion public shows, at which he presided, sitting between *Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius*. The following year he was raised to the consulship, and had for his colleague *T. Sextius*, or, as he is called by others, *Sextilius Lateranus*. *C. Julius Severus* and *M. Rufinus Sabinianus* discharged that office next, and were succeeded by *M. Ceionius Silvanus* and *C. Serius Augurinus*, during whose consulship the cities of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, with several others in *Lycia* and *Caria*, were overturned by a violent earthquake; but soon restored to their former lustre, *Antoninus* contributing thereunto immense sums, and making good the losses which the inhabitants had sustained ^z. The four following years are quite barren of events. The con-

Antoninus
favour-
able to the
christians.

Several
calamities.

^w EUSEB. l. iv. c. 26. JUST. apol. p. 100. Chron. Alex. p. 608, 610. ^x EUSEB. ibid. & l. iv. c. 13. ^y JUL. CAP. p. 20. VICT. epit. ^z JUL. CAP. p. 21.

*Is taken ill
and dies.*

*He is uni-
versally
lamented.*

suls were *Barbarus* and *Regulus*; *Tertullus* and *Sacerdos*; *Plautius Quintillus* and *M. Statius Priscus*; *Appius Annius Bradua* and *T. Vibius Bradus*. The two latter were succeeded by *M. Aurelius Cæsar* the third time, and *L. Verus* the second time, consul. During their administration, the emperor was seized with a violent fever at *Lorium*, one of his country-seats, which in a few days put an end to his life on the seventh of *March*, after he had lived seventy-three years, five months, and sixteen or seventeen days, and reigned twenty-two years, seven months, and twenty-six days. When he found death approaching, he sent for the captains of the prætorian guards, and the chief officers of the court, and in their presence confirmed his adoption of *M. Aurelius*, and recommended to him the empire, without taking the least notice of *Lucius Verus*. He then ordered the golden image of *Fortune*, which always stood in the emperor's bed-chamber, to be removed to the room of *M. Aurelius*. When the tribune came for the parole, the word he gave him was *equanimity*. He left his paternal estate to his daughter, and legacies to all his friends and domestics. Though he died in an advanced age, he was no less lamented by all the subjects of the empire, than if he had been snatched from them in the bloom of his youth^a. His funeral was performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and his body deposited in the pompous mausoleum of his predecessor *Adrian*; on which occasion two funeral orations were pronounced; one by *M. Aurelius*, and another by *L. Verus*. He was by the senate ranked among the gods, a temple was built to his honour, priests, sacrifices, and annual sports, instituted, &c.^b *Gordianus*, who assumed the title of *Augustus* at *Carthage*, in the year 237, wrote in his youth an elegant poem, intitled *Antoniniades*, describing the lives, the wars, the public and private actions, of *Antoninus* and his successor *M. Aurelius*, named likewise *Antoninus*^c; but that work has not reached our times. Some speeches were published under the name of *Antoninus*, which *Marius Maximus* maintained to be his, though they were commonly thought to have been written by others^d. Of the writers who flourished under him, we shall speak in our note (E).

M. Aurelius

^a Idem, p. 22.
in Anton. p. 21.

^b Idem ibid.

^c Idem in Gord.

^d Idem

(E) These were *Justin*, *Julius Paulus*, *Appian*, *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Calpurnius Taurus*, *Apollonius*, *Ptolemy* the astrologer, *Fronto*, *Telephus*, and *Claudius Maximus*. *Justin* is thought to have inscribed his abridgment of *Trogus Pompeius* to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. That writer, in an antient manuscript, is styled *M. Justinianus*.

M. Aurelius is by all the antients reckoned the best prince *Marcus* that ever swayed a sceptre, and his reign commonly styled *The Aurelius golden age*; for he made good the saying which he had borrowed *Antoninus* of *Plato*, and had often in his mouth, viz. That states would ^{surnamed} be *The Philosopher*.

nianus Justinus. His work was known to *St. Jerom*, *St. Austin*, and *Orosius*, who often copies him. Some have confounded *Justin* the historian with *Justin* the martyr, who flourished about the same time; but never published any work in the *Latin* tongue, not even the apologies which he wrote at *Rome*, and presented to the emperor. *Trogus Pompeius*, whose history *Justin* abridged, is ranked among the best historians of *Augustus's* reign, and put upon the level with *Livy*, *Sallust*, and *Tacitus* (61). *Julius Paulus* published several poetical pieces, and is commended by *Aulus Gellius*, on account of his great erudition and probity. He lived in *Gellius's* time; but died before that grammarian began to write: whence he is thought to have flourished under *Adrian* and *Antoninus* (62). *Appian*, who wrote the *Roman* history in *Greek*, was a native of *Alexandria*, pleaded some time at *Rome*, and was afterwards employed by the emperors to take care of their private estates and revenues (63). He lived in the reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and was writing in the year 900 of *Rome*, the tenth of *Adrian's* reign (64). His *Roman* history is, properly speaking, a separate and distinct history of all the nations subject to *Rome*, from the earliest times to the reign of *Augustus*, tho' he sometimes carries it down to the time of *Adrian* (65). He speaks of the destruction of *Jerusalem* under *Adrian*, as happening in his time (66). His history of the wars of *Africa*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, *Pontus*, *Iberia*, *Spain*, *Illyricum*, and of *Hannibal* and *Mithridates*, with five books of the civil wars, of which he wrote seven, have reached us; and besides, some fragments of several other histories copied by *M. Valois* from the collections of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*. He likewise wrote the history of the wars of *Judea*, and of that which *Trajan* waged with the *Dacians* (67). *Photius* admires the elegance of his style, but chiefly commends him as an unbiassed writer, and one who, in his accounts, aimed mostly at truth (68). He borrowed many things of *Polybius* and *Plutarch*, whom he often copies (69). *Scaliger* is of opinion, that many things unworthy of so great an historian have been, by the ignorant transcribers, inserted into his history of *Syria*. His plan, which was to write the history of *Rome*, and all the provinces of the empire, was much admired by *Evagrius* (70). *Callinicus Sutorius* was a native of *Petra* in *Arabia*; but spent most part of his life at *Athens*. He wrote the history of

(61) *Voss. hist. Lat. c. 19, & 23.* (62) *Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 22. l. v. c. 4. l. xvi. c. 10. l. xix. c. 7. Voss. poet. Lat. p. 52.* (63) *Appian. in Syr. Suid. p. 353.* (64) *Appian. p. 7.* (65) *Idem, p. 4. Evagr. l. vi. c. 24.* (66) *Appian. in Syr. p. 83.* (67) *Idem ibid. p. 10. Phot. c. 57.* (68) *Phot. ibid.* (69) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 13.* (70) *Evagr. l. vi. c. 24.*

be happy, when princes were philosophers *. He was of the *Annian* family, which some writers derive from *Numa Pompilius*.

* DIO. l. lxxi. p. 815. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 33.

Alexandria in ten books, quoted by St. *Jerom* (71), and published several other pieces on various subjects (72). Some fragments in Greek by one *Callinicus*, published by *Leo Allatius*, are ascribed by *Vossius* to *Callinicus Sutorius* (73). But *Jonssius* supposes *Callinicus Sutorius* to have flourished in the time of the emperor *Gallienus*, to whom, and not to *Galen* the celebrated physician, he inscribed, in his opinion, one of his works (74). *Calvisius Taurus* is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who went to hear him while he instructed the *Athenian* youth in the principles of the *Platonic* philosophy (75). He was a native of *Tyre*, according to *Philostratus*; but, according to *Suidas* (76), and *Eusebius* (77), of *Berytus*. He published several works, one among the rest shewing the difference between the doctrine of *Plato* and that of *Aristotle*. *Aulus Gellius* quotes a treatise written by him on anger, and the first book of his comments upon *Plato's Gorgias* (78). The same writer commends him on account of his abstinence; for he lived chiefly upon lentils (79). *Ti-lephus*, who instructed *L. Verus* in the Greek tongue, was born in *Pergamus*, and wrote a book on the rhetoric of *Homer*, another on the perfect agreement between that poet and *Plato*; the lives of such poets as had written comedies or tragedies; instructions on the choice of books; a description of *Pergamus*, with the history of its kings and laws; an account of the laws and customs of *Athens*; and a collection of epithets (80). *Claudius Maximus* was by birth a *Tyrian*, and one of *M. Aurelius's* preceptors, whom he instructed in the principles of the *Stoics*. He published several philosophical pieces, and discourses on the *Platonic* philosophy, which have reached our times, and are deservedly esteemed by the learned. Some writers are of opinion, that he was consul in the year 144, the seventh of *Antoninus's* reign, and afterwards proconsul of *Africa* (81). We have already mentioned *Apollonius* the stoic, who was another of *M. Aurelius's* preceptors, and whom that prince went frequently to hear, even after he was raised to the empire. Most writers ascribe to him a work mentioned by *Photius*, wherein the author gives an account of illustrious women, of such especially as had applied themselves to the study of philosophy (82). *Ptolemy*, the celebrated astrologer and geographer, flourished under *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. He made his last astronomical observation on a *Wednesday*, the second of *February* in the year 141, the fourth of *Antoninus's* reign; but never-

(71) *Hier. in Dan.* (72) *Suid. p. 1360.* (73) *Voss. ibid.*
 (74) *Jonsf. l. iii. c. 9.* (75) *Aul. Gel. l. xviii. c. 10.* (76)
Suid. p. 871. (77) *Euseb. in chron.* (78) *Aul. Gel. l. i. c. 26.*
l. vi c. 14. (79) *Idem l. xvii. c. 8.* (80) *Suid. p. 897.* (81)
Vide P. Pagi. p. 144. (82) *Jonsf. l. iii. c. 9. Phot. p. 161. Spanh.*
p. 53.

lius. However that be, it is certain, that his great-grandfather *His ex-Annii Verus*, originally of *Succubæ*, a city of *Bætica* in Spain, *traction*, was the first senator of the *Annian* family, and afterwards created *prefer-ment*. *prætor*. His son, who bore the same name, was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, appointed governor of *Rome*, and honoured twice with the consulship. He had three chil-

theless *Suidas* supposes him to have lived to the reign of *M. Aurelius*, and gives us a catalogue of his works. His geography is greatly commended by the antients; but we are told, that some of the manuscript copies of that work are very different from the printed copies (83). *Suidas* writes, that he was born in *Alexandria*; but *Vossius* maintains, that he was a native of *Pelufium*, and supposed to have been an *Alexandrian*, because he made his astronomical observations in that city (84). *Sulpitius Apollinaris*, a celebrated grammarian, is often mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who seems to have entertained a great opinion of him (85). He left some letters and some grammatical writings, wherein he found fault with another grammarian, by name *Cæsellius Vindex* (86). Some of his observations upon *Terence* have reached our times (87). *M. Cornelius Fronto* is cried up by the antients, as one of the best orators of his age, and by some put upon the level with *Cicero*. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that he never visited him, which he did frequently while he was yet very young, without profiting much by his instructions (88). In *Adrian's* time he passed for the most eloquent orator of that age, and was afterwards appointed by *Antoninus* to teach *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the *Latin* eloquence. *M. Aurelius* valued him above all his preceptors, caused a statue to be erected to him in *Rome*, and honoured him with the consular dignity (89). *St. Jerom* styles him an illustrious orator (90); and *Sidonius* speaks of him as the author of a particular kind of diction, more grave, and less flourished, than that of the antient orators (91). He published several harangues, one of which, against *Pelops*, was highly esteemed, and preferred to all the rest (92). *Sospater Charisius* published some letters of his, and other writings, on the propriety of words, in the collection of authors who have written on the *Latin* tongue (93). *Sidonius* commends one *Leo*, a man of great rank in the fifth century, for adopting the style of *Fronto*, from whom he was descended (94). We read in *Minucius Felix*, that one *Fronto*, a native of *Cirtha* in *Numidia*, published some discourses against the christians, which were in great request about the beginning of the third century (95). These discourses are, by some able critics, ascribed to *Fronto* the orator.

(83) *Voss hist. Græc. l. iv. c. 17. Cyp. disput. append. c. 16.*

(84) *Voss. ibid.* (85) *Aul. Gel. l. iv. c. 17. l. xiii. c. 17. &c.*

(86) *Aul. Gel. l. vi. c. 6. l. xx. c. 6. l. xiii. c. 19. &c.* (87) *Vide*

Calvis. an. 163. (88) *Gell. l. ii. c. 26.* (89) *Jul. Cap. in Au-*

rel. p. 23. (90) *Hier. in chron.* (91) *Sid. l. i. epist. 1. l. iv.*

epist. 3. (92) *Sid. l. viii. ep. 10.* (93) *Vide Casaub. in Spart.*

M. Aur. (94) *Sid. l. viii. epist. 3.* (95) *Min. Fel. q. 8.*

dren, *Annius Verus*, the father of *M. Aurelius*; *Annius Libo*, who was consul; and *Annia Galeria Faustina*, who was married to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. *Annius Verus* married *Domitia Calvilla*, called also *Lucilla*, the daughter of *Calvisius Tullus*, who had been twice consul, and had by her *M. Aurelius* and a daughter named *Annia Cornificia*. *M. Aurelius* was born in *Rome*, during his grandfather's second consulship, on the 26th of *April* of the year 121, which was the fourth of *Adrian's* reign. His first name was *Catilius Severus*, that of his mother's grandfather, who had been governor of *Rome*, and twice consul. Upon the death of his father, who died in his prætorship, he was adopted by his grandfather *M. Annus Verus*, and took his name. The emperor *Adrian* used to call him *M. Annus Verissimus*, on account of his great sincerity; and under that name *Justin* the martyr addresses him in his second apology. When he was adopted by *Antoninus*, he took the names of *M. Ælius Aurelius Verus*, the name of *Aurelius* being peculiar to the family of *Antoninus*, and that of *Ælius* to the family of *Adrian*, into which *Antoninus* had been adopted. Upon his accession to the empire, he left the name of *Verus* to *L. Commodus*, his brother by adoption, and took for himself that of *Antoninus*; but is generally distinguished from his predecessor, either by the prænomen of *Marcus*, or the surname of *Philosophus*; which was given him by the unanimous consent of historians, and not by any public act or decree of the senate^f. He was from his tender years brought up by the emperor *Adrian*, whom *Dion Cassius* calls his kinsman^g. That prince would have willingly adopted him, and named him for his successor; but chose in his room, as he was then too young, *T. Antoninus*, who had married his aunt, obliging him to adopt his nephew^h. *Annius Verus*, his grandfather, committed the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, to a matron, who lived in his house; but *M. Aurelius* thanks the gods, that he was but a short while under her tuitionⁱ; for *Adrian*, taking him from his grandfather, brought him up in the palace, employing the greatest men of that age to instruct him in every branch of literature. He applied himself to the study of philosophy under the celebrated sophist *Apollonius Sextus* of *Chæroneæ*, *Plutarch's* nephew, *Junius Rusticus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *Cinsia Catullus*, and *Claudius Severus*; to that of eloquence under *Herodes Atticus* and *M. Cornelius Fronto*; and to the study of the law under *L. Volusius Metianus*, or, as some style him, *Mæcianus*,

His education.

His studies and learning.

^f DIO. l. lxxix. p. 797. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. JUSTIN. apol. ii. GRUT. p. 300. ^g DIO. ibid. ^h JUL. CAP. p. 23. EUTROP. ⁱ M. AUR. de seip. l. i. c. 14.

the most learned civilian of that age. *M. Aurelius* is said to have excelled in all these branches of learning, and to have been one of the greatest orators, philosophers, and civilians, of his time. He delighted chiefly in the study of philosophy, was thoroughly acquainted with the tenets and principles of the different sects, and, when he was but twelve years old, entered himself among the philosophers, wore their habit, and practised all their austerities, lying on the ground, fasting, and abstaining from several meats. He shewed, even after he was emperor, great respect to those who had instructed him, especially to *Junius Rusticus*, of whom we have spoken in our notes; transacted nothing without his advice (for he was a person well versed in the arts both of peace and war); saluted him always before the captains of the guards; raised him twice to the consulship; and, after his death, prevailed upon the senate to erect him a statue. He shewed no less gratitude and veneration towards his other masters, setting up in his closet their images in gold, visiting frequently their sepulchres, and adorning them with crowns, victims, and flowers. His great application to the study of philosophy, and the austerities he practised, impaired his health to such a degree, that he became very weak and infirm, though naturally of a robust constitution^k. To strengthen his stomach, greatly weakened by fasting when he was but a youth, he used to take every day some treacle, which was made up for him by one of his physicians, named *Demetrius*, and, after his death, by the celebrated *Galen*^l. As he led a very regular life, he lived, notwithstanding his bad health, almost to the age of sixty, and performed great things, applying himself to the dispatch of business with more care and assiduity, than any of his predecessors had done. He had an utter aversion to all sorts of shows, sports, and diversions, being naturally grave and serious; but nevertheless appeared at them sometimes, tho' very seldom, that he might not seem to condemn those who frequented them. He used, while he was emperor, to read, write, or talk to his ministers about public affairs, during the whole time of the sports, for which he was often rallied by the populace, but despised their railleries^m. When he was but sixteen, he made over his paternal estate to his sister, saying, that his grandfather's estate was enough for him. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, as we have related above, upon condition, that he should adopt *M. Aurelius*, at that time eighteen years old, and *L. Commodus*, who was only in the

His respect to his preceptors.

Practises the austerities of the philosophers.

His aversion to shows, and all diversions.

^k JUL. CAP. *ibid.* M. ANTON. l. i. c. 3. ^l GALEN. *prog.* p. 460. de antidot. c. 2. & lib. de ther. p. 457. ^m JUL. CAP. p. 23.

His issue
by Fauſti-
na, the
daughter
of Anto-
ninus.

seventh or eighth year of his age, but already *Adrian's* grandson by adoption, being the son of *L. Ælius Cæsar*. These adoptions happened, in all likelihood, on the same day that *Antoninus* was adopted, that is, on the twenty-fifth of *February* of the year 138. *M. Aurelius* was so far from being elated with his new dignity, that, on the contrary, he could not help betraying great uneasiness and concern, telling those who came to congratulate him upon his promotion, that they knew not how difficult and dangerous a thing it was to command. *Adrian* at the same time appointed him quæstor for the ensuing year, though he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the discharge of that dignityⁿ. The same prince had betrothed to him, when he was but fifteen, the daughter of *L. Verus Cæsar*, named, as is commonly believed, *Fabia*; and appointed, that *Antoninus* should give his daughter *Annia Faustina* to young *Lucius*. But upon the death of *Adrian*, *Antoninus* proposed a match between his daughter, and *M. Aurelius*, who agreed to it, married her some years after, and had a daughter by her in the year 147, the ninth of *Antoninus's* reign, named *Lucilla*, who was married to *L. Verus* in 164, and afterwards to *Pompeianus*. He had several other daughters by her, of whom three were still alive in the year 193, and one was put to death by *Caracalla* in 212. *Annia Faustina* brought him likewise several sons, viz. *Commodus*, who was afterwards emperor, *Antoninus Geminus*, *Severus*, or rather *Verus*, styled on some medals *Annius Verus*, *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Ælius Aurelius*. *Commodus* and *Antoninus Geminus* were twins, born on the thirty-first of *August* of the year 161, the first of their father's reign^o. In the year 139, *Antoninus* named *M. Aurelius* consul for the ensuing year, declared him *Cæsar*, lodged him in the palace of *Tiberius*, and took him in a manner for his partner in the empire. *M. Aurelius*, without being in the least elated with these extraordinary honours, pursued his former course of life, visited his friends, as if he had been a private person, frequented the schools of the philosophers, applied himself to the study of the *Greek* and *Latin* eloquence, &c. In the beginning of the year 147, *Antoninus* invested him with the proconsular and tribunitial power, and thenceforth transacted nothing without his advice, which he generally followed, as he entertained a high opinion of his integrity, penetration, and extraordinary accomplishments^p.

ⁿ JUL. CAP. p. 24. ^o JUL. CAP. ibid. & in L. Ver. p. 39.
HERODIAN. l. i. p. 46. & l. iv. p. 546. GRUT. p. 252. PAGI,
p. 180. ^p JUL. CAP. p. 25. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 107.

Antoninus having declared, a little before he died, *M. Aurelius* his successor, and recommended to him the empire and his daughter in the presence of the chief officers of the court, the senate, as soon as he expired, obliged *M. Aurelius*, says the author of his life, to accept the sovereignty, and take upon him the management of affairs, without so much as mentioning *L. Verus*, who was likewise the son of *Antoninus* by adoption, but very different in his temper and conduct both from his father and brother, being intirely abandoned to all manner of debauchery, and more inclined to tread in the footsteps of *Nero* and *Caligula*, than to imitate the virtues of *T. Antoninus* and *M. Aurelius* ⁹. *Antoninus*, who was well acquainted with his temper, had never invested him with any power, nor even conferred upon him the title of *Cæsar*. However, *M. Aurelius* immediately declared him not only *Cæsar*, but *Augustus*, and his partner in the sovereign power; so that *Rome* saw herself then for the first time governed by two sovereigns at once. As they were at the same time consuls, this year, the 161st of the christian æra, is distinguished in the *Fasti* and inscriptions by the consulate of the two *Augusti*. This action of *Marcus Aurelius* is cried up by *Aristides* as the greatest, and the most heroic and magnanimous, that is recorded in history of any prince ¹. In raising *Lucius* to the empire, he gave him the name of *Verus*; so that he was thenceforth named *Lucius Verus*, instead of *Lucius Commodus*: he added that of *Antoninus*, which he assumed himself; whence he is styled in most antient inscriptions *M. Aurelius Antoninus* ². The two emperors went together from the senate to the camp of the prætorian guards, where they promised the soldiers a bounty of twenty thousand sesterces, *M. Aurelius* speaking for both. They performed afterwards with great pomp the funeral of their deceased father, caused him to be ranked among the gods, and instituted a new college of priests, called *Aureliani*, (from the name of his family) or *Aurelian* priests. They both governed with great mildness and unity, *Lucius* behaving himself rather as *Aurelius*'s lieutenant than his partner in the sovereignty. Their administration was such, that no one had occasion to regret the loss of *Antoninus*, whose measures were pursued by both princes. That their union might be the more lasting, *M. Aurelius* betrothed his daughter *Lucilla* to *L. Verus*, and on that occasion both princes added a great number of children to those who were supplied with corn at the public expence ³. But the tranquility and happiness, which *Rome* and the whole empire enjoyed under the two sovereigns, was soon interrupted by a

He takes
L. Verus
for his
partner in
the sove-
reignty.

They both
govern
with great
mildness
and unani-
mity.

⁹ JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 25 & in *Ver.* p. 36.
orat. 16. p. 421.

² Vide GOLTZ p 34.

¹ ARISTID.

³ JUL. CAP. p. 25.

dreadful

Many calamities happen in the beginning of their reign.

dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, which happened in the beginning of the following year, when *Rusticus* and *Aquilinus* were consuls, overturned many private houses and public buildings in the city, carried away great numbers of people and cattle, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This inundation was followed by earthquakes, conflagrations in several provinces, and a general infection of the air, which produced an infinite number of insects, that destroyed what the flood had spared, and occasioned a famine in *Rome*. These calamities were in great measure allayed by the care and presence of the two emperors, who, at their own expence, supplied the distressed city with corn, and make good the losses sustained by particulars ^t. At the same time, the *Parthian* war broke out, the *Catti* made irruptions into *Germany* and *Rhætia*, and the *Britons* began to revolt. Against the latter was dispatched *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Ausidius Victorinus* against the *Catti*: but it was thought proper, that *L. Verus* should march in person against the *Parthians*, while *M. Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, where his presence was judged necessary. The good emperor was not displeased to have such a specious pretence of removing his colleague from *Rome*, hoping that a warlike life would give him a distaste to the idle amusements and debaucheries of the town: but he was therein greatly disappointed, as we shall see anon ^u. What success attended *Agricola* and *Victorinus*, we are no-where told. All we know of the wars with these nations is, that *Didius Julianus*, who reigned after *Pertinax*, is said to have overcome the *Chauci*, and likewise the *Catti*, who had made inroads into the *Roman* dominions. The war in *Britain* must have likewise lasted a long time; for it was not ended eight years after, when that of the *Marcomanni* broke out ^w.

The Parthians declare war.

Disturbances in Armenia

As for the *Parthians*, they had at this time for their king *Vologeses*, probably the son of *Cosroes*, who reigned in the times of *Trajan* and *Adrian*. *Antoninus* had refused to restore to him the golden throne, which had been seized by *Adrian*. This perhaps occasioned the war; for before *Antoninus* died, the *Parthian* had made vast preparations, and soon after his death appeared in the field at the head of a formidable army ^x. Great disturbances, of which we find but a very confused account in the antients, happened likewise at this time in *Armenia*, raised, in all likelihood, and fomented by the king of *Parthians*. *Sobemus*, king of *Armenia*, was driven from the throne, and the king of the *Henochii*, a people dwelling between the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, was killed by a petty prince, named *Tiridates*,

^t Idem ibid.

^u Idem in Ver p 37.

^w SPART. in Julian.

p 60.

^x ARIST. orat. ix. p. 119 JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 25.

who

who was afterwards taken prisoner by the *Romans*, and by *M. Aurelius* confined to *Britain* ¹. *Severinus*, a native of *Gaul* and governor of *Cappadocia*, having entered *Armenia* at the head of several legions, was there attacked by the *Parthians* near a place called *Elegia*, and cut off with all his men: we are told, that not a single person of the whole army escaped the general slaughter. *Dion Cassius* ascribes this victory to *Vologeses*; but he obtained it by *Osrhoes*, or, as *Lucian* calls him, *Othryades*, who commanded the army, and was in all likelihood some prince of the royal family of *Parthia*, on whom *Vologeses* designed to bestow the crown of *Armenia* ². *Vologeses*, elated with this victory, entered *Syria* at the head of a very numerous army, committing dreadful ravages both in that province and in *Cappadocia*, which he likewise invaded, after having put to flight *Attidius Cornelianus*, who commanded in *Syria*. Against so formidable an enemy, it was judged proper, that one of the emperors should march in person; and accordingly *L. Verus* set out from *Rome* this year for *Syria*. *M. Aurelius* accompanied him as far as *Capua*, whence he was scarce returned to *Rome*, when news was brought him, that his colleague had been seized at *Canosa* with a violent distemper, occasioned by the debaucheries and disorders to which he had abandoned himself on the road: for the luxurious prince, instead of pursuing his march with all possible expedition, and hastening to save *Syria*, which was over-run by the *Parthians*, and ready to revolt from *Rome*, stopt in all the cities through which he passed, spending his time in banquets and revels, and plunging himself into the most infamous debaucheries. Upon the news of his illness, *M. Aurelius* caused vows and sacrifices to be offered for his recovery, and took a second journey to see him. When he began to recover, *M. Aurelius* returned to *Rome*, and *L. Verus* soon after pursued his journey, passing over into *Greece*, and from thence into *Asia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*. As he stopped in every place that could afford him any kind of diversion, he arrived, when the year was already far spent, in *Syria*; and chusing *Antioch* for the place of his residence, abandoned himself there to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, while the officers who commanded under him carried on the war. These were *Statius Priscus*, *Avidius Cassius*, *Martius Verus*, *Saturninus*, *Fronto*, and *Tatianus*, all persons of great experience, and generally esteemed the best commanders of that age. As for the emperor *Verus*, he was so taken up with his pleasures and diversions, that tho' the war lasted four years, he never once ap-

Vologeses king of the Parthians invades Syria.

L. Verus goes into the east.

His debaucheries on the road.

He abandons himself to all manner of pleasures, and suffers his lieutenants to carry on the war.

¹ *Dio*. l. lxxi. p. 802. p. 347. *Dio*. p. 802.

² *LUCIAN*. pseud. p. 485. & hist.

The Par-
thians
over-
thrown.

Rome
happy
under M.
Aurelius.

His cle-
mency and
good-
nature.

peared at the head of his army, which consisted of the flower of the *Roman* troops; but wallowed in all manner of lewdness at *Antioch*, *Daphne*, and *Laodicea*, while his officers were signaling themselves in the field^a. All we know of this war is, that many great exploits were performed in *Armenia*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Media*, and upon the banks of the *Tigris*^b; that the *Romans* besieged *Edeffa* in the province of *Osrhoene*, and gained many signal victories^c; that *Osrhoes* was once forced to save himself by swimming cross the *Tigris*^d; that the *Parthians* received a dreadful overthrow at *Europa*, a city of *Syria*, on the *Euphrates*, a little below *Zeugma*^e; and that in the end, *Osrhoes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops, having lost his army, was obliged to conceal himself in a cave^f. *Lucian*, who wrote about this time, is not ashamed to tell us, that in the above-mentioned battle three hundred and seventy thousand of the enemy were killed; and that the *Romans* lost only two men, and had but nine wounded^g.

WHILE *L. Verus* wallowed in all sorts of pleasures at *Antioch*, *M. Aurelius* made it his whole study to reform, by his example and several wholesome laws, the manners of the *Romans*, to redress abuses, to reward the virtuous, and reclaim, rather by gentle means than severity, the vicious. The people enjoyed under his mild administration all the blessings of liberty, and were truly no less free than their ancestors had been in the best times of the republic. He paid a greater deference to the senate than *Antoninus* himself had ever done, referring to them the decision of such causes as belonged to his own tribunal, and undertaking nothing without their advice, to which he readily submitted, saying, It was more reasonable for him to follow the advice of so many wise men, than for so many wise men to follow his. He never failed attending the senate, delivering his opinion there like a private senator. He administered justice in person with great assiduity and impartiality; heard with patience such as complained of his ministers, and endeavoured, so far as was consistent with equity, to dismiss no one from his presence dissatisfied. He suffered no criminal to be condemned or executed, till he had examined with great care and attention the charge, and heard what the person accused could alledge in his defence. He was naturally inclined to mercy; but nevertheless punished such as were guilty of any enormous crime with the utmost rigour. However, we have innumerable instances of

^a JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 26. & in Ver. p. 37. PHILOST. soph. xxvii. DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 775. & l. lxxi. p. 802. ^b LUCIAN hist. p. 362. ^c Idem, p. 358. ^d Idem, p. 356. ^e Idem, p. 361. ^f Idem, p. 356. ^g Idem, hist. p. 357.

his clemency, and very few of his severity. *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that he obliged the inhabitants of *Nicea* to send yearly to *Rome* a certain quantity of corn, for having beaten one of their citizens, by name *Hipparchus*, a man of great learning and extraordinary accomplishments^h. They continued to pay this tribute to the time of *Constantine*, by whom it was remitted.

THE following year, *L. Ælianus*, or *Lælianus*, and *Pastor*, being consuls, *Statius Priscus* made himself master of *Artaxata*, *Artaxata* and a place called *The new city*, which soon became, says *Dion taken by Cassius*, the first city of *Armenia*. *Priscus* being soon after the Ro- sent against the *Parthians*, *Martius Verus* took upon him the mans. command of the troops in *Armenia*; and partly by force, partly by his wise conduct and obliging behaviour, prevailed upon the *Armenians* to submit to the *Romans*, and to restore *Sohemus* to the throne, who, being driven out by *Vologeses*, had resided *Armenia reduced*. some time at *Rome*, and had been there created senator, and honoured with the consulshipⁱ. On several medals of this year mention is made of the reduction of *Armenia* by *Verus*; who, in some inscriptions, is said to have given a king to *Armenia*^k. Tho' he had no share, as we have related above, in that conquest; yet the senate distinguished both him and *M. Aurelius* with the title of *Armeniacus*, and both assumed this year that of *imperator*^l, no doubt, for the reduction of *Armenia*. The following year, when *Macrinus* and *Celsus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius* sent his *M. Aure- daughter Lucilla* into *Syria*, to be married there to *L. Verus*, *lius mar- ries his daughter Lucilla to L. Verus*. to whom she had been for some time betrothed. She was attended by her sister *Cornificia*, by *Civica Pompeianus*, uncle to *L. Verus* by the father, and by many other persons of distinction. *M. Aurelius* would have willingly accompanied her in person into the east, but parted with her at *Brundisium*, and returned to *Rome*, that he might not seem to assume to himself the glory of finishing the *Parthian war*^m. The next year, the fourth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign, *Gavius Orfitus* and *L. Arrius Pudens* being consuls, *Vologeses*, having attacked the Ro- *The Par- thians* mans at the head of a very numerous army, was utterly defeated *utterly de- by Cassius*; who, pursuing the advantages of his victory, advanced to *Ctesiphon*, took that city, and laid the palace of the *Parthian* monarchs in ashes. He likewise made himself master of *Edeffa*, of *Babylon*, and all *Media*. The city of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris* opened its gates to him, and received the Ro- *who takes most of their ci- ties, &c.* mans as friends; but nevertheless *Cassius* ordered the inhabitants, to the number of four hundred thousand souls, to be inhumanly

^h AUR. VICT. in Constant. ARISTID. orat. ix. DIO. p. 804.

JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 26. ⁱ DIO. ibid. ^k OCCO.

P. 302, 303. ^l OCC. ibid. ^m JUL. CAP. p. 26.

massacred, and the city to be utterly demolished. Some writers ascribe this calamity to the treachery of the inhabitants; others to the cruelty of *Cassius*, who thus retaliated upon the *Parthians* the dreadful slaughters which the *Romans* had in former times suffered from them. On his return he lost great numbers of his men, who died of distempers, or perished for want of provisionsⁿ. For these successes the senate bestowed on *L. Verus*, tho' he had never stirred from *Antioch*, the glorious title of *The conqueror of the Parthians and Medes*, as appears from several antient inscriptions and medals of this and the following year^o. Of this war the antients give us no farther account; but from *Rufus Festus*^p and *Dion Cassius*^q it appears, that towards the end of the reign of *Commodus*, the provinces of *Osrhoene* and *Adiabene*, with the city of *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, were subject to the *Romans*. Many *Greek* historians immediately published accounts of this war; but were guilty, it seems, of considerable mistakes; which prompted *Lucian* to compose his treatise on the manner of writing history^r. The war being ended, *Lucius Verus* appointed kings over the foreign nations which had submitted to *Rome*, and left the senators who had attended him governors of the *Roman* provinces. *M. Aurelius* had sent *Annius Libo* his cousin-german into *Syria* to govern that province in quality of lieutenant, while *L. Verus* resided there; but he dying suddenly, *L. Verus*, upon his leaving *Syria*, appointed *Cæsonius Vestilianus* governor of that province in his room. *Libo* was said to have been poisoned by *Verus*, not able to bear with his haughty and imperious temper. But *Aurelius* gave no credit to that report; nay, at the request of *Verus*, he suffered *Agaclytes*, one of his colleague's freedmen, to marry *Libo's* widow, and even assisted at the nuptial ceremonies, tho' no-ways pleased with the marriage^s.

The death
of Annius
Libo.

L. Verus
returns to
Rome and
triumphs
with M.
Aurelius.

THE next year, *Q. Servilius Pudens* and *L. Fufidius Pollio* being consuls, *L. Verus*, returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumph with *M. Aurelius*, who took his children with him in the triumphal chariot. The title of *Parthicus* was given by the senate to both emperors, and both assumed that of *Father of their country*, which *M. Aurelius* had declined till the return of his brother. *L. Verus*, after his triumph, begged, that the title of *Cæsar* might be conferred on the two sons of *M. Aurelius*, viz. *Commodus* and *Annius Verus*; who accordingly received it on the twelfth of *October* of this year. The return of *L. Verus* proved fatal, we may say, to the whole

ⁿ DIO. p. 802. LUCIAN. hist. p. 358. AMMIAN. l. xxiii. ^o OCCO. p. 283. BIRAG. p. 218, 236. ^p FEST. p. 551. ^q DIO. l. lxxv. p. 848. ^r LUCIAN de hist. p. 347. ^s DIO. p. 811. & JUL. CAP. in AUR. p. 22. & Ver. p. 38.

world; for he carried the plague into all the provinces through which he passed; so that the infection not only spread through *Italy*, but extended to the most distant countries that were subject to, or had any communication with *Rome*, or the *Romans*. We are told by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that this plague first broke out at *Seleucia*, where the soldiers, pillaging the temple of *Apollo*, found a little golden coffer under ground, which, upon their opening it, cast out such a pestilential air, as immediately infected the neighbouring country, and soon spread into most parts of the world^t; but those who wrote at this very time, and before the infection reached the provinces of the *Roman* empire, assure us, that it began in *Ethiopia*, and was thence carried into *Egypt*, and from *Egypt* into the country of the *Parthians*, where it infected *L. Verus's* army^u. Be that as it will, it was, without all doubt, brought into *Italy* by the troops which had been employed against the *Parthians*, and made a dreadful havock in all the provinces of the empire, raging with great violence for some years, especially in *Italy* and at *Rome*, where it carried off many thousands, and among the rest great numbers of illustrious persons. *M. Aurelius* caused such of the common people as died to be buried at his own expence, and enacted on that occasion some laws concerning burials and sepulchres, which were still in force in *Dioclesian's* time^w. The plague was followed by a dreadful famine, by earthquakes, inundations, and other calamities. At the same time, the *Marcomanni*, one of the most warlike nations in Germany, invaded the empire, having first drawn into their alliance all the barbarous nations which bordered on the *Roman* dominions, from *Gaul* to *Illyricum*, viz. the *Narisci*, the *Hermonduri*, the *Quadi*, the *Suevians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Victovales*, *Roxolani*, *Basternæ*, *Costobochi*, *Alani*, *Vandali*, *Iazyges*, and several other nations. This war, which by the historians of those times is called one of the greatest wars *Rome* ever sustained, was kindled while the flower of the *Roman* troops were yet employed in the east against the *Parthians*; but suspended for some time by the address of the commanders on the frontiers, that *Rome* might not be at the same time engaged in two such dreadful wars. The affairs of the east were no sooner settled, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* acquainted the senate, that a war with the *Marcomanni* was inevitable, and of such consequence, that it required the presence of both emperors; for *M. Aurelius* did not care to commit the whole management of the war to *Verus*, judging him unfit to carry it on with success; and was, on the other hand, unwilling to leave

A dreadful plague rages in all the provinces of the empire.

And is followed by a famine, by earthquakes, &c.

War with the Marcomanni.

^t AMMIAN. l. xxiii. p. 251, 253.

^u LUCIAN. de hist. p. 355.

^w JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 28. OROS. l. vii. c. 15.

him at *Rome*, where he began to be daily more and more despised on account of his enormous debaucheries. The senate approved his proposal; so that both emperors, after having offered an infinite number of sacrifices, and implored by all sorts of ceremonies, both foreign and *Roman*, the protection of the gods, left *Rome* about the close of the year, in their military apparel, and hastened to *Aquileia*, to make the necessary preparations there for taking the field early in the spring ^x.

Both emperors sit out from *Rome*.

The Marcomanni and other German nations sue for peace.

But renewed the war with great vigour.

THE next consuls were the emperor *L. Verus*, the third time, and *M. Quadratus*, nephew to the emperor *Antoninus Pius*. Early in the spring the two emperors took the field, and their approach struck the enemy with such terror, that they repassed the *Danube*, and even put to death the authors and promoters of the war. The *Quadi*, whose king was dead, promised not to crown the person whom they had chosen in his room, without the consent and approbation of the emperors. Most of the nations who had taken arms dispatched ambassadors either to the emperors or their generals, to make their submissions, and ask pardon for having disturbed the peace of the empire. Hereupon *Verus*, who had left the diversions of the city much against his will, and panted after them, was for returning immediately to *Rome*; but *M. Aurelius*, suspecting the sincerity of the barbarians, continued some time at *Aquileia*, fortifying that place with new works, and then passed, together with *Verus*, the neighbouring *Alps*; provided with great care for the safety of *Italy* and *Illyricum*, and returned to *Rome* about the end of this year ^y. The following year, *Apronianus* and *Paulus* being consuls the second time, the war seems to have broke out anew; for it appears from several antient inscriptions, that both princes took this year, the eighth of their reign, the title of *imperator*; which was never done but on occasion of some victory ^z: and in the chronicle of *Eusebius* we read, that the *Romans* gained this year a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Dacians* ^a. The next year, in the consulate of *Q. Sossius Priscus* and *P. Caelius Apollinaris*, the *Germans*, notwithstanding their late defeat, renewed the war with more vigour than ever; insomuch, that both emperors left *Rome* in the depth of winter, and returned to *Aquileia*, with a design to attack the barbarians early in the spring; but the plague beginning to rage there with great violence, they thought it adviseable to leave the place and hasten back to the metropolis. As they were on the road in the same

^x Idem ibid. p. 28, & 39. ^y Dio. p. 808. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 28. ^z Oeco. p. 285, & 309. ^a EUSEB. chron. p. 136.

coach, *L. Verus* was seized with an apoplexy near *Altinum*. *M. Aurelius* caused him to be immediately taken out of the coach and blooded, by which means he brought him alive to *Altinum*, where he lay three days speechless, and then died, *L. Verus* after having lived thirty-nine years, and reigned eight, and some *days*. months ^b. *M. Aurelius* conveyed his body to *Rome*; caused it to be interred with extraordinary pomp, by that of his father *L. Cæsar*, in the mausoleum of *Adrian*; prevailed upon the senate, notwithstanding the hatred they bore him, to rank him among the gods; appointed him priests, sacrifices, &c. and took particular care of all his relations; nay, even of his wicked and debauched freedmen, whom, however, he removed from the court, retaining only one of that herd, by name *Eclætus*, who afterwards murdered his son *Commodus*, as we shall relate hereafter. *L. Verus* was a prince intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, passing his whole time in revels and banquets, and often scouring the streets in the night-time, as *Nero* had formerly done, and committing great disorders in the public-houses and stews, which he used to frequent in disguise, and mix with the mob, by whom he was often roughly handled. During his four years stay in *Syria*, he was so taken up with pleasures and lewd amours, that he was with much-ado prevailed upon by his officers to march twice to the banks of the *Euphrates*, whence he hastened back to *Daphne*, one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, a place so infamous for all manner of lewdness, that *to live after the manner of Daphne* was become a proverb, to express the most dissolute and luxurious way of living, and that all who had any regard to their reputation avoided appearing there. In that place *Verus* abandoned himself without restraint to all sorts of abominations, while his generals were carrying on the war against the *Parthians* and their allies; which gave occasion to many severe lampoons, the *Antiochians* being greatly addicted to satire. But *Verus* preferred his pleasures to his reputation: he brought with him out of *Syria* a great number of comedians, players, buffoons, &c. and passed most of his time in their company. Soon after his return to *Rome*, he is said to have spent at one entertainment six millions of sesterces; for he presented each of the guests, who were twelve in number, with crowns of gold, and with all the gold and silver plate, great part of which was set with jewels, which they had made use of during the banquet, and likewise with golden boxes filled with precious ointments; and at their parting he gave to each of them a chariot, and mules

His character.

His debaucheries, revels, banquets, &c.

^b JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 28. & in *Ver.* p. 39. GALEN. prog. t. iii. p. 459.

richly

richly caparisoned, to carry them home. He turned the court, says the writer of his life, into a tavern; for after he had supped with *M. Aurelius*, he used to withdraw to his own company, and pass the whole night in drinking with his debauched companions and lewd women. He was so fond of a horse named *Celer*, or the *Swift*, that he erected a statue to him in gold, fed him with raisins and almonds, covered him with purple, ordered him to be kept in a room of the palace, and, when he died, erected a stately monument to him on the *Vatican*. He suffered his slaves to be as free with him at all times, as they were with their masters, according to the *Roman* custom, during the feast of *Saturn*, and was intirely governed by them, his freedmen, and his concubines. He built a magnificent villa on the *Clodian* way, and there spent most of his time in revelling with his freedmen, and such women as were infamous for their lewdness. He once invited thither *M. Aurelius*, who complied with his invitation, and staid five days with him, hoping to reclaim him from his vices by the example of his regular and blameless conduct; but finding he was not to be reclaimed, the good emperor bore with him patiently, dissembled his disorders, concealed them as much as lay in his power, and even endeavoured to excuse them. However, it was privately whispered abroad, that *Verus's* horrible excesses, and his arbitrary manner of proceeding after his return from the east, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *M. Aurelius*, who was thought to have intimated in his speech to the senate, that he was not much grieved for the death of his colleague, which enabled him to do good to all without controul or restraint; nay, as the best of princes are often maliciously censured, *M. Aurelius* was said to have delivered himself from so troublesome a colleague, either by poison, or by ordering his physician *Posidippus* to let him bleed unseasonably^c. *Dion Cassius* seems inclined to believe, that *M. Aurelius* thought it expedient to prevent by that means *Verus* from raising disturbances in the state^d; for he is said to have formed a conspiracy, with a design to murder *M. Aurelius*, and reign alone^e. But it is a crime, say other historians, to imagine, that such a prince as *M. Aurelius*, to whom flattery itself has never equalled any other, would by any means contribute to the death of his brother, whatever his life and actions might deserve^f. Only such fratricides as *Caracalla*, and persons guilty of the most enormous crimes, can entertain such thoughts of *Aurelius*^g. Some charged the empress *Fausina* with his death,

M. Aurelius said by some to have caused him to be murdered.

But cleared from that aspersion by others.

^c JUL. CAP. p. 28—34.

^d DIO. p. 802.

^e PHILOST.

soph. xxvii. p. 548.

^f JUL. CAP. in Ver. p. 39.

^g HERODIAN.

l. iv p. 645. AUR. VICT.

as if she had poisoned him for having discovered to his wife his incestuous conversation with her. Others said, that he was poisoned by his wife *Lucilla*, jealous of the great passion he had for his own sister *Fabia*, whose power she could not brook^b.

M. Aurelius, now delivered from so vicious and troublesome a partner, made it his whole study to oblige all with his engaging behaviour and unbounded generosity. He seemed to excel not only his predecessors, but even himself, governing with such moderation and mildness, as can hardly be expressedⁱ. The necessary preparations for the war with the *Marcomanni* ingrossed at this time his whole care and attention. His lieutenants gained, it seems, some advantages over that formidable enemy in the very beginning of the ensuing year, while *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *C. Erucius Clarus* were consuls; for soon after the death of *L. Verus*, and before the twenty-fifth of February of this year, he took upon him the title of *imperator*, as appears from several medals and inscriptions^k. However, the *Marcomanni* soon resumed their courage, and falling upon *Vindex*, captain of the guards, cut both him and most of his men in pieces^l. After this victory, they approached the Roman territories, where they were met by the flower of the troops of the empire. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted many hours, both the *Romans* and barbarians fighting with incredible courage and resolution; but at length the *Romans* were utterly defeated, and put to flight, after having lost near twenty thousand men. The *Marcomanni* pursued the fugitives to the very walls of *Aquileia*; which city they had taken, had not the Roman generals rallied their men with great skill and conduct. The barbarians entered *Italy* itself, destroying all with fire and sword, and committing every-where most dreadful devastations^m. The news of this fatal overthrow filled *Rome* with terror and consternation. As the plague, which still raged in most provinces of the empire, had greatly weakened the army, slaves, gladiators, and even the banditti of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, were admitted into the army. Besides, *M. Aurelius* prevailed upon some mercenary *Germans* to serve against their countrymen. Thus a considerable army was soon raised; but as money was wanting to pay them, and defray the other charges of so dangerous a war, the good-natured emperor, not being able to prevail upon himself to burden his people with new taxes, exposed to public sale the furniture of the palace, the gold and silver plate, all the valuable pictures and statues belonging to the crown, and even his wife's rich garments embroi-

M. Aurelius prepares for the war against the Marcomanni.

The Romans defeated with great slaughter.

^b JUL. CAP. ⁱ Idem, p. 29. EUTROP. ^k BIRAG. p. 221.

^l DIO. l. lxxi. p. 803. ^m Idem ibid. & LUCIAN. pseud. p. 493

M. Aurelius sells the plate, jewels, and rich furniture of the palace, to defray the charges of the war.

Annius Verus, the emperor's second son, dies.

The barbarians over-run several provinces of the empire.

dered with gold, and a curious collection of pearls, which *Adrian* had purchased during his long progress through the provinces of the empire, and lodged in a particular cabinet, called *Adrian's cabinet*. The sale lasted two months, and produced such an immense sum, as enabled the emperor to relieve the people this year, when provisions were very dear, with an extraordinary largess; to defray the charges of a five years expensive war; and to buy back, when the war was ended, part of what he had sold, allowing, however, the buyers full liberty to keep their purchases, or return them and take their money again ⁿ. When he was upon the point of setting out from *Rome*, he married his daughter *Lucilla*, the widow of *L. Verus*, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was originally of *Antioch*, and the son of a private *Roman* knight, but a person of extraordinary merit, and famed for his wisdom and integrity, which *M. Aurelius* ever preferred to wealth and nobility ^o. *Julian*, surnamed the apostate, blames *M. Aurelius* for having left the empire to his son *Commodus*, and not to *Pompeianus*, who was every way qualified for it; whereas *Commodus* was altogether unfit for the discharge of so great a trust ^p. However, neither *Lucilla* herself nor her mother *Faustina* were pleased with the match. *Lucilla* retained the title of *Augusta*, and all the badges of sovereignty ^q. Before the emperor left *Rome*, his son *Annius Verus Cæsar* died at *Palestrina*, in the seventh year of his age. *M. Aurelius* loved him with all the tenderness of a father; but nevertheless bore his death with great firmness, comforting the empress *Faustina*, and the physicians, who are said to have occasioned his death by opening unseasonably a swelling under his ear ^r. The emperor set out at length for *Germany*, whither he shewed a great desire of carrying *Galen* with him; but that celebrated physician chusing to stay at *Rome*, the good-natured prince would not press him to leave it. He left likewise at *Rome* his son *Commodus*, under the care of *Pitholaus*, his chief chamberlain, injoining him to employ none but *Galen*, in case his son should be taken ill during his absence ^s.

THE antients compare this war to the *Punic* and *Cimbrian* wars; but at the same time, give us a very succinct and confused account of it. The barbarians, say they, laid waste several provinces of the empire; defeated great armies. The *Marcomanni* and the *Vandals* made themselves masters of *Pannonia*, and held it for some time. The *Castabochi* over-ran

ⁿ JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. EUTROP. & BIRAG. p. 221.
^o LAMPRID. in Comm. p. 48. HERODIAN. l. i. p. 464. ^p JULIAN. CÆS. p. 13. ^q JUL. CAP. p. 31. HERODIAN l. i. p. 427. ^r JUL. CAP. p. 31. ^s GALEN. prog 459. & 461.

Greece, and advanced as far as *Elatea*, a famous city of *Phocis* in *Achaia*; they overturned cities, and committed every-where dreadful devastations ¹. However, they were at length overcome by *M. Aurelius*, who, during this bloody and destructive war, gave innumerable instances of an extraordinary prudence and intrepidity, chusing rather to prolong the war and tire out the enemy, than expose his men to unnecessary dangers. The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, behaved with uncommon bravery; and the captains of the guards, as well as the other generals, signalized themselves in a very eminent manner ². The *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatians*, and *Vandals*, were constrained to abandon *Pannonia* and retire beyond the *Danube*. The emperor pursued them, and, coming up with them as they were passing that river, gave them a dreadful overthrow. The *Iazyges* were twice defeated, first in *Pannonia*, and the second time as they were crossing the *Danube* on the ice. A Roman soldier, who was upon guard during the night near the *Danube*, hearing one of his comrades, who had been taken by the barbarians, crying on the other side in an affecting manner, threw himself, armed as he was, into the river, crossed it, rescued his fellow-soldier, and returned with him to his post ³. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that the Roman soldiers having demanded of the emperor a largess after a bloody battle, in which they had behaved with extraordinary valour and obtained a complete victory, he refused it, telling them, That he could not enrich them, without impoverishing their parents and relations; and adding, as they seemed dissatisfied with this answer, That their complaints gave him no uneasiness or concern, since he was well apprised, that the gods alone disposed of empires ⁴. *Pompeianus*, the emperor's son-in-law, who commanded a body of troops, desiring to have *Pertinax* joined in the commission with him, *M. Aurelius* readily complied with his request, tho' he had, not long before, upon some complaints, deprived *Pertinax* of an employment which he had in *Dacia*. *Pertinax* was attended with great success in his new commission, which induced the emperor to admit him into the senate. Being soon after convinced, that the complaints brought against him were quite groundless, to repair the injury he had done him, he honoured him with prætorial ornaments, and appointed him governor of *Rhætia* and *Noricum*, whence he drove the *Germans*, who had broke into that province, and was on that account, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, raised by the emperor to the

M. Aurelius carries on the war in person with great success.

His firmness and intrepidity.

Pertinax created a senator.

¹ AMMIAN. l. xxxi. p. 425. JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 29. PAUSAN. l. x. p. 352. ² JUL. CAP. p. 31. ARISTID. orat. ix. p. 117. ³ DIO. l. lxxi. p. 804, 805. AUR. VICT. p. 31. ⁴ DIO. p. 803.

consular dignity ^y. The emperor, during his first expedition against the *Marcomanni*, resided for the most part at *Carnuntum*, a city of *Upper Pannonia* upon the *Danube*, which some take to be the present village of *St. Perronel* in *Austria* ^z.

Disturb-
ances in
Egypt.

BEFORE the war with the *Marcomanni* was ended, another broke out in *Egypt*, the robbers and shepherds of that country, who were numerous, taking up arms, at the instigation of their priests, and committing dreadful disorders. Being headed by one *Isidorus*, a man of great resolution and intrepidity, they killed a *Roman* centurion and some soldiers, by treachery; and afterwards, the *Egyptians* joining them in great numbers from all parts, they defeated the *Roman* troops in a pitched battle; over-ran the whole country, and would have made themselves masters of *Alexandria* itself, had not *Cassius*, whom *M. Aurelius* had appointed governor of *Syria*, marched against them. *Cassius* was reckoned the best commander of his age, and had signalized himself both in the *Parthian* and *German* wars.

Which are
suppressed
by Cassius.

However, he did not think it adviseable to engage so bold and desperate an enemy; but having found means to sow divisions among them, as he was a man of great craft and address, he obliged them at last to submit and lay down their arms ^a. *Cassius*, having thus quelled the disturbances in *Egypt*, marched into *Armenia* and *Arabia*, where he performed great exploits; but neither of them, nor of this year, which seems to have lasted some time, any farther mention is made in history.

Spain in-
vaded by
the Moors,
who are
driven out.

At the same time, the *Moors* over-ran almost all *Spain*, ravaging that country with fire and sword; but were in the end driven out by the emperor's lieutenants. *Severus*, afterwards emperor, was at that time quæstor of the province of *Bætica* ^b. There were likewise some disturbances in the country of the *Sequani*, now the *Franche Comté*; but these the emperor composed with his authority and seasonable severity ^c. The next consuls were *Herennianus* and *Severus*, uncle to the emperor of that name, who, at his request, was by *M. Aurelius* admitted into the senate ^d. During their administration, a great dispute arising between *Herodes Atticus* and the city of *Athens*, the emperor seemed inclined to favour the latter; which so provoked *Herodes* who was a man of a violent and fiery temper, that when the cause was to be decided by the emperor then residing at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Pannonia*, instead of pleading with his

^y Idem, p. 810. JUL. CAP. in Pertin. p. 54. ^z DIO. ibid. BAUDRAND. p. 165. ^a DIO. p. 803. VULCAT. GALLICAN. in vit. Cass. ^b JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 31. & SPART. in Sever. ^c JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 32. ^d ONUPH. in fast. p. 231. NORIS. epist. consul. p. 108.

usual eloquence, transported with rage, he launched into bitter and scurrilous invectives against the emperor, telling him amongst other things, that he suffered himself, which was highly unbecoming an emperor, to be governed by a woman and an infant only three years old; for the empress *Faustina* and her young daughter, instructed by her, had interceded with the emperor in behalf of the *Athenians*. When he had done railing against the emperor, *Bassæus*, captain of the guards, told him, That his insolent behaviour might perhaps cost him his life. But *Herodes*, without shewing the least concern or remorse, answered, That a man of his age had nothing to fear, and immediately withdrew. As for the emperor he heard him the whole time quite unconcerned; and when he withdrew, addressing the *Athenian* deputies, *You may alledge your reasons*, said he, *tho' Herodes has not been pleased to alledge his*. He heard them with great attention, and could not help shedding tears, when they described the cruel and arbitrary proceedings of *Herodes* and his freedmen, who had usurped a kind of sovereignty over the city, and oppressed the people in a tyrannical manner. However, the emperor did not condemn *Herodes*, but only his freedmen; and the punishment which he inflicted upon them was very small, says our historian, and no-ways answerable to their crimes^e; nay, to all he remitted part of it, and to one of them, named *Alcimedon*, the whole, thinking him sufficiently punished by the death of his two daughters, killed by a flash of lightning after their arrival at *Sirmium*. Some time after, *Herodes* wrote to the emperor, complaining, that he did not honour him, as he had done formerly, with his letters; and the good-natured prince immediately sent him an answer, filled with the most tender and sincere expressions of friendship, condescending, in a manner, to beg his pardon for having condemned persons belonging to him^f. *Bassæus*, captain of the guards, whom we have mentioned above, is by *Dion Cassius* styled *M. Rufus Bassæus*. He was, according to that writer, a common peasant; but being forced into the service, gave such proofs of his courage and integrity, that the emperor created him captain of the guards, tho' he was quite destitute of learning, and spoke so broad that he could hardly be understood^g. The following year, when *Maximus* and *Orfitus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius* gained, it seems, considerable advantages over the *Germans*; for, on all the medals of this year, mention is made of his victories in *Germany*, and on some he is styled *Germanicus*; which title was given to his son *Commodus* this

^e Dio. *ibid.* PHILOST. soph. xxvii. p. 558—561.
^f Dio. p. 803. & in excerpt. Val. p. 717.

^g Idem

M Aure-
lius in
great dan-
ger of be-
ing cut off
with his
whole ar-
my by the
Marco-
manni.

very year, on the fifteenth of *October*^h. The next consuls were *M. Aurelius Severus*, the second time, and *T. Claudius Pompeianus*, during whose administration nothing happened, which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. But the ensuing year, when *Gallus* and *Flaccus* were consuls, *M. Aurelius*, by an event altogether miraculous, escaped being cut off with his whole army. This happened beyond the *Danube*, in the country of the *Quadi*, where *M. Aurelius* was this year making war, and near the river *Gran*, which rising from the mountains of *North Hungary* falls into the *Danube* over-against the antient city of *Strigonium*, to which the *Gran* gives its nameⁱ. This memorable battle was begun by the enemy's slingers and archers, who, from the opposite banks of the *Gran*, galled the *Romans* to such a degree, that the emperor thought it adviseable to pass the river and dislodge them; which was done accordingly, not without great slaughter on both sides; but the enemy retiring in good order, as it had been concerted among them before-hand, drew the *Romans*, who advanced with more bravery than conduct, into a disadvantageous place, among barren mountains, quite destitute of water. The *Romans* closing their ranks, defended themselves with great bravery, and repulsed the enemy, who thereupon, giving over the attack, seized the avenues, and blocked them up on all sides, hoping to reduce by thirst those whom they could not overcome by force of arms. The *Romans*, finding themselves thus shut up among barren mountains, quite spent with their wounds and the fatigues of the battle, oppressed with heat, and tormented with an insufferable drought, attempted to open themselves a way through the midst of the enemy; but all their efforts proving unsuccessful, they found themselves obliged to keep under arms, exposed to the rays of the sun, and oppressed with a violent thirst, without being able either to fight or retire. In this deplorable extremity, both soldiers and officers began to abandon themselves to despair, while the emperor, more affected with the miseries of the soldiers than his own, flew through all the ranks, endeavouring to inspire them with courage, and raise their drooping spirits; but as they saw no possible means of escaping the present danger, his words were to no purpose, and nothing was heard but groans and lamentations, nothing seen but marks of the utmost despair. In this distress, when they expected every moment either to be cut in pieces, or to become a prey to the barbarous enemy, who surrounded them, clouds ap-

^h BIRAC. p. 223, 225. LAMPRID. in Comm. p. 50. ⁱ ONUPH. in fast. p. 232. TERTUL. apol. c. 5. DIO. l. lxxi. p. 805. BAUDR. p. 330.

peared all on a sudden gathering in the air; the sky was overcast, and to their inexpressible joy, rain fell in great plenty; which the fainting soldiers received, holding their mouths, helmets, and bucklers, up to heaven, as they are represented on the famous column of *Antoninus* at *Rome*. In this posture the barbarians fell upon them; so that they were obliged at the same time to drink and fight; for they were so oppressed with drought, that such of them as were wounded drank their own blood mixed with the water which they had received in their helmets. As they were more eager to quench their thirst than to repulse the enemy, they had been all cut in pieces, had they not been miraculously succoured by a dreadful storm of hail, attended with thunder and lightning, which discharged itself upon the barbarians, as they advanced against them. Thus were seen at the same time fire and water descending from heaven; water to refresh the *Romans*, and fire to destroy their enemies; for either no fire fell upon the *Romans*, or what fell was immediately extinguished; and the rain which fell upon the barbarians was so far from overcoming the flames which consumed them, that, on the contrary, it doubled their violence, as if it had not been water, but oil. The enemy, thus destitute of water in the midst of a heavy shower, were obliged either to wound themselves, in order to extinguish with their blood the devouring flames, or to have recourse to the *Romans*, and throw themselves upon the mercy of *M. Aurelius*, who received and entertained them in a friendly manner^k. Thus *Dion Cassius* relates this memorable event, so much celebrated by *Apollinaris*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Themistius* in his oration before *Theodosius*, *St. Jerom*, *Gregory of Nyssa*, the poet *Claudian*, and the chronicle of *Alexandria*. It was engraved on the famous column of *Antoninus*, with the other exploits of *M. Aurelius* during the *Marcomannic* war, and on another which *Themistius* tells us he had seen^l. The truth of this miraculous event has been universally acknowledged both by the christian and pagan writers, who nevertheless disagree as to the authors of it. *Dion Cassius* ascribes it to a celebrated magician of *Egypt*, named *Arnuphis*, who attended the emperor in this war^m; *Suidas* to a magician, by name *Julianus*, who was originally of *Chaldæa*, and wrote several books of magicⁿ. *Julius Capitolinus*^o, *Themistius*^p, and the poet *Claudian*^q pretend, that this miraculous shower was owing to the emperor's own prayers. In the above-mentioned column of the *An-*

They are relieved by a miraculous shower.

^k DIO. *ibid.* p. 805, 806. ^l THEMIST. *orat.* xv. ^m DIO. *ibid.* ⁿ SUID. p. 439. ^o JUL. CAP. in *M. Aur.* p. 32. ^p THEMIST. *ibid.* ^q CLAUD. in *conf. Honor.* 6. p. 183.

The legion
Melitina.

tenini it is by the pagans ascribed to their thundering *Jupiter*. But all the christian writers assure us, that so signal a favour was granted by heaven to the prayers of the christian soldiers, who served in the *Roman* army. This *Eusebius* asserts upon the authority of *Apollinaris* bishop of *Hierapolis*, which ought to be of great weight, since this miraculous deliverance happened in his time^r. The christians, by whose prayers the army was saved, belonged to the legion *Melitina*, mentioned by *Dion Cassius*^s, or, as *Xiphilin* expresses it, to the legion that had been raised or quartered at *Melitine*; for the legions, as is well known, often borrowed their names from the places where they were quartered. *Melitine* was one of the chief cities of *Armenia Minor*, and stood on the banks of the *Euphrates*. This legion, which, according to *Xiphilin*, consisted intirely of christians, and had been prompted by a vision, if *Gregory of Nyssa* is to be credited^t, to embrace the true religion, was in all likelihood the twelfth, which by *Titus* had been quartered in the city of *Melitine* in the year 70^u, and was in *Cappadocia* in the year 230, the ninth of *Alexander Severus's* reign^w. The province of *Cappadocia* probably comprehended at that time *Armenia Minor*; so that we may suppose it to have been still at *Melitine*; for there we find it placed in a *notitia imperii*, or state of the empire, published many years after the death of *Severus*. The twelfth legion was distinguished by the surname of the *thundering*^x; and *Apollinaris*, as quoted by *Eusebius*^y, tells us, that the legion *Melitina* was honoured with that title by the emperor, by way of reward for the above-mentioned miracle. The same thing we read in *Xiphilin*, and in *Onuphrius*, who maintains, that till the time of *M. Aurelius* no mention is made of the thundering legion^z. But from an antient inscription it appears, that the twelfth legion was distinguished by that surname even in *Trajan's* time^a. Of this legion, which still subsisted in the time of *Eusebius*^b, were the forty martyrs of *Sebasté*, so much spoken of by the ecclesiastic writers of the primitive times^c. But what most of all confirms the truth of the above-mentioned miracle is, the letter which the emperor himself wrote to the senate, giving them an account of it, and of the victory he gained on that occasion^d. *Tertullian* assures us, that in his letter he ascribed, tho' in a

^r EUSEB. l. v. c. 5. ^s DIO. p. 806. ^t GREG. NYSS. orat. 2. de quadraginta. martyr. ^u JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 4. ^w DIO. l. lv p. 565. ^x Idem ibid. ^y EUSEB. l. v. c. 5. ^z ONUPH. in fact. p. 233. ^a Vide BARON. ad ann. 176. & EUSEB. chron. p. 233. ^b EUSEB. ibid. ^c GREG. NYSS. de quadrag. martyr. ^d DIO. l. lxxi p. 806.

doubtful manner, his deliverance to the prayers of the christians; *Having obtained rain*, says he, as quoted by *Tertullian*, perhaps by the prayers of the christians. He expressed himself to the senate with great caution and circumspection, as the reader may observe; but of his being in his own mind fully convinced, that his safety was owing to the christians, he gave soon after a very strong proof, by enacting, that such as should thenceforth accuse a christian on account of his religion, should be punished with the utmost rigour, that is, as *Eusebius* understands it, with death^e. As *Tertullian* quotes the emperor's letter in writing against the pagans, we cannot doubt but he had seen it, nor call in question what he says of it. *Eusebius* quotes some passages of it out of *Tertullian*, and speaks of it in his chronicle as a thing that was said to have been. But *St. Jerom*, in translating that passage of *Eusebius*, positively affirms, that it was still extant. *Orosius* and *Xiphilin* only say, that it was thought to be extant in their times^f; whence it is manifest they had not seen it. A letter ascribed to *M. Aurelius* concerning the victory, which he obtained by the prayers of the christians, has reached our times. It is commonly annexed in *Greek* to the apologies of *Justin* the martyr, and is to be found in *Latin* in *Onuphrius*^g and *Baronius*^h, translated, as they tell us, from the *Greek* text, which was itself a translation from the original *Latin*. They both look upon it as an authentic piece; but, notwithstanding their judgment, it is by the best critics, rejected as spurious, to whose opinion we readily subscribe, finding it frequently contradicts all the historians who have described the reign of *M. Aurelius*ⁱ. After so glorious a victory, *M. Aurelius* was proclaimed emperor the seventh time, and the empress *Faustina* was honoured by the senate with the title of *mater castrorum*, or the mother of armies^k. This memorable victory was gained by the *Romans* in the year of the *Christian æra* 174, the fourteenth of *M. Aurelius*'s reign. Great numbers of the enemy were cut in pieces, many were taken prisoners, and the rest put to flight and dispersed.

Marcus Aurelius could not, however, be yet prevailed upon by his friends to leave *Germany*, and return to *Rome*, being desirous to reduce the countries of the *Marcomanni* and the *Sarmatians* to *Roman* provinces, not out of vanity and ambition, says *Dion Cassius*, but because he found by experience, that he could not rely upon their fidelity. This he would have com-

M. Aurelius acknowledges himself indebted to the christians for his deliverance.

^e EUSEB. l. iii. c. 5. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. ^f OROS. l. vii. c. 7. DIO. p. 806. ^g ONUPH. fast. p. 234. ^h BARON. ad ann. 176. ⁱ Vide P. PAGI, p. 174. & SCALIG. in chron. Euseb. p. 223. ^k DIO. p. 806.

The Mar-
comanni
and Quadi
sue for
peace.

They re-
ceive a
great over-
throw.

The Mar-
comanni
and other
nations ob-
tain a
peace.

passed, had he not been interrupted in the midst of his conquests by the revolt of *Cassius*, which we shall relate anon. He continued in *Germany* great part of the following year, when *Piso* and *Julianus* were consuls; and having placed twenty thousand men in the countries of the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, harrassed these two nations to such a degree, that they resolved to abandon their native soil and settle elsewhere. But *M. Aurelius*, having received timely notice of their design, prevented them from putting it in execution; so that their fields being laid waste, and all communication with the neighbouring nations cut off, they were in the end constrained by famine to send ambassadors to the emperor and sue for peace. The *Quadi* sent with their ambassadors all the *Roman* deserters, and thirteen thousand prisoners, whom they had taken during the war; and by that means obtained a peace, upon condition, that they should not for the future traffic within the *Roman* dominions, nor settle within six miles of the *Danube*. But this peace was short-lived; for the *Quadi*, instead of executing the articles of their agreement, joined the *Iazyges*, who were still in arms, and drew over the *Marcomanni*. At the same time, they drove out *Furtius*, their king, for disapproving their measures, and, of their own authority, appointed one *Ariogeses* in his room; which *M. Aurelius* resented to such a degree, that though the *Quadi* promised to set at liberty fifty thousand *Roman* captives, upon condition, that he concluded a peace with them, and confirmed to *Ariogeses* the title of king, the emperor would not hearken to the proposal, but on the contrary proscribed the new prince and set a price upon his head. Hereupon the *Quadi*, being joined by the *Marcomanni*, the *Iazyges*, the *Buri*, the *Narisci*, and many other nations, of whom we find no farther mention in history, attacked the *Romans*, but were, after a long, bloody, and obstinate, dispute, put to the rout and utterly defeated. *Ariogeses* himself was taken prisoner and brought to the emperor, who, notwithstanding his late menaces and resentment, generously spared his life, and contented himself with confining the captive to the city of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of *Egypt*¹. After this victory, most nations in *Germany* sent deputies to sue for peace, offering to submit to such terms as the emperor should think fit to impose upon them. The *Quadi* seem to have continued in arms till the reign of *Commodus*. The *Marcomanni*, after so many losses, submitted and obtained a peace, upon condition, that they should not settle within five miles of the *Danube*. *Zantichus*, king of the *Iazyges*, came in person to wait on *M. Aurelius*, attended by all

¹ DIO. p. 808. & in excerpt. Val p. 717.



the great men of the nation, and was by him received into favour, but obliged to retire with his people farther from the *Danube* than the *Marcomanni*. They were a very powerful and warlike people, and had taken above an hundred thousand prisoners during this war, whom they set at liberty upon the conclusion of the peace, this being in all likelihood one of the articles of it. Besides, they supplied *M. Aurelius* with a body of eighty thousand horsemen, of whom he immediately sent five thousand into *Britain*, where the *Romans* were threatened with a new war. The *Buri*, *Narisci*, and other *German* nations, obtained a peace upon such terms as the emperor would never have granted, had he not been obliged by all means to put an end to this war, in order to lead his troops against *Cassius*, Avidius Cassius revolts.

Avidius Cassius, whom we have frequently mentioned in describing the *Parthian* and *Egyptian* wars, was, as some authors write, descended by the mother from the antient family of the *Cassii*. His father, by name *Avidius Severus*, raised himself, according to the author of his life ^m, from the degree of a centurion to the first employments in the state; and was, on account of his extraordinary parts, highly favoured by the emperor *M. Aurelius*, but died before the revolt of his son. Such is the account which *Vulcatius Gallicanus* gives us of his extraction. But another historian writes, that *Cassius* himself owned, that he had nothing, except the name, common to him with the famous *Cassius*, who killed *Cæsar* the dictator; and adds, that he was originally of *Cyrrhum* in *Syria*, and the son of one *Heliodorus*, who had the good fortune to raise himself by his eloquence to the government of *Egypt* ⁿ. One of *Adrian's* secretaries was named *Heliodorus*, and him a modern writer takes to have been the father of *Cassius* ^o. He was remarkable for maintaining discipline among the troops; but his severity, according to *Vulcatius*, favoured of cruelty; for if any soldier was found to take but the least thing by violence from the people of the provinces, he caused him to be immediately crucified in the place where the fact was committed: ^{His severity towards the soldiers.} some he ordered to be burnt alive; others, chained together, to be thrown into some river or into the sea. He used to punish deserters with cutting off their hands and legs, saying, that the sight of a criminal living in misery, made a deeper impression than his being put to death at one blow. As he had been attended with wonderful success against the *Parthians*, *M. Au-*

^m VULCAT. GALLICAN in Cassio. ⁿ DIO l. lxxi. p. 810.
ARISTID. orat. 26. ^o VALES. in excerpt. Dionis, p. 103.

A signal
instance of
it.

Appointed
governor
of Syria.

relius, in his first war with the *Marcomanni*, sent him against the *Sarmatians* their confederates. As he was encamped near the *Danube*, some auxiliaries of his army, upon intelligence, that the enemy lay carelessly on the banks of that river, went without his knowledge to attack them, killed three thousand of them, and returned to the camp loaded with booty. Their centurions, who had put them upon this enterprize, and headed them in the action, expected some great reward from *Cassius*, for having with a handful of men killed such a number of the enemy, while the tribunes and other officers had neglected so favourable an opportunity. But *Cassius*, looking upon this as a bad precedent, which might be attended with worse consequences, instead of rewarding the centurions, caused them all to be seized and crucified like slaves. This severity occasioned a mutiny in the army; but *Cassius*, without betraying the least fear, appeared naked and unarmed in the midst of the incensed multitude, crying aloud to them, *Kill me, and, to your neglect of duty, add, if you dare, the murder of your general.* This intrepidity allayed their fury; and no one daring to utter a single word of complaint, they all returned to their tents, and thenceforth made it their whole study to learn and observe the military laws, knowing they served under a general who could not, by any fears or menaces, be prevailed upon to wink at their faults, or suffer them to pass unpunished. This instance of severity made such a deep impression on the minds of the *Sarmatians*, that despairing to conquer a people thus observant of military discipline and the rules of war, they immediately sent ambassadors to the emperor to beg peace for a hundred years^p. After the first *Marcomannic* war, he was by *M. Aurelius* appointed governor of Syria, the emperor judging him the best qualified of any in the empire, to restore the antient discipline intirely neglected by the troops quartered in that province (F). Nor

^p VULCAT. GALL. *ibid.* p. 46.

(F) The emperor, upon his appointing him governor of Syria, wrote the following letter to his lieutenant in that province: "I have given to *Avidius Cassius* the command of the legions in Syria, which *Cæsonius Vespasianus* found, as he informs me, dissolved in luxury, and abandoned to all sorts of pleasures. He is, you know, a strict observer of the antient discipline, without which the soldiers can never be kept to their duty. You remember the old verse,

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virilis.

"And truly the strict observance of the antient discipline is the chief support of the empire. Take care that sufficient provisions be

Nor was he mistaken in his judgment; for in a few months the most dissolute were reclaimed from their pleasures and luxurious manner of living, the antient discipline revived, and the whole army thoroughly reformed. *Cassius*, upon his arrival at *Antioch*, ordered all the soldiers and officers to repair forthwith to their colours, published a proclamation forbidding them, on pain of being cashiered, to appear at *Daphne*, every seventh day examined their cloaths, arms, and equipages, and frequently obliged them to perform their exercises all in a body, saying, It was a shameful thing that wrestlers and gladiators should be continually exercised, and not soldiers, whose labours are lessened in proportion as they become accustomed to them^q. As for *Cassius's* other qualities, the author of his life represents him as a man endowed with great virtues, which, however, were allayed with no less vices, insomuch, that he was by some called a second *Catiline*. But to us that writer seems to contradict himself in the character he draws of *Cassius*; for in one place he paints him not only as severe, but cruel and inhuman, towards his soldiers; and in another tells us, that he was greatly beloved by them. How can his being styled a second *Catiline*, on account of his virtues and vices, his good and his bad qualities, be reconciled with what he writes elsewhere, viz. that had he attained the empire, he would have proved an excellent prince, a prince of great clemency and moderation^r. *Dion Cassius* speaks of him, not only as an eminent commander, but as a person equal to, and in every respect worthy of, the sovereign power^s. He always abhorred an absolute and monarchical government, and is by some thought to have had nothing else in view, when he revolted, but to restore the commonwealth to its former authority. He had been charged in the

He restores the military discipline among the troops.

Is an enemy to monarchy.

^q Idem, p. 47. ^r Idem, p. 41—45. ^s Dio. l. lxxi. p. 810.

“ be got ready for the legions, which, if I am not deceived in
 “ *Avidius Cassius*, will not be misapplied.” To this letter the
 lieutenant returned the following answer: “ You could not prefer,
 “ to the command of the legions in *Syria*, a man better qualified for
 “ that important trust than *Avidius Cassius*: for only an officer of
 “ his severity can reclaim them from their voluptuous manner of
 “ living, and put them out of conceit with the pleasures of the
 “ effeminate *Greeks*, to which they have intirely abandoned them-
 “ selves. He will shake their flowers off of their heads, and teach
 “ them their duty. The necessary provisions for the legions are
 “ already laid up; and nothing can be wanting, so long as they
 “ have such an excellent commander as *Avidius Cassius* (14).

(14) *Vulcat. Gall. in vit. Cass.*

reign of *Antoninus Pius* with a design of deposing that prince; but his father, who was a man of great interest at court, having prejudiced the emperor in his favour, the accusation was dropt. However, he was thenceforth looked upon as a suspicious and disaffected person. When he commanded in the *Parthian* war under *L. Verus*, that prince, suspecting him, and indeed not without reason, wrote the following letter concerning him to *M. Aurelius*, his partner in the empire.

*L. Verus's
letter con-
cerning
him.*

“ *Avidius Cassius* seems to me to aspire at the empire, as it is well known he did in the reign of our father *Antoninus Pius*. I therefore advise you to keep a watchful eye over him. He censures and condemns all our actions, grows exceeding rich, and speaks of us both with the utmost contempt, calling you a doating philosopher, and me a luxurious fool. Consider what is to be done : I bear no hatred to the man, but would have you to reflect, that by investing such a person with power, and trusting him with the command of the troops, by whom he is greatly beloved, you may injure both yourself and your children.” Nothing can give us a greater idea of the virtue, truly heroic, of this excellent prince, than his answer to this letter, which was couched in the following terms: “ I have perused your letter,

*M. Aure-
lius's an-
swer.*

“ in which you betray greater fear and uneasiness than becomes an emperor, or is consistent with the equity of our reign. If the empire is allotted by heaven to *Avidius Cassius*, it will not be in our power to cut him off. You know the saying of your grandfather *Adrian*, that *no man cuts off his successor*. If *Cassius* is not destined to the empire, he will fall of himself, without our cruelty, into the fatal snare. Besides, we cannot in justice treat a person as a criminal, who is accused by none, and is, as you write, beloved by the army, and consequently a man of merit and a good commander. In cases of treason, even when the crime is proved, the world is apt to think the sufferer injured; which made your grandfather *Adrian* complain of the hard fate of emperors, who are never thought to have been in danger till they are killed. I chuse to name *Adrian* rather than *Domitian*, who was the first author of this saying, because a thing, however well said, has not its due weight and authority, when it comes from a tyrant. Let therefore *Avidius Cassius* pursue his own measures; he is an excellent officer, and a man of great courage, and useful to the state. As for my children, to whose safety you would have me to sacrifice him, if he deserves to be more beloved than they, if his life promises greater advantages to the state than theirs, let

Avidius

“ *Avidius Cassius* live, let the children of *M. Aurelius* perish ”
 The good-natured emperor took no farther notice of what *Vellus* had wrote to him; for, upon the return of *Cassius* from the east, where he had performed great exploits, he put him at the head of an army, which he sent against the *Sarmatians*, and afterwards appointed him governor of *Syria*, as we have related above. In the mean time, the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, renewing the war with great vigour, *Cassius* laid hold of that opportunity to seize the empire. Some authors write, that the empress *Faustina*, being well apprised, that her son *Commodus* was no-ways qualified for the sovereign power, and fearing that some one might seize it, who would destroy her and her little children, solicited *Cassius* to declare himself emperor as soon as he should hear the news of *M. Aurelius*’s death, and promised in that case to marry him. They add, that a report being spread of the emperor’s death, *Cassius* immediately caused *He assumes the title of emperor.* himself to be proclaimed in his room, and that, tho’ the rumour proved afterwards false, he found himself too far engaged to recede. Others clear *Faustina* from being any ways privy to the design of *Cassius* (G), and tell us, that the report of the emperor’s death was spread abroad by *Cassius* himself, in order to induce the governors of the eastern provinces to join him, *M. Aurelius* being greatly beloved, and his son no less hated. *And is joined by most of the eastern nations.* Be that as it will, he soon became master of all the countries beyond mount *Taurus*, and of *Egypt* itself, *Flavius Calpurnius*, governor of that province, having declared in his favour. The

† Idem, p. 40, 41.

‡ VULCAT. GALL. in Cass. p. 42, 43.

(G) *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, to clear the empress from this charge, produces two letters written by her to *M. Aurelius* on occasion of this revolt. In one she expresses herself thus: “ My mother *Faustina*, “ in the time of the defection of *Gelsus*, advised your father *Antoninus Pius* to shew his kindness in the first place to his own family, “ and next to others. And truly it is incumbent upon every good “ prince to take care of his wife and children. Your son *Commodus* “ is yet very young, and your son-in-law *Pompeianus* is stricken in “ years and a stranger. Do not therefore spare men, who, had they “ conquered, would neither have spared you, nor your wife and “ children. You will hear from *Cæcilius*, whom I shall send to you, “ what reports have been spread of you by the wife of *Cassius*, by “ his son, and his son-in-law, &c.” In the other letter she presses him to pursue *Cassius* and his accomplices with the utmost severity, if he loves her and his children, assuring him, that if he neglects to oppress them, they will not fail to oppress him (15).

(15) Idem ibid.

troops in *Bithynia* were likewise inclined to side with him, but restrained by *Clodius Albinus*, their commander, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Several foreign princes and nations espoused his cause, but none with more zeal than the *Jews* ^w.

Martius Verus, governor of *Cappadocia*, was the first who gave the emperor notice of this revolt. *M. Aurelius* concealed it for some time; but when he found it divulged by public fame, he acquainted the soldiers with it in a very judicious and modest speech, only complaining of the ungrateful return which *Cassius* made him for the kindness he ever had, and should ever have, for him, notwithstanding his revolt, as he hoped to shew as soon as he had brought him to a sense of his duty. Neither did *Cassius* on his side utter any injurious reflections against *M. Aurelius*, but only charged him with neglecting the most important affairs of the state to attend the study of philosophy, and with suffering, thro' an excess of goodness, many disorders, which it was incumbent upon him as emperor to correct^r. In the mean while, *M. Aurelius* having terminated the war with the *Marcomanni* and other *German* nations, as the time approached for his son *Commodus* to put on the manly robe, he sent for him from *Rome* and gave him it, with the usual ceremonies, on the seventh of *July*, ordering on that occasion considerable sums to be distributed among the *Roman* people^r. At *Rome* the senate were no sooner informed of the revolt of *Cassius*, than they declared him a public enemy and confiscated his estate, which the emperor ordered to be returned, not into his private coffers, as his predecessors had done, but into the public treasury. At length *M. Aurelius* left *Germany* and set out for *Illyricum*, with a design to pursue his march thence into the east and meet *Cassius*, declaring, that he was ready to resign the empire to him, if the gods should judge it expedient for the public good, that *Cassius* should reign, and not *M. Aurelius*: For it is not, added he, any private interest or ambition, but the public welfare, that prompts me to undergo so many labours, to expose myself to so many dangers. He was not advanced far on his march, when news was brought him, that *Cassius* had been killed by a centurion named *Antonius*, and another officer of a still inferior rank, who had the command only of ten men^s. *Dion Cassius* gives us but a confused account of his death; and *Vulcatius Gallicanus* promises to inform us how he was killed,

M. Aurelius
marches
against
him.

Cassius is
killed;

^w Idem ibid. Dio in excerpt Val. p. 718. Albin. vit. p. 81.
^x JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 32. Dio. I. lxxi. p. 809, 812. ^y LAM-
PRID. in Commod. p. 45. & JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 32. ^z Dio.
p. 812.

and where he was overcome, but is not so good as his word. However, from what he writes, it is plain, that a battle or encounter happened between him and the emperor's troops, probably commanded by *Martius Verus*; for on his bravery the emperor chiefly relied, and had therefore sent him before him into *Syria*, giving him the government of that province, instead of the government of *Cappadocia*. We are told, that a great many letters, written to *Cassius* by his friends and correspondents, falling into *Verus's* hands, the generous commander committed them to the flames, saying, he did not doubt but that would please *M. Aurelius*; and if it did not, that he chose, however, to save many lives at the expence of one^a. Others write, that these letters were brought to *M. Aurelius*, who ordered them, sealed as they were, to be immediately burnt in his presence^b. With *Cassius* was killed his captain of the guards, and soon after his son *Metianus*, whom he had appointed governor of *Egypt*, to secure that important province. No other person of distinction, at least of the senatorial order, perished on account of his rebellion; nay, these were put to death without the emperor's knowledge and against his will; for he was greatly concerned that the blood of any senator should have been shed during his reign: hence, when the head of *Cassius* was brought to him, he expressed great sorrow, turned his eyes away, and caused it to be honourably interred, complaining, that he had been robbed of an opportunity of shewing his mercy. The reign of *Cassius*, or rather his dream, as *Dion Cassius* styles it, lasted but three months and six days^c. *M. Aurelius* himself would neither try, imprison, nor condemn, any senator concerned in the conspiracy; but referred the whole to the senate, appointing the criminals a day to appear before their judges. In the mean time, he wrote a letter to the senate, wherein, after acquainting them, that he had appointed *Pompeianus*, his son-in-law, consul for the ensuing year, he thus exhorts them to proceed, rather with clemency than rigour, against those whom they were to try: "As for what concerns the defection of *Cassius*, I beg and
 " conjure you, conscript fathers, to have a tender regard to
 " your characters and to mine: let no one senator be put to
 " death; let the blood of no person of distinction be spilt; let
 " such as have been already banished return, nay, and enjoy
 " their estates. I wish I could raise from the dead those who
 " perished in the first heat of the war. Revenge is never commendable in an emperor; it ill becomes him in his own
 " cause, let it be never so just. You will therefore pardon the

And his
head
brought to
the emperor,
who is
concerned
for his
death.

His letter
to the senate.

^a DIO p. 813. ^b DIO. in excerpt. VAL: ^c DIO. p. 813.
 VULCAT. GALL in Cass. p. 43. NOKIS. ep. cons. p. 110.

" children;

His kindness to the children of Cassius.

His letter to Faustina on this occasion.

“ children of *Avidius Cassius*, his son-in-law, and his wife.
 “ But why do I say, *pardon*, when they have committed no
 “ crime? Let them live in safety and enjoy their paternal estate,
 “ with all their father’s plate and furniture. Let them have
 “ full liberty to live where they please, that they may be so
 “ many instances of your clemency and of mine. I further
 “ beg and desire, that all the senators and *Roman* knights in
 “ general, who have been privy to this rebellion, be by your
 “ authority exempted from death, proscription, infamy, in
 “ short, from all kind of punishment. Allow it to be said to
 “ your honour and mine, that in this rebellion such only per-
 “ ished as were killed in the hurry of the war”^d. The se-
 nate not only complied with his request, but returned him
 thanks for the regard he had shewn even to the most undeserv-
 ing members of their body. As for the children of *Cassius*, the
 emperor took them under his protection, forbidding any one to
 reproach them with the misfortunes of their family, and severely
 punishing such as did. *Vulcatius* tells us, that he even raised the
 sons of *Cassius* and *Druncianus* or *Druentianus*, who had mar-
 ried one of his daughters, by name *Alexandra*, to great prefer-
 ments, which was the more commendable, as the emperor
 was well apprised, that *Cassius*’s wife, children, and son-in-law,
 had, with many ill-natured reflections, endeavoured to bring
 him into discredit with the people and soldiery. Of the many
 persons concerned in this revolt, only a few centurions were
 executed, and some officers of greater distinction banished.
 Among the latter was *Flavius Calvisius*, governor of *Egypt*,
 who was confined to an island; but the emperor would not suf-
 fer his estate to be confiscated. An impostor, who pretended
 to be inspired by the gods, and was said to have foretold the re-
 volt of *Cassius*, was banished to the island of *Scyros* in the *Ar-
 chipelago*. All the accomplices of *Calvisius* were pardoned, as
 were likewise the cities that had declared for *Cassius*. The em-
 press *Faustina*, in a letter which she wrote to her husband on
 occasion of this revolt^e, pressed him to pursue the accomplices
 of *Cassius* with the utmost severity. But the emperor hearken-
 ing only to the impulse of his own good-nature, returned her
 the following answer: “ I have read your letter, my dear
 “ *Faustina*, wherein you advise me to treat the accomplices of
 “ *Cassius* with the utmost severity, which you think they well
 “ deserve. This I look upon as a pledge of the love you bear
 “ to your husband and children. But give me leave, my dear
 “ *Faustina*, to spare the children of *Cassius*, his son-in-law,

^d VULCAT. GALL. *ibid.* p. 44. & JUL. CAP. in Aur. p. 33.
^e See before note G.

“ and his wife, and to write to the senate in their behalf. No-
 “ thing can more recommend a *Roman* emperor to the esteem
 “ of the world, than clemency. This placed *Cæsar* among
 “ the gods; this consecrated *Augustus*; this procured to your
 “ father the title of *Pius*. I am grieved even for the death of
 “ *Cassius*, and wish it had been in my power to save him. Be
 “ therefore satisfied, and don’t abandon yourself to fear or re-
 “ venge. *Marcus Antoninus* is protected by the gods”^f. Some
 of his friends openly blaming his clemency, and taking the li-
 berty to tell him, that *Cassius* would not have been so ge-
 neros, had fortune proved favourable to him, the emperor im-
 mediately replied, We have not lived nor served the gods so ill,
 as to think they would favour *Cassius*: he added, that the mis-
 fortunes of some of his predecessors were intirely owing to their
 own ill conduct and cruelties, and that no good prince had ever
 been overcome or slain by an usurper. *Nero*, *Caligula*, and
Domitian, said he, deserved the doom that overtook them;
 neither *Otho* nor *Vitellius* were equal to the empire; the down-
 fall of *Galba* was occasioned by his avarice, an unpardonable
 fault in a prince^g. Thus the rebellion of *Cassius* served only
 to give new lustre to the unparalleled clemency, good-nature,
 and generosity of *M. Aurelius*, who could not prevail upon
 himself to take away the lives of those, who had conspired against
 his and that of his son.

THE rebellion being quashed at once by the death of *Cassius*,
M. Aurelius wrote a letter to the senate, acquainting them,
 that he had named *Pompeianus*, his son-in-law, consul against
 the ensuing year; adding, that he would have honoured him
 long before with that dignity, had he not thought himself ob-
 liged in justice to confer it first upon several persons of extraor-
 dinary merit, and well-deserving of the republic. The senate,
 in their answer to the emperor’s obliging letter, begged him to
 return to *Rome*, and to invest his son *Commodus* with the tribu-
 nitial power^h. With the latter request he complied, as appears *Commo-*
 from several antient inscriptionsⁱ. But as for the other request, *dus invest-*
 the emperor either did not return to *Rome*, or his stay there *ed with*
 was very short; for we are told, that, immediately after the *the tribu-*
 death of *Cassius*, he went into the east, and that he had begun *nitial*
 his march thither even before he received that news^k: It is not *power.*
 therefore likely, that he interrupted it to return to *Rome*. He
 had sent *Pertinax* before him into *Syria* to make head against

^f VULCAT. GALL. p. 32. ^g Idem ibid. ^h Idem in Cass.
 p. 45. ⁱ ONUPH. in fast. p. 235. P. PAGI, p. 218. NORIS, de
 votis decennalib. imperator. c. 3. & ep. consul. p. 120. ^k DIO.
 p. 813. JUL. CAP. ibid. p. 32.

The emperor goes in-
to the east.
Faustina
dies.
Her cha-
racter.

Extraor-
dinary ho-
nours paid
her by the
emperor
and the
senate.

the rebels; but upon the news of the death of *Cassius*, he recalled him, and appointed him governor of *Illyricum*, in which province he had gained no less reputation by his prudence and moderation, than by his many victories over the *Germans* during the *Marcomannic* war; so that he was greatly esteemed and revered both by the *Romans* and foreigners, nay, even by the enemies of the *Roman* name^l. The emperor took with him into the east his son *Commodus* and his wife *Faustina*, who died suddenly in a village called *Halala*, at the foot of mount *Taurus*. She was a woman of a loose and wanton life, and altogether unworthy of having such a father as *Antoninus*, such a husband as *M. Aurelius*, whom some did not believe to be father of *Commodus*^m. *Dion Cassius* writes, that it was questioned whether she died of the gout, or laid violent hands on herself, to avoid the shame of being named among the accomplices of *Cassius*, who, according to that writer, was chiefly prompted by her to take arms and revoltⁿ. Her chief gallants were *Tertullus*, *Utilius*, *Orfitus*, and *Moderatus*, whom nevertheless *Antoninus*, either not giving credit to what was said of the empress, or dissembling her irregular conduct, preferred to several employments. Her lewdness and her intimacy with the above-mentioned persons, especially with *Tertullus*, were so publicly known, that a mimic having one day asked his companion upon the stage, in the presence of the emperor, what was the name of the person who was too familiar with his wife? the other repeated the name of *Tullus* three times; whereby the whole audience perceived, that he meant *Tertullus*, the first syllable of his name signifying *three times*^o. Some of the emperor's friends advised him to divorce her; but he answered, If I divorce her, I must return her her dower, that is, the empire, which I have received of her father. In one place he commends her free and open temper, her sincerity in friendship, and her acquiescence to his will^p. He bewailed her, according to the emperor *Julian*^q, after her death, more than was becoming, in a man of his gravity, for a woman of the most unblemished character. He pronounced himself her funeral oration, and begged the senate to rank her among the gods; for which he is deservedly exposed and ridiculed by the above-mentioned emperor^r. He founded a society of young women, whom he brought up at his own expence, and called after the empress's name. The village where she died he made a colony and a city, styling it

^l Idem in *Pertin.* ^m Idem in *M. Aur.* p. 30. ⁿ *Dio.* p. 813. ^o *JUL. CAP.* *ibid.* ^p *M. ANTONIN.* de seip. l. i. c. 14. ^q *JULIAN.* *CÆS.* p. 13. ^r Idem *ibid.* p. 50.

Faustina, and erected a temple in it to her honour, which was afterwards consecrated to *Heliogabalus*, the most lewd and debauched of all the *Roman* emperors. The senate, out of flattery and complaisance to the emperor, not only ranked among the goddesses a person unworthy of a place among women of any modesty and reputation, but erected statues to her and to *M. Aurelius*, with an altar, ordaining, that young women, immediately after their marriage, should repair to it, and there offer a solemn sacrifice^s. By this scandalous institution, they deserved that their daughters should all resemble *Faustina* and their sons *Commodus*. *Faustina* being dead, *Fabia*, the sister of *L. Verus*, who had been formerly betrothed to *M. Aurelius*, did all that lay in her power to induce him to marry her; but he not thinking it adviseable to subject his children to the authority of a step-mother, took, in the room of a lawful wife, the daughter of one of the deceased empress's domestics^t; for to that purity, which the christian religion requires and commands, even the most virtuous among the pagan philosophers were utter strangers. As the *Syrians*, looking upon *Cassius* as their countryman, had readily joined him, a law passed at this time, enacting, that no one should be sent with the character of governor into his own country^u.

THE next consuls were *T. Vitrasius Pollio* and *M. Flavius Aper*, both for the second time^w. *Claudius Pompeianus*, the emperor's son-in-law, and *Clodius Albinus*, who had restrained the legions in *Bithynia* from joining *Cassius*, as we have related above, were likewise consuls this year. *M. Aurelius*, arriving in the east, freely forgave all the cities and communities there, which had sided with *Cassius*, except *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having distinguished themselves, above all the rest, by their zeal for *Cassius* and their hatred to him. He therefore published a severe edict against them, deprived them of all their privileges, suppressed their public assemblies, and took from them their shows and spectacles, to which they were greatly addicted. But his anger being soon appeased, before he left *Syria*, he restored them to their former condition, and even condescended to visit their city. From *Syria* he passed into *Egypt*, where he not only forgave, but enriched with several privileges, the city of *Alexandria*, which had likewise sided with *Cassius*. Having visited most of the chief cities in the east, and given every-where innumerable instances of his humanity and good-nature, he sailed from *Smyrna*, where he had staid

The emperor's clemency and goodness to the cities that had sided with *Cassius*.

^s DIO. l. lxxi. p. 813.
ibid. p. 813.

^t VULCAT. GALL. p. 34.

^u DIO.

^w IDAT. ONUPH. &c.

He returns
to Rome;

Which he
enters in
triumph
with his
son Com-
modus.

Instances
of his ge-
nerosity
and good-
nature.

some time, and had several conferences with the celebrated sophist *Aristides*, and arrived at *Athens*, where he was initiated in the *Eleusinian* mysteries. He conferred many favours on the city of *Athens*, and established there public professors of all sciences, with handsome allowances to be paid them yearly out of the exchequer*. From *Athens* he sailed for *Italy*; and landing at *Brundisium*, commanded his soldiers immediately to resume, as he did himself, the *Roman* gown; for neither he, nor any of his officers or soldiers, ever appeared in *Italy* in a military habit. He returned to *Rome* with his son *Commodus*, whom he named consul, though at that time but sixteen, for the ensuing year. Soon after, he honoured him with the title of *imperator*, which he himself assumed for the eighth time, probably on account of some victory gained by *Pertinax*, governor of *Illyricum*, over the *Germans*. At length, on the twenty-third of *December*, both he and his son *Commodus* entered *Rome* in triumph, distributing on this occasion large sums among the people and soldiery, that is, as many pieces of gold a-head as he had been years absent, which, according to *Dion Cassius*, were eight^y, but, according to the calculation of others, in our opinion more exact, only six. At the same time, he exhibited most pompous and magnificent shows, though he took no pleasure himself in such diversions. The following year, *Aurelius Commodus Cæsar* and *Quintillus* being consuls, *Commodus* was honoured by the senate with the title of the father of his country, and by the emperor with that of *Augustus*; on which occasion *M. Aurelius* remitted whatever was due from particulars, either to the emperor or to the treasury, ever since the time in which *Adrian* had forgiven all such debts^z. The same year he presented the inhabitants of *Smyrna* with large sums, enabling them by that means to rebuild their city, which was almost utterly ruined by a dreadful earthquake, described at length by *Aristides* in one of his orations^a. As the emperor continued all this year at *Rome*, or in the neighbourhood of that city, he reformed, partly by his example and partly by wholesome laws, several abuses. He could not suppress the combats of gladiators without disobliging the people; however, as he was an enemy to all cruelty and bloodshed, he allowed the combatants only blunt swords, in the nature of our foils, saying, that with them they might equally display their skill and dexterity^b. The next year, when *Orfitus* and *Julianus Rufus* were

*DIO. p. 814. PHILOSTR. soph. xxxvii. ARISTID. orat. ^y DIO. ibid. JUL. CAP. p. 29. ^z DIO. ibid. OROS. l. vii. c. 15. EUSEB. chron. ^a ARISTID. orat. 20. ^b DIO. in excerpt. Val. p. 718.

consuls, the *Marcomanni* and their confederates renewing the war with great vigour, the emperor resolved to march against them in person. But before he left *Rome*, he married his son *Commodus* to *Crispina*, the daughter of *Bruttius Præfens*; and repairing to the senate, desired leave to take out of the public treasure the necessary sums for carrying on the war, saying, that an emperor had nothing of his own, not even the palace he lived in, but that all belonged to the senate and people ^c. He then went to the capitol, where he declared upon his oath, that, since his accession to the empire, no senator had been put to death by his orders; that such, as had perished in the rebellion, had been killed without his knowledge; and that he would have spared them all, *Cassius* himself not excepted, had it been in his power so to do. As he was eminently skilled in philosophy, many persons of learning earnestly intreated him to explain to them, before he left *Rome*, the most difficult and intricate points of the different sects of philosophers, which he did accordingly, spending therein three whole days. They seemed to apprehend, that by his death this knowledge might have been lost; which shews how thoroughly he was versed in the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers ^d. At length he set out from *Rome*, with his son *Commodus*, on the fifth of *August* of the year 178, the eighteenth of his reign ^e. The following year, *Commodus Augustus* and *T. Annius Aurelius Verus* being consuls the second time, *M. Aurelius* gained a signal victory over the *Marcomanni*, *Hermunduri*, *Quadi*, and *Sarmatians*; for which both he and his son *Commodus*, as appears from several antient inscriptions, took the title of *imperator* ^f. All we know of this action is, that the *Roman* army was commanded by *Paternus*, and the *Germans* were utterly defeated ^g; infomuch, that all *Germany*, and the different nations inhabiting it, would have been obliged to submit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Antoninus* been prevented by death from crowning his conquests with the reduction of so powerful and extensive a country. He died the following year, *Præfens* and *Sex. Quintilius Con-* dianus being consuls, on the seventeenth of *March*, after having lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days, and reigned, from the death of *Antoninus Pius*, nineteen years and ten or eleven days ^h. *Dion Cassius* positively affirms, that he was dispatched by his physicians, desirous to curry favour with *Commodus*; and adds, that when the tribune came to him

^c DIO. p. 814. ^d JUL. CAP. in Cass. p. 41. ^e SPART. in Comm. p. 50. & DIO. p. 814. ^f DIO. p. 810. BIRAG. p. 227. JUL. CAP. in M. Aur. p. 34. ^g DIO. p. 810, & 814. ^h Idem ibid. & THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. iii. p. 137. Chron. Alex. p. 614.

He is ranked among the gods.

His fault.

the last time for the parole, he bid him go to *Commodus*, and court, not the setting, but the rising, sunⁱ. On the other hand, *Julius Capitolinus* seems to ascribe his death to a contagious distemper; for he tells us, that the plague still raged in the army; and adds, that the emperor, with much-ado, prevailed upon his son and his friends not to abandon him; which he took so much amiss, that he abstained from all sort of nourishment. Two days before he died, he recommended his son *Commodus* to the army, and conjured his friends to assist him with their advice. On the seventh day of his illness, he desired to see his son again, but immediately dismissed him, lest he should be infected with the same distemper. When he was gone, he composed himself, as if he designed to sleep, and expired the following night^k. He died, according to *Tertullian*^l, at *Sirmium*, now *Sirmich*, in *Sclavonia*; according to the two *Victors*, at *Vindobona*, now *Vienna*, in *Austria*. We need not mention the concern of the soldiery and *Roman* people, for the loss of so good and so great a prince. His body, or rather his ashes, were conveyed to *Rome*, and deposited in the monument of *Adrian*. He was immediately ranked among the gods, a temple was erected to him, and an order of priests appointed to his honour. Whoever had not some image or statue of *M. Aurelius* in his house, was judged a sacrilegious person, says *Julius Capitolinus*, in whose time, that is, in the reign of *Dioclesian*, he was still worshipped in most families among their domestic gods^m. He was, without all doubt, one of the greatest and best princes that ever swayed a sceptre. His only fault was, according to *Dion Cassius*, his too great goodness; for though he rewarded with great generosity the good and virtuous, yet he did not restrain and punish with due severity the vicious and wicked; whence some governors of provinces, presuming upon his good nature, plundered, and often with impunity, the people committed to their care. *Julius Capitolinus* blames him for winking at the monstrous excesses of his wife, and for promoting to the sovereign power *L. Verus*, whom he must have known to be quite unequal to, and altogether unworthy of, that high dignity, since *Antoninus Pius* had not so much as honoured him with the title of *Cæsar*. The emperor *Julian* prefers *M. Aurelius* to *Cæsar*, to *Augustus*, and to all the other princes who had reigned till his time; but at the same time finds fault with him, for bequeathing the empire to his vicious son *Commodus*, and not to his son-in-law *Pompeianus*, who was a person of extraordinary parts, and well qualified for so great a

ⁱ DIO. p. 814.
c. 25.

^k JUL. CAP. p. 34.
^m JUL. CAP. p. 34.

^l TERTUL. apol.

trustⁿ. The meditations of *M. Aurelius*, which have reached His meditations. our times, are highly commended by all the ancients, as an epitome of the best rules, which human reason or philosophy can suggest, for the conduct of a virtuous life. Some have questioned, whether what has been transmitted to us be the whole work, or only an abstract of it, seeing it consists of loose and unconnected sentences, whereof the sense is not always complete. But the ablest critics are of opinion, that *M. Aurelius* left the work such as it is at present, having composed it only for his private use^o. It consists of twelve books, of which the first seems to have been composed in the height of the *Marcomannic* war, while he was encamped on the banks of the *Gran* in the country of the *Quadi*^p. He ended the second book at *Carnuntum*, of which city we have spoken above, where he resided, according to *Eutropius*, three whole years. He seems to have put the last hand to this work before the death of *Faustina*; for in the ninth book he speaks of her as yet living, and ready to ly-in; that is, before the end of the year 175, the fifteenth of his reign^q. We must not confound this book with another, intituled *horologium principum*, which was published under the name of *M. Aurelius*, but is thought to have been composed by *Antonius Guevara* a Spanish bishop^r. As *M. Aurelius* was a great encourager of learning, many eminent writers, especially philosophers, flourished in his reign. *Tatian*, the disciple of *Justin* the martyr, tells us, that the pagan philosophers were so far from practising the poverty which they recommended to others, that on the contrary, many of them enjoyed large pensions, receiving of the emperor above six hundred pieces of gold a year, without rendering any service to the state, or being commended by any other merit, but that of wearing long beards^s. But of the writers who flourished about this time, we shall give a particular account in our notes (H).

ⁿ JULIAN. CÆS. 13, 14, 22, 23, 41, 49. ^o Vide Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 14. ^p M. AUREL. l. i. c. 15. ^q Idem. l. ix. c. 3. ^r Prol. Voss. hist. Græc. ^s TATIAN. p. 157.

(H) The most celebrated among the philosophers were, *Crescentius*, *Celsus*, *Lucian*, *Demonax*, *Alexander* the famous impostor, *Sextus* the stoic, *Sextus* the empiric, *Numenes*, *Hermogenes*, *Aristides*, &c. *Crescentius* was a *Cynic* philosopher, and according to the character which *Tatian* draws of him, intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness (16). He inveighed with great virulence against the christians, whom he charged with impiety and atheism, tho' in several conferences and disputes, he had been convinced of the truth by *Justin* the martyr, who was chiefly at his infligation crowned with

(16) *Tatian*. p. 157.

martyrdom (17). We do not know that he left any writings behind him. We find two philosophers bearing the name of *Celsus*, and both of the sect of *Epicurus*, mentioned by *Origen* (18). Of these one flourished under *Nero*, and the other under *Adrian*, and his immediate successors (19). The latter wrote several books against magic, much commended by *Lucian*, who inscribed to him his history of the celebrated impostor *Alexander*, which he undertook at his instigation (20). Some distinguish this writer from the author of the discourses against the christians, whom *Origen* confuted; but *Baronius*, and most critics, ascribe to the same writer the books against magic, and those against the christian religion. It is certain, that *Celsus*, whom *Origen* answers, lived long before his time; but not before the reign of *M. Aurelius*: for he not only speaks of the *Marcionists*, who first appeared about the year 142, the fifth of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, but of the followers of *Marcellina*, a woman of the sect of *Carpocrates*, who came to *Rome* in the year 157, the twentieth of *M. Aurelius's* reign (21). He probably published his work against the christians during the persecution of *M. Aurelius*; for he represents them as reduced to conceal themselves through fear of being dragged to execution (22). *Chrysostom* mentions one *Celsus*, no doubt the same writer, who published some pieces against the christian religion before the time of *Porphyrius* of *Batanea* (23). *Celsus* intitled his work against the christians, *true discourses*; but *Origen* shews, that he aimed at nothing less than truth, and confutes him with great learning, piety, and judgment. Many writers look upon *Origen's* answer to *Celsus*, as the best apology for the christian religion that ever was published (24). *Eusebius* thinks it contains whatever was, or ever will be, said upon that subject (25). *Origen* wrote in the reign of the emperor *Philip*, who was killed in the year 249 (26).

The works of *Lucian* have reached our times, and are deservedly admired for the elegance and purity of the style; but filled with impious and atheistical sentiments: whence he had the surname of the *Atheist*, or the *Blasphemer* (27). He was a native of *Samosata* in *Syria*, and of a mean descent. In his youth he declaimed, and pleaded causes, and was in his old age register to the governor of *Egypt* (28). *Suidas* writes, that he was thought to have been devoured by dogs, for having ridiculed the christian religion, without sparing even the author of it; but of such a death no mention is made by any writer who flourished before *Suidas*. Some say, that he embraced, and afterwards renounced, the christian religion; but this opinion is founded only on a wrong translation of the word *ἀπομαρτυροῦν*, in *Suidas*, by *concionator*, and upon *Lucian's* being better acquainted with the tenets and doctrine of the christians than other

- (17) *Euseb. l. iv. c. 16.* (18) *Orig. in Cels. l. i p. 8.* (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Lucian pseud. p. 498.* (21) *Orig. in Cels l. viii. p. 424. & l. v. p. 272. Iren. l. i. c. 24.* (22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Chrys in 1 Corinth. hom. vi.* (24) *Vide Du Pin. tom. 1. p. 388, 389.* (25) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 36* (26) *Idem ibid. & Hier. p. 433, 434.* (27) *Suid. p. 55.* (28) *Lucian. hist. p. 359. & apol. p. 262. pagans.*

pagans. He wrote the life of *Sostrates* of *Bæotia*, a famous philosopher, who practised great austerities (29); but that work has not reached us. Some have, against all reason and authority, ascribed to him the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, which was done by *Philostratus* (30). He wrote, according to *Eunapius* (31), the life of the philosopher *Demonax*, whose disciple he had been. He represents him as the greatest philosopher of his time; but, after all, he was only a *Cynic*, somewhat more polished and civilized than the rest of his brethren. What we find most commendable in him is, that tho' he was of a noble family, rich, eloquent, and well versed in most branches of learning; yet he lived in poverty, practised great austerities, and would not suffer any one to attend him. When he grew old, and could no longer live without being assisted by others, he chose rather to die of hunger, than to suffer any one to perform the least office about him. He was a native of *Cyprus*; but lived at *Athens*, where he was highly esteemed in his life time, and equally regretted after his death. The *Athenians* intending to establish in their city a combat of gladiators, he told them, That they ought first to overturn and utterly demolish an altar which they had erected to *Mercy*. The emperor having desired some of his friends to ask him in his name, what was the best method of governing, he answered, To speak little, to hear much, and to fall upon no provocation into a passion (32). *Lucian*, in his dialogue on friendship, speaks of several wars between the *Scythians*, who dealt on the banks of the *Tanais*, and the other northern barbarians, especially those of *Bosporus*, who were in *Lucian's* time governed first by *Leucanor*, and afterwards by *Eubiotes* his natural brother. *Leucanor* probably succeeded *Rhemetalces*, who was king of *Bosporus* in the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. The ships which saved *Lucian*, as we shall relate anon, were carrying the ambassadors of *Eupator*, king of the same country, to *Pontus*, either to pay there the money which was yearly owing from them to the *Romans*, or to receive that which the *Romans* annually paid to them; for the words *ἐν κρημίδῃ* are capable of both senses. *Eubiotes*, in his war against the *Scythians*, led with him all the *Greeks*, according to the expression of *Lucian* (32); that is, as we suppose, the inhabitants of the *Greek* cities on the *Chersonesus*, which confirms the opinion of those who maintain, that the kings of *Bosporus* were masters of that country. The account which *Lucian* gives us of the celebrated impostor *Alexander* is very diverting. He was a native of *Abonitichos*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, and generally revered on account of his pretended predictions, and counterfeit miracles, as a prophet. *Lucian*, however, who was not easily deceived, looked upon him as an impostor, ridiculed his miracles, and exposed him in all companies; which so provoked the pretended prophet, that he endeavoured to stir up his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Abonitichos*, against him. *Alexander*, nevertheless, some time after, pretended to be reconciled to him,

(29) *Idem*, in *vit. Demonac.* p. 546. (30) *Vide Voss. hist. Græc.* l. ii. c. 15. (31) *Lucian*, in *vit. Demonac.* p. 546—555. (32) *Idem*, *toxar.* p. 631—638.

and even offered him a ship to convey him to *Amastris* in *Pontus*, whither his affairs called him. *Lucian* accepted the offer; but was not a little surprised, when, at a great distance from land, he observed the pilot bursting all at once into tears, and making various signs to the mariners. *Lucian* imagined the vessel to be in danger; but was more terrified, when the pilot frankly owned to him, that he had received positive orders from *Alexander* to throw him into the sea; but could not prevail upon himself, after having lived so long without reproach, to commit a murder in his old age. He left him, however, in a desert and barren island, where he must have soon perished, had he not been saved by the vessels of the king of *Bosporus*, which happened to sail by. He was for prosecuting *Alexander* before the governor of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*; but that magistrate dissuaded him from it, telling him, that he could not condemn *Alexander*, without incurring the displeasure of *Rutilianus*, who was very powerful at court, and had in his old age married the daughter of the impostor, believing the moon to be her mother. Thus *Lucian* had no other means left of being revenged on *Alexander*, but by writing his life, and painting him in his true colours. This piece, however, he did not publish till the impostor's death, which seems to have happened in the reign of *M. Aurelius*.

Sextus was a native of *Charonea* in *Boeotia*, by sect a *Stoic*, and had been preceptor to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. Most writers suppose him to have been nephew to *Plutarch*. *M. Aurelius* went frequently to hear him after he was emperor, and owns in his meditations, that he was indebted to him for many excellent rules, relating to the conduct of a moral and virtuous life (33). *Apuleius* glories in being descended from him by his mother (34). At the same time flourished another philosopher bearing the same name, but a native of *Libya*, and by sect a *Pyrrhonian* (35). He is styled by *Galen* and *Diogenes Laertius* the empiric. Some of his works have reached our times (36). *Suidas* confounds him with the other *Sextus*, and the other with *Sextus Conidianus*, who was consul in 180. There are still extant four hundred and thirty sentences of a philosopher named *Sextus* or *Xysus*, which were translated into *Latin* by *Rufinus* of *Aquileia*, under the name of *St. Sixtus*, pope and martyr (37). *St. Austin* was for some time deceived by them (38). But *St. Jerom*, in several places of his works, ascribes them to some philosopher of the sect of *Pythagoras* (39). About this time *Numenes* is likewise supposed to have flourished, whose writings are often quoted by *Eusebius* and *Theodoretus* against the pagans. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* quotes him for this famous saying, that *Plato was but Moses speaking Greek* (40). He was, according to *Suidas* (41), a native of *Apamea* in *Syria*. He shews, that *Plato* copied from *Moses* what he wrote concerning God and the forming

(33) *M. Ant.* l. i. c. 6. (34) *Apul. meta.* l. i. p. 103. (35)
Ruald. vit Plutarch. c. 5. (36) *Vide Jons.* l. ii. c. 1. (37)
Bib. patr. p. 565. (38) *Aug. retract.* l. ii. c. 42. (39) *Hier.*
ad Cre. c. 2. in *Ezech.* xviii. &c. (40) *Clem. Strom.* i. (41)
Suid. p. 242.

of the universe (42). He has been blamed by the pagans for explaining the mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; which goddesses are said to have appeared to him in the attire of common prostitutes, to reproach him by that means with the state to which he had reduced them, by acquainting the world with the ceremonies practised in the celebration of their mysteries; which is not much to their honour. He published several works, which are frequently quoted by *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Eunapius*, *Theodoretus* and *Hesychius*; but none of them have reached us (43). He seems to have joined together the tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*: whence he is by some ranked amongst the followers of *Plato*; by others among the *Pythagoreans* (44). *Crones*, *Aristocles*, *Antiochus*, *Alexander*, *Hermogenes*, *Aristides*, and *Phrynicus*, were all contemporaries with *Numenes*. *Crones* was one of his disciples, and wrote a treatise on the generation of things, which we find quoted by *Origen* and *Plotinus* (45). *Aristocles* was a native of *Pergamus* and first a *Peripatetic* philosopher; but afterwards he abandoned the study of philosophy, and applied himself to that of eloquence under the celebrated *H. Rhodes Atticus*. He declaimed in his own country; but did not meet with the applause he expected (46). *Antiochus* was a native of *Ægæ* in *Cilicia*, by profession a sophist, and one of the disciples of *Dionysius the Milesian*, of whom we have spoken in the reign of *Adrian*. *Philostratus* seems to have entertained a great opinion of him, and not undeservedly; for he is said to have had an utter contempt for riches, and to have spent his whole estate in purchasing corn for his poor countrymen during a famine (47). *Alexander* was likewise by profession a sophist, and is greatly commended by *Philostratus*. He was born in *Seleucia*, comprised at that time in *Cilicia*; but afterwards raised to the metropolis of *Isauria*. His mother, tho' married, was thought to have had him by a criminal conversation with *Apollonius Tyaneus* (48), whose chastity has, by some writers, been mightily cried up. He was one of the disciples of *Favorinus*, *Adrian's* great favourite, and afterwards secretary for the Greek tongue to *M. Aurelius*. *Hermogenes*, a native of *Tarsus*, gained such reputation among the sophists, when he was but fifteen years old, that *M. Aurelius* went in person to hear him, was greatly taken with his extraordinary genius, and loaded him with presents; but as he surpassed most men when he was but a child, so when he attained to man's estate, he deserved to be ranked among children, says *Philostratus* (49). However, he lived to a great age, despised by those who had once admired him (50). *Aristides*, one of the most celebrated sophists of his time, was a native of *Adrianothera* in *Myfia*. He is highly commended, on account of his eloquence, by *Phrynicus* his contemporary (51), by *Philostratus* (52), and generally by all the antients; but if he excelled, as he is said to have done, all the other sophists, several of his orations, which have reached our times (53),

(42) *Idem* *ibid.* (43) *Vide* *Jonsf. l. iii. c. 10.* (44) *Idem* *ibid.* (45) *Idem* *ibid.* (46) *Philostr. soph. xxix.* (47) *Idem. soph. xxxi.* (48) *Idem* *ibid.* (49) *Idem* *ibid.* (50) *Dio. l. lxxi p. 802.* (51) *Phot. c. 158.* (52) *Philos. soph. xxxv.* (53) *Vide* *Phot. c. 246, &c.*

convince us that we have no reason to regret the loss of their works. He was subject to various infirmities and constantly indisposed. We read in his journal, which he intitles *sacred discourses*, many things relating to maladies and their remedies, which he pretends to have learnt of *Æsculapius* in his dreams (54). Notwithstanding his infirmities, he lived to a great age, and died in the reign of *Commodus*.

Lucius, or, as he is styled by others, *Saturantius Apuleius*, was a native of *Madaura*, a Roman colony, on the borders of *Numidia* and *Getulia*, the son of one of the chief men of that city, and of *Salvia*, one of the descendants of *Plutarch* (55). He passed his childhood partly in *Greece* (for his mother was originally of *Thessaly*), and partly at *Carthage*, where he learnt, without the assistance of an instructor, the *Latin*; but not without much labour, as he himself owns. From *Carthage* he went to *Athens*, where he applied himself to the study of poetry, geometry, dialectics, and music, and thoroughly informed himself of the different tenets of the various sects of philosophers; but embraced that of *Plato*, which, however, did not prevent him from studying magic with great application. He is even said to have been so well skilled in that art, as to work several miracles, which the pagans opposed to those of our Saviour (56). These miracles, however, are not well attested; and *Apuleius* himself, being accused as a magician before *Claudius Maximus* proconsul of *Africa*, endeavoured to clear himself from that charge, as from an enormous crime, by an excellent discourse, which has reached our times (57). He is thought to have studied that art in *Thessaly*, where it was in great request (58). *St. Austin* (which to us seems very strange) doubts whether what *Apuleius* writes of his being, by a magic potion, transformed into an ass, was true or fabulous (59). The pagans themselves looked upon his metamorphoses as only fit to amuse children (60). He wrote with great elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, but his style is somewhat affected: he is fond of antiquated words, coins new ones, and frequently gives new ideas to old ones. He was reckoned one of the most eloquent men of his age; but neither his eloquence, nor his other extraordinary accomplishments, ever raised him to any dignity in the empire, tho' he was far from despising honours, as appears from the manner in which he speaks of a statue erected to him at *Oca*, a city of the province of *Tripolitana*, where he married a woman named *Pudentilla*; and of the office of pontiff conferred upon him in his own country, which gave him a right to exhibit combats of gladiators and wild beasts. Several pieces of *Apuleius* are still extant, and some fragments of others, which have been long since lost. Of the former some are but a bare translation of *Aristotle*, or of other antient writers (61). He is often quoted by the antients, as appears from the collection of

(54) *Philost. ibid. Suid. p. 426.* (55) *Apul. met. l. ii. p. 115. & prol. p. 29.* (56) *Hier. ps. lxxx. Laet. l. v. c. 3. Aug. epist. cxxxvi.* (57) *Apul. apol.* (58) *Vit. apul. p. 15.* (59) *Aug. civit. Dei. l. xviii. c. 18.* (60) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. iv. Macrobin som. Scipion. l. i. c. 2.* (61) *Apul. prol.*

such quotations prefixed to his works, but especially by St. *Austin*, who takes great pains to confute his false theology (62).

Amongst the historians who flourished under *M. Aurelius*, those of chief note are *Polyænus*, a *Macedonian*, who inscribed to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* the eight books of stratagems published by *Casaubon* (63). He left other works (and among the rest a description of the city of *Thebes*), which have been long since lost (64). *Amyntianus* wrote, and addressed to *M. Aurelius*, the history of *Alexander the Great*, which was not much admired. He likewise published the life of *Domitian*, and the lives of some other *Latin* and *Greek* princes (65); but none of his works have reached our times. Those of *Damophilus* have undergone the same fate: He was a philosopher and sophist, brought up, as *Suidas* informs us (66), by *Julianus*, who was consul in the year 175, the fifteenth of *M. Aurelius's* reign. He is frequently quoted by the emperor *Julian*, who supposes him to have been a native of *Bithynia*. Some of his works he inscribed to *Lollius Maximus* (67). The history of *Greece*, written by *Pausanias*, in ten books, has reached us. The author describes with great care and exactness the situation and antiquities of each city, and all the curiosities which in his time were to be seen in a country once so famous; but some critics find fault with him for interweaving his history with so many fables, which, however, are of great use for the right understanding of the antient writers (68). It appears from the quotations of *Stephanus* the geographer, that he described after the same manner *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. He bestows mighty encomiums upon *Antoninus Pius*, and mentions his wars with the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarians; whence it is plain, that he had not done writing in the year 175 (69). He relates nothing posterior to the reign of *M. Aurelius*; whence we may conclude, that he either died or ended his work under that prince. *Philostratus* speaks of one *Pausanias* a sophist, a native of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and disciple of *Herodes Atticus*. Of this *Pausanias* he observes, that he spent the greatest part of his life at *Rome*; that in speaking he changed all the quantities, and did not distinguish the letters that had a like sound; which, however, was common to all the *Cappadocians* (70). *Philostratus* ascribes to him only some declamations; whence he ought, in our opinion, to be distinguished from the historian of that name, tho' *Vossius* and *Sylburgius* take the author of the history and of the declamations to be one and the same writer (71); for we cannot think, that *Philostratus* would have passed over in silence so great and important a work, had the sophist been the author of it. *Suidas* speaks of another *Pausanias*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, who wrote the history of his own country; but we must distinguish him too from the author of the history of *Greece*, who

(62) *Aug. civ. Dei. l. viii. c. 14.* (63) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 14.* (64) *Suid. p. 559.* (65) *Phot. c. 131.* (66) *Suid. p. 640.* (67) *Vide Jonsf. l. iii. c. 11.* (68) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 14.* (69) *Paus. l. viii. p. 272.* (70) *Philost. soph. xxxix.* (71) *Voss. ibid.*

rebukes the *Lacedæmonians* with great liberty, and whose dialect comes nearer the *Ionic* than the *Doric*, which was the dialect of the *Lacedæmonians* (72). In the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius* flourished one *Iamblicus*, by birth a *Babylonian*, and by profession a magician. He published several works in *Greek*, and among the rest one styled *Babylonica* (73), which is said by *Tennulius* to be still preserved in the famous library of the *Escorial* in *Spain* (74). Perhaps it was consumed by the late conflagration; for that was the fate of many inestimable manuscripts lodged in that famous library. *Leo Allatius* published a fragment of it. *Vossius* takes *Iamblicus's* *Babylonica* to be nothing else but the silly romance, of which *Photius* has been at the trouble of giving us too long an abstract. *Suidas* seems to insinuate the same thing. *Photius* tells us, that *Iamblicus* was originally a slave, and relates several particulars concerning him, copied from an unknown author (75). *Theophylus* of *Antioch* has transmitted to us a table of the *Roman* emperors, from *Julius Cæsar* to the death of *M. Aurelius*, with the years, months, and days, of their respective reigns. This table was made by one of *M. Aurelius's* freedmen, named *Chrysores*, and not *Crator*, as *Vossius* calls him, led into that mistake by the text of *Theophylus*, where we read *ὁ δὲ μὲν Κρατὼρ* instead of *νομικλάτωρ*, as it is corrected by *Scaliger* (76). The above-mentioned table was copied from a work of *Chrysores*, containing the names and chronology of all those who had ruled in *Rome*, from the foundation of the city to the time of *M. Aurelius*. *Scaliger* has added it to the chronology of *Eusebius*. It is likewise to be found in the works of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, free from most of the faults which have crept into that of *Theophylus*. *Æmilius Parthenianus* composed the history of all those who attempted to usurp the sovereign power. He did not end his history before the year 175, for he wrote the life of *Avidius Cassius*. He is quoted by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, who flourished under *Dioclesian*. *Vossius* ranks him among the *Latin* historians (77). The grammarian *Proculus*, who instructed *M. Aurelius* in the *Latin* grammar, and was on that account raised by him to the consulship, published a work on foreign countries, or, as some read it, religions, *de regionibus*, or *religionibus* (78). He was by birth an *African*; but thoroughly versed in the *Latin* tongue (79). *Hephestion* and *Harpocration*, who instructed *L. Verus* in the *Greek* tongue (80), have both left some works behind them. An excellent piece *de re metrica*, which seems to be very antient, and bears the name of one *Hephestion*, a grammarian of *Alexandria*, has reached our times, and is commonly ascribed to *Hephestion* the preceptor of *L. Verus*. *Suidas* mentions several other works published by him (81). Another learned piece is still extant

(72) *Suid.* p. 466. (73) *Phot.* c. 49. (74) *Voss. ibid.* l. iv. p. 582. & *Samuel. Tennul. in not. ad Iambl. arith. Arneisæ, an.* 1668. (75) *Phot.* p. 241. (76) *Vide Scal. in chron. Euseb.* p. 396. (77) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. iii. (78) *Tret. Pollio. histor. trigin. tyrannor* p. 195. (79) *Voss. hist. Lat.* l. i. c. 12. (80) *Jul. Cap. in vit. Ver.* p. 35. (81) *Suid.* p. 1209.

on the ten orators of *Athens*, done by one *Valerius Harpocraton*, supposed to have been preceptor to *L. Verus* (82). At this time flourished *Apollonius* of *Alexandria*, surnamed *Dyscoles*, who published several grammatical pieces. Some of his works have reached our times, viz. four books on the syntax, to which is prefixed his life, done by an anonymous writer, and another piece, intitled, *Some false histories*, or rather *wonderful histories* (83). He was father to one *Herodianus*, who lived, according to *Suidas*, in the time of *M. Aurelius*, and published several grammatical pieces (84). *Ammianus Marcellinus* reckons him among the many great men for whom the world was indebted to the museum of *Alexandria* (85). *Sylburgius* takes him to be the historian *Herodianus*, who wrote the lives of the emperors, from the death of *M. Aurelius* to the reign of *Gordian*; that is, to the year 238 (86). But *Vossius* speaks of the grammarian and historian as two different persons; and truly the historian might have been born in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, but cannot be said to have flourished under that prince, since he was still writing fifty-eight years after his death (87). *Artemidorus*, author of several books on the interpretation of dreams, lived under *Antoninus Pius* and *M. Aurelius*; for he is quoted by *Lucian*; and he himself tells us, that he was acquainted with one who had entered the lists in the combats, that were exhibited by *Antoninus Pius* at *Puteoli*, in honour of *Adrian*. He was a native of *Ephesus*, and in his other works styled himself *Artemidorus the Ephesian*; but in that on the interpretation of dreams, he took the surname of *Daldianus*, from *Daldis*, a small city of *Lydia*, the birth-place of his mother. He wrote four books on the interpretation of dreams, which have reached us, with a fifth, wherein he relates the issue of several dreams. Of these books he inscribed the three first to one *Cassius Maximus*, a *Phœnician*, who, it seems, was a man of great eloquence, and his particular friend; and the two others to his son, named likewise *Artemidorus* (88). Besides these books, he wrote some others, according to *Suidas* (89), who styles him a philosopher, on the manner of foretelling events by birds, and by the lines of the hand. For the compiling of his books on dreams, he read all the authors who had handled the subject, and were very numerous; he spent many years in travelling thro' all the provinces, and visiting all the cities, of the empire; he conferred with all those who pretended to any knowledge in divination (90); and the fruit of so many labours, journies, inquiries, conferences, &c. was a work the most useless and trifling that ever was published, as is owned by those who have been at the pains of illustrating it with notes (91). The same author wrote some books on phyfic (92). *Marcellus* of *Ida* in *Pamphylia* wrote, in the reign of *M. Aurelius*, forty-two books in hexameter verse on

(82) *Idem*, p. 441. (83) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 14.* (84) *Suid. p. 379.* (85) *Ammian. l. xxii. p. 235.* (86) *In Herodian. prol.* (87) *Voss. ibid. l. i. c. 1.* (88) *Artemidor. l. i. c. 28. l. iii. c. 67.* (89) *Suid. p. 442.* (90) *Idem*, p. 3. (91) *Voss. ibid. l. ii. c. 22.* (92) *Artemidor. prol. p. 4.*

physic, and is quoted by St. *Jerom* (93). *Marullus*, a *Latin* poet, wrote some satires in the beginning of the reign of *M. Aurelius*, not sparing that prince, nor his predecessor *Antoninus Pius*; but he patiently bore his raileries (94). *Apuleius* speaks of a poet who lived in his time, and had begun an excellent poem upon *Alexander the Great* (95). This is probably the writer, whom he calls elsewhere (96) *Corvinus Clemens*, and who was quæstor. *Aulus Gellius*, or *Agellius*, must have flourished about this time; for he was disciple to *Titus Caspicius*, to *Favorinus*, to *Herodes Atticus*, and to *Cornelius Fronto*, who all lived under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius* (97). *Cornelius Fronto* had been consul when *Aulus Gellius* was yet a youth (98). He bestows great encomiums on the celebrated philosopher and apostate *Peregrinus*; but does not mention his death, which rendered him more famous than any thing he had done in his life-time; for he publicly burnt himself at the sports of the two hundred and thirty-sixth olympiad: whence we conclude, that *Aulus Gellius* had done writing before that time, that is, before the year 165, of the christian æra, the fifth of the reign of *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. He studied grammar at *Rome*, and philosophy at *Athens*, under *Calvisius Taurus*, whence he returned to *Rome*. He left no work behind him, except his *Noctes Atticæ*; for thus he styled the collection of several memorable and amusing events, which he compiled for the use of his children (99). St. *Austin* commends him on account of his easy and elegant elocution (100); but most critics find fault with his antiquated words, his harsh and improper expressions, and, above all, with want of judgment, in chusing for his collection such events as are for the most part of no importance, and only contain some grammatical and trifling remarks. *Macrobius*, however, often copies him. The annals of *Gellius* are frequently quoted by the writers of the *Roman* history; but the author of these annals, by name *Cn. Gellius*, lived about the year 620. of *Rome*, and was contemporary with *Cicero* (1).

(93) *Voss. ibid.* (94) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 52.* (95) *Apul. flor. p. 344.* (96) *Idem, apol. p. 338.* (97) *Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 21.* (98) *Idem, l. xix. c. 8.* (99) *Idem, præfat.* (100) *Aug. civit. Dei, l. ix. c. 4.* (1) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 8. Macrobi. saturnal. l. i. c. 16.*

A N

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